



EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM
VIRORUM

011

*Of this Edition of the EPISTOLÆ
OBSCURORUM VIRORUM
Five Hundred and Twenty-Five Copies
have been Printed, of which only
Five Hundred Copies are for Sale.*

This is No. 160

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM
OF
ART AND
ARCHAEOLOGY
OF
THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CAMBRIDGE

EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM
VIRO-
RUM: THE LATIN TEXT
WITH AN ENGLISH RENDER-
ING, NOTES, AND AN HIS-
TORICAL INTRODUCTION BY
FRANCIS GRIFFIN STOKES



101337
9/4/10

LONDON
CHATTO & WINDUS
MCMIX

PA
8490
1909

All rights reserved

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xv
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM (VOLUMEN PRIMUM)	1
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM (VOLUMEN ALTERUM)	129
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN (PART I.)	287
LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN (PART II.)	389
APPENDIX I.	539
APPENDIX II.	543
GENERAL INDEX	545

ILLUSTRATIONS

ULRICH VON HUTTEN *Frontispiece*
From a Print in the British Museum.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF
THE SECOND PART *To face p. 131*
From the Copy in the British Museum.

P R E F A C E

THIS volume presents for the first time to English readers an annotated edition—accompanied by a translation—of a work that ranks not only as one of the most famous of Satires, but as an historical document of no little moment.

Of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* it may be safely said that—at all events in England—no work less known is more often mentioned. Frequent allusions to the *Epistolae* are, indeed, inevitable. Their historical importance few can dispute. No writer on the general aspects of the later Renaissance, or on the German Reformation, can well disregard them.

The contemporary influence of the Satire itself in sapping the foundations of an already crumbling scholasticism, and laying bare ecclesiastical abuses, will be touched upon in the Introduction ; but for the student of modern history to-day, its value lies in the fact that it teems with references to the protagonists in the great controversy which raged round Reuchlin during the early years of the sixteenth century, “dividing Western Europe in two hostile camps,” and that it is pregnant with presage of the mighty change soon to sweep over Teutonic Christendom. The side-lights, moreover, that it throws upon the social life of the period—its manners and its morals—are of no small interest. The reader feels that the corner of a curtain has been lifted, and that he is permitted actually to peep at a phase of the life of four centuries ago which if we had had to rely solely upon prim and formal history might have been lost to us for ever, but that history must take into account if it is to render intelligible the remarkable phenomena that attended the dawn of the Renaissance north of the Alps.

It is, however, in their literary aspect that the *Epistolae* must claim their place among the immortals.

PREFACE

Few critics have disputed the substantial justice of the conclusion arrived at by Sir William Hamilton some seventy-eight years ago: "Never," he wrote, "were unconscious barbarism, self-glorious ignorance, intolerant stupidity, and sanctimonious immorality, so ludicrously delineated; never did delineation less betray the artifice of ridicule. The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* are at once the most cruel and the most natural of satires." It is true that dissentient voices may here and there be heard amidst the chorus of applause, but one thing is certain: the historian of European literature—whether he deems the *Epistolæ*, regarded as a piece of literary art, worthy of a pedestal or not—cannot ignore them.

Nevertheless, the last edition of the *Epistolæ* published in England was that issued by Henry Clements in 1742. This edition (which Ebert, for some unexplained reason, believed to have been really produced in Switzerland), was, moreover, a mere reprint of that issued by the same publisher in 1710. A very singular feature of this edition is the fact that both its editor and its chief reviewer were under a complete misconception as to the nature and object of the work!

The editor, Michael Maittaire, regards the *Letters* as the production of their ostensible authors, and plumes himself, in his preface, on having rescued from oblivion such antiquated specimens of literary folly; while Steele, to whom, under his pseudonym of Isaac Bickerstaff, the edition was dedicated, was, apparently, completely deceived. "It seems," he wrote in *The Tatler* (No. 197), "this is a collection of letters, which some profound blockheads, who lived before our times, have written in honour of each other, and for their mutual information in each other's absurdities. . . . It is, methinks, wonderful that fellows could be awake, and utter such incoherent conceptions, and converse with great gravity like learned men, without the least taste of knowledge or good sense." As the reading public in those days was quite prepared to take Steele's word in such a matter, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the *Obscure Men* were henceforth left almost unmolested in their obscurity. In fact, as Mr. Saintsbury

PREFACE

puts it, "they have dropped out of the reading of the average educated man"—adding, suggestively, "he cannot too soon return to them."

The notes in the present volume are mainly intended for readers who have made no special study of the period involved. They are largely devoted to some account of men and matters that will be sought for in vain in ordinary English books of reference. A list of works consulted in their preparation would be lengthy, but is unnecessary—for where the search was fruitful the note in most cases records the fact.

One acknowledgment of indebtedness must, however, explicitly be made. The supplementary volumes of Böcking's monumental edition of Ulrich von Hutten's works (Leipsic, 1863-9), form a vast quarry of suggestive information in which every labourer in this field perforce must delve. It is not too much to say that without such an aid the labour of which the present volume is the outcome would never have been undertaken. Certain inevitable contributions levied upon Böcking's stores have, however, been largely supplemented by references to more recent and accessible sources—to English and French, as well as German authorities—and to discoveries that have considerably modified opinions justifiably held forty years ago. Every quoted authority has, with scarcely an exception, been directly consulted, and researches by the present writer among the *incunabula* of the British Museum have constituted not the least agreeable portion of his task.

A few words on the English rendering seem desirable—an apology from the translator may even be expected—for it seems to be the almost invariable practice of modern writers, when mentioning the *Epistolæ*, to add a remark to the effect that "they are quite untranslatable." The phrase is not free from ambiguity, but in a certain sense the observation is doubtless just.

It is probably impossible to devise a dog-English that would suggest the delightful dog-Latin of the original, without at the same time modernising and vulgarising the whole atmosphere of the Satire: and

PREFACE

here no attempt to do anything of the kind has been made. A standard of translation, however, which insists on a reflection not only of the thoughts of the writer but of the vehicle in which he conveys them, is, to say the least, an exacting one, and has seldom been attained. As Charles Lamb has observed, "Words involving notions, are hard enough to render: it is too much to expect us to translate a sound, and give an elegant version to a jingle." From the further implication, however, that the humour and satiric force of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* depend mainly on the droll villainess of their Latinity, the present writer must emphatically dissent. On the contrary, he is of opinion that the edge of the satire could not wholly be blunted even by the crudest translation. Yorick, we may be sure, did not doff his infinite jest and excellent fancy with his motley, and the comic ineptitudes of the "Obscure Men" are not solely involved in the verbal trappings of their *Letters*: their satiric foolishness is of their very essence—though we bray them in a mortar yet will it not depart from them.

There is, indeed, good reason to believe that the canine Latin in question is, after all, no very extravagant caricature of the "pseudo-vernacular" of the day, and that it appears far more ludicrous in our eyes than it did to contemporaries.

But the narrow bounds of a Preface are not suitable lists for a controversy. The translator will be content if his rendering is regarded as a mere device for relieving the notes of a good deal of exegetical matter: he has aimed at making it close rather than literal, for it is a curious fact—not, however, incapable of explanation—that a word-for-word translation would frequently have the effect of converting phrases of medieval naïveté into quite modern vulgarisms.

It is, however, not impossible that, with some, "untranslatable" may mean "ill-suited for translation in any form." This is a point on which it is surely needless to dwell at any length. The authors, to use Bishop Creighton's words, "Created their puppets and pulled their strings with all the heedlessness of rollicking and unchastened drollery;" and it was the drollery of the

PREFACE

sixteenth century. No student of the lampoons of the Middle Ages expects to find them couched in terms of impeccable decorum. From Aristophanes to Swift, through that long line which includes the authors of the *Narrenschiff*, the *Encomium Moriae*, and *Pantagruel*, satirists have claimed, and exercised, the right of waging war on folly, vice, ignorance, and hypocrisy, not only with barbed arrows but, upon occasion, with weapons more nearly allied to the malodorous missiles of Eastern pirates.

In exhibiting this freedom, here and there, the *Epistolae* do but resemble their congeners; but one thing is certain—coarseness is never introduced into them for its own sake, or as mere buffoonery to please the groundlings. Burke, in a well-known passage, speaks of an epoch in which “vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness”; perhaps our authors were moralists of sterner stuff, and did not believe in the desirability of completely defecating vice; so they preserved some of its grossness, the better to scoff at its stupidity.

After all, as for the Obscure Men themselves, it is impossible for us to be very angry with them: when we feel inclined to chastise one of the saucy simpletons, he puts on a look of such comic deprecation, and makes such frank confession, that we are disarmed: we can but turn aside, to hide a smile.

In the Introduction some account has been given of the singular sequence of events that led to the publication of the Satire; the vexed question of its authorship is touched upon, and an attempt has been made to sketch in outline portraits of some of the personages concerned, who, though far from insignificant, are to-day scarcely known even by name, except to historical specialists.

The *Epistolae*, lying as they do between two great epochs of history, are inextricably entangled in the web of each, and the difficulty of compressing almost indispensable elucidations within what are perforce narrow bounds has been acutely felt. The main stream of the narrative may seem to lie smoothly enough before us, but some tempting backwater pre-

PREFACE

sents itself at every turn. Into such alluring pleasures the leisured reader will find his own way.

A text that contains intentional blunders, and in which the grammar is a law to itself, seems to call for exceptional treatment.

It is the Editor's opinion that emendations in such a case should be resorted to very sparingly, if at all.

The text of the First Edition of each of the successively issued portions of the *Epistolae* has, accordingly, been in all essentials closely adhered to. The precise reproduction of error, except by mechanical facsimile, involves, however, difficulties of its own, and in a few instances unwelcome "accuracies" may perhaps have passed unnoticed.

The numerous typographical ligatures have, as a rule, been resolved, except when ambiguous or distinctive of an edition; but mere abbreviations, such as *Sal.* for *Salutem*, or *M.* for *Magister*, have been retained.

Eccentricities in the use of capitals and in punctuation have been preserved, but, as a concession to the modern reader, quotation marks are introduced, and each period begins with a capital letter.

Where *e*, with or without a subscript, stands in the original text for *ae*, the latter is everywhere employed. The usage of the early editions in this respect seems determined merely by caprice of the printers, or imperfections of the type.

Variant readings in the early editions, that seem at all worthy of note, are given in Appendix I.

F. G. S.

LONDON, 1909.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The following brief description of the various editions of the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum will suffice for their identification and discrimination.

1. *The first edition of the First Part ; cited in this work as [A].*

Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad Venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortuinum Gratium Daventriensem Coloniae Agrippinae bonas litteras docentem: varijs & locis & temporibus missae: ac demum in volumen coactae. *Colophon*: Et sic est finis epistolarum obscurorum virorum Deo gratio ejusque sancte matri. In Venetia impressum in impressoria Aldi Minutii: Anno quo supra: etiam cavisatum est ut in aliis ne quis audeat post nos imprimere per decennium per illustrissimum principem Venetianorum. 4to, 18 ff. (Contains Epp. 1-41 of Part I.) Title in Roman, the text in Gothic type.

2. *The second edition of the First Part ; cited in this work as [B].*

Title and colophon as in [A]. 4to, 22 ff. Title and text in Roman type.

3. *The third edition of the First Part ; cited as [C].*

Epistole . . . coacte. Cum multis aliis epistolis in fine annexis quae in prima impressura non habentur. 4to, 20 ff. *Colophon* as before. Gothic type throughout. Contains Epp 1-48 of Part I.

4. *The first edition of the Second Part ; cited as [D].*

Gothic type throughout. Engraved title (reproduced in facsimile, p. 130). *Colophon*: Impressum Romanae Curiae. 4to, 24 ff. Contains Epp. 1-62 of Part II.

5. *The second edition of the Second Part ; cited as [E].*

Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum: nil preter Lusum continentes . . . meruerunt. . . Cum Additionibus novo Privilegio ad septennium Sancitis. 4to, 36 ff. Gothic type throughout. Contains Epp. 1-70 of Part II.

6. *The fourth edition of the First Part.*

Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, ad D. M. Ortuinum Gratium, Attico lepore refertae . . . salibus refertum. M.D.LVI. 8vo, 215 pp. (Roman type throughout, as in all succeeding edd.)

7. Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum . . . prae caeteris editionibus locupletatae & auctae. . . 1556. *Colophon*: Romae stampato con privilegio del Papa, & confirmato in lugo, qui vulgo dicitur, Belvedere. Finis. 12mo. (Second Part only.)

8. Duo volumina Epistolarum Obscurorum Virorum . . . salibus refertum. M.D.LVI. 12mo. *Colophon* as in (7).

9. Duo Volumina Epistolarum Obscurorum Virorum. M.D.LVII. 12mo. [The Brit. Mus. copy has the autograph of Ben Jonson.]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

10. Duo Volumina . . . M.D.LXX.
11. Duo Volumina . . . Francoforti ad Moenum, 1581.
12. Epistolarum Obscurorum Virorum . . . Accesserunt hac editione multa magistralia interlocutoria, quae jam primum valde delectabiliter prodeunt. Francoforti ad Moenum. M.D.XCIX. 8vo.
13. 8vo. Francoforti ad Moenum. M.DC.XXIV.
14. 12mo. Francoforti Ad Moenum. Anno M D C XLIII.
15. 12mo. Obscurorum Virorum Epistolae . . . Utopiae, cum privilegio per decennium.
16. 12mo. Londini Apud Editorem Anno M DC LXXXIX.
17. 12mo. Tertio Volumine Auctae. Londini, Apud Editorem (*without date*).
18. 12mo. Londini: Impensis Hen. Clements, ad insigne lunae falcatae, in Coemeterio Aedis Divi Pauli. M DCC X.
19. As (18). MDCCXLII.
20. 8vo. Francofurti, Sumptibus Jo. August Raspe. CIO IO CC LVII.
21. 8vo. Herausgeben und erläutert durch Dr. Ernst Münch. Leipzig, 1827.
22. 8vo. Recognita et praefatione a Dño H. W. Rotermundo . . . Hannoverae . . . MDCCCXXVII.
23. Editio secunda . . . Hannoverae . . . MDCCCXXX.
24. 16mo. Lipsiae: in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri. A. MDCCCLVIII.
25. 16mo. Lipsiae: in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri. A. MDCCCLXIII.
26. 8vo. Lipsiae. A. MDCCCLXIII. "Ulrichi Hutteni Equitis Operum Supplementum." . . . Collegit recensuit adnotavit Edvardus Böcking.

TRANSLATIONS

- i. Lettres des Hommes Obscurs, traduites du latin par Victor Develay. Paris, 1870. 24mo. [The First Series only.]
 - ii. Briefe von Dunkelmännern, Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, an . . . O. G. aus Deventer . . . Zum erstenmal ins Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. Wilhelm Binder. Stuttgart, 1876. 8vo.
- Another edition, Köstritz, 1904 [1903], 8vo. Another edition, Gera, *s.a.*, 8vo.

INTRODUCTION

I

IT is a characteristic of great Satire that its savour can seldom be appreciated, and its true inwardness grasped without due study of the context—the context being the history of the period to which it belongs. The satirist may incidentally so lash the vices and follies of the natural man that readers in every age wince as though the whip cracked at their own ears, but many of the most famous examples of this branch of literature must be regarded—apart from their general application—as veritable historical documents, in view both of the causes that begat them, and the effects that they engendered.

The primary cause of the revival of Satire in Germany shortly before the epoch of the Reformation was, of course, the general intellectual ferment that heralded the great upheaval; but the secondary causes which led to the publication of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* and gave them their peculiar form and hue are both numerous and complex. In order to weave an account of the genesis of the *Letters* into a coherent narrative, we must accordingly take up a thread here, and a thread there; we must convey some notion of the characters of the protagonists in the strange tragi-comedy to which they are related; and we must supply some sketch, however slight, of the spacious stage on which the drama was enacted.

When the sixteenth century dawned the forces of the Renaissance in Italy had begun to wane, and Italy herself—torn by raging factions, and the quarry of competing dynasties—had already entered upon the most disastrous period of her political history.

Art, it is true, still flourished in full vigour; the life-work of Michelangelo and Raphael was yet to be

INTRODUCTION

accomplished, and Bramante was in his prime—but it was otherwise in the world of Letters. The Revival of Learning was from its very nature a transient phenomenon. The awakening glory of sunrise affects the imagination more forcibly than noontide's steadier glow, and scholars in Italy were already turning their attention from the revival of an old literature to the creation of a new. Moreover, the growing possibilities of the vernacular were beginning once more to be borne in upon writers of genius, and the Italian of Machiavelli and Ariosto was destined soon to eclipse the Latinity of Filelfo and Politian. The day, indeed, was at hand when "Italy, after receiving the lamp of learning from the dying hands of Hellas, in the days of her own freedom," was to give it in the time of her adversity and ruin to the nations of the north.¹

Even through the night of the Dark Ages a "phantom of false morning" had gleamed from time to time, and Humanism—in fact, if not in name—had found its way across the Alps long before the close of the fifteenth century. Greek scholars and teachers, who had for many years found an appreciative and lucrative field for their energies in Italy, flocked thither in increasing numbers when the walls of Constantinople fell before the Moslems' cannon, and not a few of their pupils were to be met with scattered sporadically over western Europe. To instance Germany alone—Johann Wessel (1420–89), known as *Lux Mundi* and *Magister Contradictionum*, had studied in both Greece and Italy, and was acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—teaching these languages privately at Cologne, Heidelberg, and Basle: the mathematician Johann Müller, of Königsberg (1436–76), better known as Regiomontanus, spent seven or eight years in Italy studying Greek: Rudolph Agricola (1443–85) learnt Greek under Theodore Gaza at Ferrara, and afterwards lectured on the classics at Heidelberg.

But the voices of men such as these, crying in the wilderness of an arid scholasticism, fell for the most part on deaf ears. For the German universities had become the strongholds of bigotry and intolerance—

¹ J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, 1897, p. 398.

INTRODUCTION

and in them the Faculty of Theology was ever the dominating keep.

Any striving after pure Latinity was suspect. "For (saie they) it is not for the dignitee of holie writte, our profession, that we should be compelled to folow any grammer rules: which," remarks Erasmus, "is a great majestee of these Duns doctours, if to them onely it be lawfull to speak false latine, notwithstanding that many coblers and clowters can doe that as well as thei."¹ Was there not also on record that famous saying of Gregory the Great: "The place of prepositions and the cases of nouns I utterly despise, since I deem it unfit to confine the words of the celestial oracles within the rules of Donatus"? This, perhaps, mattered the less, since the celestial oracles seemed to many to have grown dumb.

Let us not be misunderstood. The sufficiently obvious extravagancies of scholasticism invite facile derision, but the system had a share, and no small share, in the evolution of humanity. Few who have acquired, at first hand, even a smattering of their writings, will be disposed to deny such men as Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and Albert the Great a place among the acutest intellects of all time. It is indeed difficult to stifle the reflection that had such keen minds as theirs but worked upon Astronomy, Pure Mathematics, or Physics, the discoveries of Galileo, Newton, and Faraday might have been anticipated, and civilisation might have already reached a stage of development not destined to be attained for two or three centuries.

The human brain in the Middle Ages was, in fact, an engine to the full as powerful and as subtle as it is to-day: but—the pity of it!—its exquisite machinery was made to waste much of its available energy in vain endeavours to weave cats'-cradles out of moonshine, and in the fifteenth century it creaked at its task of re-clouting an already botched and darned cloak alleged to have belonged to one Aristotle. "What will the Turks think of us," asks Erasmus, "when they hear of our perplexed subtleties about Instants, Formalities, Quiddities and Relations?" Such was the dreary wilder-

¹ Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae* (Challoner's translation).

INTRODUCTION

ness of pedantry that then passed for knowledge. And "the scholastic philosophy was securely entrenched behind the scholastic theology."¹

Beyond their narrow horizon, wrangling Thomists and Scotists caught no glimpse of

" . . . the glory that was Greece,
And the grandeur that was Rome."

Yet even in the universities certain stirrings of the blood, "blind motions of the Spring," were manifest. "Some, indeed, of the restorers of polite letters," writes Sir William Hamilton, "taught as salaried or extraordinary instructors in the universities of Germany; but the influence they exerted was personal, and the toleration they obtained precarious. Depending always on the capricious patronage of the Prince, they were viewed as intruders by those bodies who constituted and governed these institutions. From them they encountered, not only discouragement, but oppression; and the biography of the first scholars who attempted, by public instruction, to disseminate a taste for classical literature in the great schools of Germany, exhibits little else than a melancholy series of wanderings and persecutions — abandoning one university only, in general, to be ejected from another."²

The fitful aid of princely patrons in spreading the new learning was indubitably of no small importance, but the vigorous growth they fostered sprang from a germ planted by quite other hands.

The remarkable semi-monastic body, variously known as Brethren of the Common Lot, *Fratres Hieronymici*, and Gregorians, instituted about 1375 by Geert Groete (Gerhardus Magnus) and Florentinus Radewins, was in fact a tangible protest against the growing corruption of monasticism.³ Its founders recognised that immorality was an inevitable concomitant of sloth and ignorance. Gerhard had listened to the famous priest and mystic Johann Ruysbroek as he inveighed in unmeasured terms against the

¹ Sir R. C. Jebb, *Erasmus*, p. 44.

² *Edinburgh Review*, March 1831, p. 182.

³ See Gieseler, *Church History*, New York, 1868, vol. iii.

INTRODUCTION

gluttony and voluptuousness of monks and nuns alike, against the avarice of the holders of pluralities—nay, greatly daring, against the pomps and vanities of the Roman Curia itself—and Ruysbroek's fervid oratory found its first practical result in the establishment of the *fraterhuis* at Deventer, near Zutphen—the forerunner of several similar fraternities. Here was gathered together a circle of young men—laymen for the most part—devoting their lives to the exercise of piety and charity, and especially to the work of education. The Brethren were not consciously humanists; their educational methods seem to have been characterised by no striking originality; but, whether consciously or not, they were initiating a revolution. Learning was perishing of anæmia in the stagnant air of gloomy cloisters—Gerhard and his successors strove to drag it into the sunshine and beneficent breezes, amidst healthy human life.

The famous Latin school of Deventer had existed long before the *fraterhuis* was established, but although there was no ostensible connection between the two institutions, neither was there any spirit of jealous rivalry. On the contrary, the School and the Fraternity worked hand in hand; the brethren took the keenest interest in the welfare of the scholars; under their wise patronage the school prospered greatly—eminent teachers were attracted to it, new text-books were introduced, hitherto neglected classics were read, and before the end of the fifteenth century there issued, either from Deventer or the allied seminary near Zwolle, “nearly the whole band of those illustrious scholars, who, in defiance of every opposing circumstance, succeeded in rapidly elevating Germany to a higher European rank in letters than (rebarbarised by polemical theology and religious wars) she was again able to reach for almost three centuries thereafter.”

Conspicuous among the names of these pioneers of the New Learning at the end of the fifteenth century are three: Rudolf von Langen—who revived the fame of the school at Münster, and heedless of the opposition of the friars of Cologne, revolutionised its teaching: Ludwig von Dringenberg—who at Schlett-

INTRODUCTION

stadt had for his pupils the all-accomplished Celtis; Wimpheling, theologian, scholar, and educationist; Beatus Rhenanus; Pirckheimer, whose rugged features are familiar to us from Durer's famous portrait; and Bebelius: and, thirdly, Alexander Hegius—prince of pedagogues.

Hegius personally had but slender claims to scholarship—"small Latin and less Greek" would seem not unfairly to sum up his attainments—but it seems evident that he had, like Richard Hooker, "a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of his pupils," as well as that power, characteristic of all great schoolmasters, of arousing their enthusiasm, and communicating to them an intellectual impetus able to carry them far beyond the limitations of their teacher. After having for thirty-three years presided over the school at Deventer, Hegius died in 1498, leaving behind him not "only his books and his clothes," as tradition relates, but the enduring fame of having turned out such scholars as Buschius, Caesarius, Murmellius, Mutianus, and the great Erasmus himself.

Nor should we omit from the list of the *alumni* of Deventer the name of Ortuinus Gratius—Ortwin von Graes—in scholarship respectable, but damned to everlasting fame as the butt of the keenest arrows ever launched by relentless wit against arrogant bigotry.

It will be seen, therefore, that the intellectual condition of Germany at the dawn of the sixteenth century was strikingly anomalous. Signs of awakening from long sleep were everywhere manifest—except in those seats of learning where they might have been expected to be first observable. Free-lances were in all directions "pricking on the plain," but they met with scant hospitality within the portcullises of the grim castles where Bigotry and Ignorance held court, not without gross and sordid revelry. The barbarous Latinity of the Middle Ages still sufficed for aspirants for university degrees—the lectures and examinations of the various faculties implied no higher attainment than rote-knowledge of the dogmas

INTRODUCTION

of an effete philosophy. The growing enthusiasm aroused by the teachings of the German humanists spread envy and even dismay among the patrons of scholasticism; the degrees conferred by German universities were despised—it became a point of honour among young and ambitious scholars not to graduate; this touched professorial purses, for the hostels, or boarding-houses, from which many dons of the day were wont to reap a rich harvest, began to be deserted. It was said that examiners were afraid to “plough” candidates, lest they should frighten freshmen away.¹ Finding both their influence and emoluments slipping from them, what wonder that obfuscated dominies over their cups would lament that the universities were “going to the dogs”—or, roused to passion, inveigh against the “preachers of perversion,” and “winnowers of the devil’s chaff”?

Leipsic expelled successively the humanists Celtis, Buschius, and Aesticampianus; but it was the great University of Cologne which “stood proudly eminent in its hostility to the new intelligence; for improvement was there opposed by the united influence of the monks and masters.”²

It has been already mentioned that when von Langen began to introduce educational reforms at Münster, it was from Cologne that opposition, fortunately futile, proceeded. Foiled in this attempt, the obscurants of that venerable seminary resisted only the more strenuously every effort at a reform in Cologne itself. Scholar after scholar they thwarted, bullied, and drove from their gates. Caesarius, Joannes and Serratus Aedicollus, Murmellius, and Hermannus Buschius were in turn branded as corrupters of youth, and expelled with contumely—the last named, however, returning thrice to the attack, and living to see the principles he had championed triumphant in the end.

All these skirmishes, however, were but preliminary, or accessory, to the great conflict. The issues of the

¹ See E. O. V. ii. 46, and 58.

² Sir W. Hamilton, *Discussions in Philosophy, Literature, and Education*, 1855.

INTRODUCTION

battle between light and darkness were to be joined in a manner none could have foreseen. It is with this central struggle that we are here concerned.

II

In the summer of 1509¹, while the Emperor Maximilian was preparing the fruitless siege of Padua, a strange visitor reached his camp and craved an audience.

Johann Pfefferkorn (originally Joseph), a Jew by birth, had embraced Christianity some three years before, and with all a convert's zeal had immediately proceeded to prove his sincerity by attacking the fold that he had quitted. The man's personal character seems to have been shady. It has been alleged that to the honest calling of a butcher he added the occasional avocation of burglary. Geiger has denied this, and deems him merely a fanatic, but a more recent discovery of documents at Amsterdam¹ shows that Count von Gutenberg imprisoned him, and revives the old suspicion that he took "refuge in Christianity from the punishment which his crimes had merited from the hands of his countrymen." Erasmus, indeed, later on—under some provocation, it is true—expressed his opinion of Pfefferkorn by succinctly describing him as "Ex scelerato Judaeo sceleratissimus Christianus."²

Before a year had elapsed since his baptism there had appeared in Pfefferkorn's name a pamphlet entitled *Der Joeden Spiegel*, "The Mirror of the Jews," to be immediately followed by a Latin version of the same, *Speculum adhortationis Judaicae*. Pfefferkorn himself was almost illiterate, and the appearance of the *Speculum* is the first indication of the patronage extended to the convert by the Dominicans of Cologne, and the collaboration of at least one of their allies in his writings. The "Mirror" contained little that was noteworthy or new. Its arguments are minatory, rather than persuasive. The stubbornness of the

¹ Graetz, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte . . . des Judenthums*, Breslau, 1875, p. 289.

² Ep. cc. (1706).

INTRODUCTION

Jews should be broken, the writer urges, by their being compelled to attend sermons and to relinquish usury, but especially by the destruction of their books—those founts of heresy and blasphemy. Let them keep their Bible, and nothing else.

Next year, 1508, there appeared “The Jews’ Confession,”¹ ostensibly by the same author, and of this no less than six editions, in Latin and High and Low German, were published in twelve months. The object of this tract was to ridicule various Jewish rites. On the Day of Atonement, we are told, the Jews whirl white cocks and hens round their heads, crying, “I am released from my sins! Thou goest to thy death, and I to eternal life!” Whereupon they kill and eat these substitutes for the scapegoat. At other times they purge their offences by shaking their garments over running water in which there are fishes—or, failing this, they wait for a high wind to blow away their sins like dust.

At the beginning of 1509 two other pamphlets, each in German and Latin garb, issued from the same prolific source. One deals with the Paschal Feast, and in the other, “The Jews’ Enemy,”² it is pointed out that Jews become physicians merely to facilitate the murder of Christians: the author is, however, liberal-minded enough to admit that their employment as scavengers might be unobjectionable.

It is worthy of note that the latter tract contained an anti-Semitic epigram by Ortuinus Gratius, who had become a prominent member of the Faculty of Arts at Cologne.

It was, therefore, soon after the publication of “The Jews’ Enemy” that Pfefferkorn sought an audience of the emperor. Maximilian, though good-natured and impulsive, had just then much to occupy his thoughts, and it is improbable that the uncouth visitor would have gained access to the imperial presence, had he not been influentially backed. But Pfefferkorn’s credentials were unimpeachable.

The emperor’s fair sister, the Princess Kunigunde,

¹ *Der joeden bicht*; *Libellus de Judaica Confessione*.

² *Der Juden Veindt*; *Hostis Judaeorum*.

INTRODUCTION

who had caused her father much grief by her clandestine marriage with his foe, Duke Albert of Munich, lost her husband in 1508; and the disconsolate widow forthwith retired from a distasteful world—entering the Franciscan Convent of Santa Clara at Munich. Of this she became abbess, and mortified her flesh with fastings and scourgings. To this noble lady Pfefferkorn had secured an introduction.

No record exists of what must have been an interesting interview between the *quondam* butcher and the widowed princess: we can but form inferences from its results. The renegade was undoubtedly armed with commendatory letters from the Dominicans, and we may assume that his zeal, whether real or affected, soon fanned the glow of piety within the royal abbess's breast into a flame of fanaticism. At any rate a letter to her brother was soon forthcoming from Kunigunde: its purport was quite simple—the Jews ought to be gagged and robbed, and Pfefferkorn was the man to do it.

On August 19, 1509, Maximilian—the natural liberality of his disposition overcome either by the arguments of Pfefferkorn or the fervid entreaties of his sister—issued a mandate. Its tenor was all that the Dominicans could have desired. Jews in every town in Germany were required to deliver up to Pfefferkorn, for destruction, in the presence of a parish priest and two municipal councillors, all Hebrew books that called in question Christian tenets, or upheld Judaism. The net was a wide one. An ancient literature, in short, was to be swept away at the will of the ignorant agent of pedantic bigots who could not read a line of it.

Pfefferkorn's next move was a bold one, though, as the event proved, it was injudicious. He selected Frankfort-on-Main as the scene of his first operations. In that flourishing city there were then many students of Talmudic literature, and to gather thence a rich harvest for the flames would inspire everywhere a wholesome respect for the imperial mandate. It is possible that there was another motive that could not well be avouched. Many Jews of considerable wealth then dwelt in the Juden-gasse of Frankfort, where the

INTRODUCTION

ancestral house of the Rothschilds still stands, a monument of "unhappy, far-off times." Hebrew manuscripts were often among the most treasured possessions of such well-to-do men. Pfefferkorn's baptism had, perchance, not obliterated the hereditary instinct, that, like an unerring divining-rod points to subterranean streams feeding "The Secret River of Gold": why should not Israelites of substance keep their cherished books, after all—for a consideration? Not only does one of the "Obscure Men" bluntly declare this to be at the root of the whole matter, but Melancthon in a grave discourse delivered many years later, records, as an historical fact, that "the impostor knew very well that the Jews would forthwith seek to redeem their books for large sums."¹

Pfefferkorn presented himself at Frankfort on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles—Friday, Sept. 28—and in the presence of more than the necessary quorum of clergy and civil officers—but he himself being the sole judge—confiscated all the prayer-books in the synagogue. Elated by this success, he then seems to have lost his head, for he had the audacity to forbid the Jews to attend the synagogue on the coming solemn feast-day. The clergy, however, felt that this was going too far, and they determined to postpone further action in the matter until the following Monday. This gave the Jews a breathing-space of which they made good use. They communicated with the *Kammergericht* at Worms—they pointed out that liberty, within well-ascertained bounds, had been accorded to them in charters granted in times past by popes and emperors—they demanded a stay of further proceedings with a view to an appeal to Maximilian himself—and, best of all, they sent an urgent messenger to their lawful ecclesiastical authority, the Archbishop and Elector of Mainz.

Uriel von Gemmingen was a man of an independent spirit, and he could scarcely fail to be not a little piqued at Pfefferkorn's arrogant interference with the affairs of his diocese. He peremptorily ordered his clergy to take no further part in the matter; and the Senate of

¹ Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reform.*, xi. 1007.

INTRODUCTION

Frankfort, glad of an excuse for withdrawing from a quarrel in which they could have taken but little interest, thereupon followed suit, and let the business drop. Archbishop Uriel, moreover, wrote to the emperor, pointing out, in courtly terms, that Pfefferkorn was a blundering ass, and that if it was really desirable to overhaul Jewish literature, it would be well to depute the investigation to men who knew something about the subject. Pfefferkorn himself he treated with great tact, inviting him to Aschaffenburg, and telling him confidentially that there was a legal flaw in the mandate, which the Jews would have discovered sooner or later and turned to their advantage.

III

It is now necessary to interrupt the course of our narrative and introduce a new actor upon the scene.

"The origin of philology or sound scholarship," writes Dr. Donaldson, "is to be sought on this side of the Alps; its beginner was John Reuchlin."¹ Be this as it may, Reuchlin was indisputably the most learned scholar in all Germany during the early years of the sixteenth century. By a singular combination of tastes and talents this remarkable man excelled at once as a humanist and a man of affairs, as a jurist and a mystic, and, above all, as a pioneer among orientalists, so that it has been said of him, enthusiastically but not unjustly, that he was the "first who opened the gates of the East, unsealed the word of God, and unveiled the sanctuary of Hebrew wisdom."

In 1455, when the Mazarin Bible was being printed by Gutenberg, Reuchlin, who sprang from a burgher stock, was born at Pforzheim, in the Black Forest, and throughout his life he took pleasure in recalling the place of his birth and earliest education by dubbing himself *Phorcensis*. At the age of fifteen he entered the rising University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, where he attained to such proficiency in Latin as its teachers could impart. In his eighteenth year, having entered the service of the Margrave of Baden-Durlach in the

¹ J. W. Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, § xxii., 1868.

INTRODUCTION

humble capacity of a singing-man, Reuchlin found himself by a sudden turn of fortune appointed bear-leader to one of the Margrave's sons, and accompanied his charge to Paris, where, under the tuition of the eminent rector of the university, Johannes a Lapide (von Steyn), he commenced the study of Greek. This he continued at Basle, returning, however, to Paris in 1477, to sit at the feet of the famous George Hermonymus, who had recently arrived there. Jurisprudence next claimed Reuchlin's attention, and with his accustomed ardour he devoted himself to its study at Orleans and Poitiers.

Returning to Germany in 1481, Reuchlin soon attracted the attention of Eberhard, Count, and afterwards first Duke, of Würtemberg, and not many months had elapsed before the young scholar found himself on the way to Rome, holding a position of some dignity in the train of his noble patron. Sixtus IV. then occupied the papal throne. With all his faults, the builder of the Sistine Chapel was a liberal patron of art and literature, and among the many men of learning attracted to the court of Rome was the renowned John Argyropoulos, who for fifteen years had held the chair of Greek at Florence. Among scholars even of this calibre Reuchlin held his own, and the story goes that Argyropoulos, sorely piqued at the young German's mastery of Thucydides, exclaimed testily, "Greece has flown over the Alps!"

On his return to Germany honours and emoluments fell thickly upon Reuchlin. Now Doctor of Civil Law, he was appointed Procurator of the Dominican Order, and Assessor of the Supreme Court. To Eberhard he was ever a trusted counsellor.

For ten years Reuchlin, now a married man, was busily employed in affairs of state and in the performance of various judicial duties, but in 1492 he paid another visit to Italy, which lasted for a year and had momentous consequences. Falling under the personal influence of the dazzling but chaotic genius of Pico della Mirandola—who contemplated humanism and scholasticism with impartial eyes, and yearned for the reconciliation of irreconcilable ideas—the German

INTRODUCTION

scholar was strangely attracted by Pico's belief that in the mysteries of the Jewish *Cabbala* lay the hidden clue by which Platonic philosophy and Christian doctrine might be shown to be but diverse aspects of one Truth. Pico's discourse concerning "Secrete misteryes of the hebrewes, caldyes and arabies,"¹ as well as "ye olde obscure philosophye of Pythagoras, trimegistus, and orpheus" fired Reuchlin's imagination. But to grapple with the *Cabbala* without a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue was, of course, impossible. Reuchlin accordingly placed himself under the guidance of able Jewish teachers, and made astonishingly rapid progress in a language in which but few Gentiles had hitherto even dabbled. In ordinary circumstances it would be thought presumptuous in a student who had devoted himself to a difficult language for barely two years to publish a work upon the subject. But Reuchlin was not an ordinary man, and, unlike many scholars, he was eager to instil into the minds of others a desire to follow in his own footsteps, and explore the almost unknown fields where he had shown the way. Accordingly in 1494 there appeared from his pen, in the form of a treatise *De Verbo Mirifico*, a glowing panegyric on the Hebrew tongue. "In this divine language," he says, "God speaks with men, and men with angels, face to face, as one friend converses with another." For several years Reuchlin's name had been Grecised, after the custom of the times, as Capnio, or Capnion² (though Reuchlin himself was chary of using the "humanistic" form), and the framework of the book is a conversation between a rabbi—Baruchias, and a Christian—Capnio. It is shown that all the religious mysteries of pagan nations, even the details of their ritual, "are but travesties of Hebrew truths concealed in the words, and even in the shapes of the letters, of the Hebrew tongue."³

In 1496, Duke Eberhard I. having died, Reuchlin, ill at ease in the dissolute court of his successor, migrated to Heidelberg, to be received with open arms

¹ Sir Thomas More, *Lyfe of John Picus*.

² Gk., *καπνός*; Ger., *Rauch*.

³ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, 1892, iv. p. 463.

INTRODUCTION

by the learned, while the Elector Philip, at once recognising his worth, made him a member of his council, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Rome. This gave Reuchlin an opportunity of making further progress in his favourite study under the guidance of Obadyah Sforno of Cesena. On his return from Italy Reuchlin betook himself once more to Stuttgart, where the third duke, Ulrich, was still a minor, and in 1502 he attained his highest judicial rank as a Judge of the Swabian League.

The year 1506 saw the publication of Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, an elementary Hebrew grammar—largely derived from a work by the rabbi, David Kimchi, quoted by Boswell—but displaying wide reading, and destined to have a powerful effect in attracting the attention of scholars to Semitic studies.

The necessary limitations of this Introduction do not permit of reference to Reuchlin's many other literary labours in the field of pure scholarship. If we have succeeded in suggesting the outline of his interesting personality, it must suffice. Geiger's admirable "Life," unfortunately, still awaits a translator.¹

Somewhat close intercourse with learned Jews of the best type naturally aroused in Reuchlin's heart a kindly interest in the scattered and persecuted people whose sacred, philosophical, and mystic literature he had now grappled with for ten years, and towards the end of 1505 he was led to publish, at Pforzheim, a pamphlet of ten pages, entitled, *Doctor Iohannis Reuchlins tütsch missiue: warumb die Judē so lang im ellend sind*. The author inquires into the causes of the Jews' long and miserable exile, attributes it to their obstinate denial of Christ, and ends by inviting any Israelite in search of instruction in the tenets of the true faith to come to him, not merely as a catechumen but as a guest. It is whispered that even at the present day creature comforts, as aids to faith, are not wholly neglected, but if the learned and hospitable doctor

¹ L. Geiger, *J. Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipsic, 1871.

For an interesting and suggestive sketch of Reuchlin's career—to which the present writer is glad to acknowledge his indebtedness for several useful hints—the reader may consult Mr. W. S. Lilly's *Renaissance Types*, London, 1901.

INTRODUCTION

made any converts, the fact has not been recorded. Perhaps Frau Reuchlin had a word to say upon the project, or the invitation met with no response. At any rate we hear no more of the matter, and Reuchlin's first Jewish visitor of whom we have any certain information was none other than that "most scelerate Christian," Johann Pfefferkorn himself—eager to flesh his new-girt weapon upon the hapless rabbis of Frankfort. Some historians, notably Graetz, have seen a subtle design in this visit—a device to entrap Reuchlin, and exhibit him in the ranks of the bigots. The suggestion seems unfounded. Reuchlin was known as a Hebraist; he was the legal representative of the Dominican body in Germany, and he had publicly signified his desire to make Christian proselytes. What more natural, in the circumstances, than that he should be confidently appealed to?

One thing is clear—Pfefferkorn gained little by his interview. Reuchlin's scholarly instincts rose in revolt against the suggestion that he should become an accessory in the murder of a venerable literature: moreover, he was not favourably impressed by the renegade himself, whose literary qualifications he evidently doubted.

Reuchlin, indeed, has recorded that in his library he quietly tested Pfefferkorn by directing his attention to a Talmudical work, whereupon his visitor shuffled, and explained that he had only studied the Bible. The learned jurist naturally found no difficulty in putting his finger upon the apparent informality in the imperial mandate, and politely sent his visitor empty away.

After the cold douche administered by Archbishop Uriel, the attack upon Hebrew literature for the moment slackened, and the Jews took the opportunity of formally laying their views before the emperor through their representatives Jonathan Levi Zion of Frankfort and Isaac Triest of Ratisbon. The Margrave of Baden, too, ventured to point out to the emperor that his Jewish subjects were protected by unimpeachable charters. Maximilian treated the emissaries with urbanity, and all seemed going well, until Pfefferkorn once more appeared upon the scene, not without a commendatory

INTRODUCTION

letter, for he had again visited the pious Kunigunde upon his way.

However low an opinion we may form of Pfefferkorn's moral character and literary abilities, it is impossible to deny him credit for perseverance and skilful audacity. The career of Titus Oates reminds us that it is by no means impossible for a man, infamous, but courageous after a fashion, and entirely unscrupulous, to bring about results utterly incommensurate with his personal worth; and it must not be forgotten that in Pfefferkorn's case the vast but unobtrusive influence of the Order of Preachers was at his back.

The upshot of the wrangle was that a second imperial mandate was issued, dated Roveredo, November 10, 1509. Nominees of the Universities of Cologne, Mainz, Heidelberg and Erfurt were to sit in solemn conclave and examine all Hebrew books dealing with religious subjects—a certain number of learned Jews being present. As, however, a conference thus constituted could have led to no results, save as an occasion of laughter to the assembled rabbis, certain assessors were also named, viz., Jakob van Hoogstraten—Inquisitor and Dominican, Victor von Karben—a converted rabbi, and Johann Reuchlin. Pfefferkorn was to exercise a general supervision over their deliberations. For some reason this conference never met.

Meanwhile unauthorised raids upon Hebrew literature were renewed. Many hundreds of manuscripts were impounded at Frankfort, Jewish booksellers were molested, and there was a rumour that the coming fair would be made the occasion of a wholesale confiscation. This contingency seriously alarmed the civic authorities. Among the merchants attracted from all parts of Western Europe to the great fairs were many vendors of books, and they, like their fellow-chapmen, were usually provided with some form of passport from their native princes. Confiscation of their wares would be likely to lead to political complications, and would certainly diminish the popularity of an institution so lucrative to the city as was the *Frankfurter Messe*. The zeal of the Dominicans was accordingly checked. Not so the energy of the indefatigable Pfefferkorn. Early

INTRODUCTION

in 1510 there appeared under his name, in German and Latin, a pamphlet,¹ in which "Praise and Honour" of the emperor served as an introduction to a brief account of what had already been done in the way of suppressing Hebrew literature. The fifth chapter, it is true, contained a list of the writings the Jews were still graciously permitted to possess, but as this consists merely of the names of the various books of the Bible, transcribed in very faulty Hebrew, the writer succeeded in displaying his ignorance rather than his tolerance.

Meanwhile it had been announced under an imperial rescript, that the Jews might, at least for the time being, keep their books, provided that they made no use of them for proselytising purposes, and the whole controversy seemed likely to be forgotten, when Maximilian was moved, either by secret influence or mere vacillation, to issue yet another mandate, dated Füssen (Bavaria), July 26, 1510. The purport of this was similar to that of the second rescript, with an important exception that throws some light upon the reason of the latter having proved abortive: the same universities and eminent men were to be consulted, but there was to be no conference, and the opinions were to be collected by Archbishop Uriel. Pfefferkorn was to act as the emperor's "sollicitator," and to report progress from time to time. One of the advantages of a "Royal Commission" had evidently dawned upon the emperor.

With the reports of the universities we need not greatly concern ourselves. They were all more or less in accord upon the advisability of suppressing the Talmud,² and writings directly or indirectly subversive of Christianity. With regard to details there was a good deal of titubation, as was natural in view of the fact that the critics had to deal with books that were sealed to them. Reuchlin's carefully reasoned *Opinion*, sent by command to the prelate, was, however, of quite a different character. He brought his cultured and judicial mind to bear on a subject with which it was peculiarly competent to deal. In Melanchthon's pithy phrase, *discernit libros*—he drew

¹ *Ze lob und eer dem . . . hern Maximilian.*

² Cf. E. O. V. i. 22.

INTRODUCTION

distinctions. Certain Jewish writings that openly attacked Christianity might, he thought, with advantage be entirely suppressed, but this would leave the great bulk of Hebrew literature untouched. "Why," asks the scholar, in effect, "should we destroy books that enshrine the learning of the Ancients—that throw light on the philology of a venerable tongue, and supply an exegesis of writings held sacred by Jews and Christians alike? If the Talmud contains errors, let us render them innocuous by studying to sift the chaff from the grain." What was needed, he urged, was more light—not blindfolding. Translation of certain Cabbalistic writings had indeed formerly met with the approval of a pope. After hinting at the incompetence of men of Pfefferkorn's calibre usefully to meddle with such a difficult matter, the writer went on to urge the establishment of chairs of the Hebrew language and literature at the universities: by thus encouraging its study they would in due time be enabled to grapple fairly with the subject.

Little could Reuchlin have foreseen that this temperate, and, it should be added, confidential, document would be treated as a gage of combat, and that presently he would find himself in the thick of the fiercest mellay yet waged between the two great forces which had but recently become definitely aware of each other's existence. Yet the sealed missive was, in effect, the challenge of the New Learning to Ecclesiastical Obscurantism, in Germany—and beyond its borders.

IV

Reuchlin's *Opinion* was, as has just been observed, a confidential document. It was sent under seal to the archbishop, to be communicated to Maximilian. Pfefferkorn, however, speedily became acquainted with its contents. Perhaps as the emperor's agent he had a right to such knowledge. At any rate he made no attempt to conceal the fact, and the son of Zippor was not more incensed against Balaam than was Pfefferkorn against the calm and judicial Reuchlin. Had he not reason to cry, "I took thee to curse

INTRODUCTION

mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether!" Worse still, Reuchlin had unmistakably expressed doubts as to Pfefferkorn's literary competence, and had gone far to "aspersion his parts of speech!" It was easy for the fiery pervert to instil in his Dominican patrons the like noble rage. Should a mere jurist, forsooth, be permitted to show independence upon a question on which the Faculties of Theology were in no doubt? "Holy Mary!" cries Pastor Peter Meyer, "a child knows more theology than Doctor Reuchlin!"¹ It had not yet dawned upon the ecclesiastical mind that other than doctrinal principles were at stake.

In due time a counterblast was forthcoming. In the spring of the following year, 1511, there appeared, under Pfefferkorn's name, a pamphlet, in German, entitled *Handt Spiegel*—the Hand-glass, or Mirror—in which Reuchlin was virulently attacked. He was branded as a charlatan in learning and an apostate in religion; he was accused of being the Jews' advocate, and as such disseminating their blasphemies; finally, his motive is declared to be a mere sordid love of gain—Judas-like, he had betrayed his Master for a bribe.

The *Handt Spiegel* had a wide circulation, and attracted much attention. Its issue may, indeed, be regarded as the first instance in which the power of the Press was utilised to make a public attack upon an individual. The great periodical fairs afforded what was otherwise lacking—means of obtaining widespread dissemination for the attacks of the pamphleteer.

Reuchlin was stung to the quick. He might perhaps have smiled unmoved at the allegation of apostacy, but the charges of plagiarism and incompetency rankled in the scholar's heart. An appeal to Maximilian elicited kindly assurances from the emperor, but nothing more. The autumn fair at Frankfort was drawing near, and unless Reuchlin took prompt measures, his adversaries would have the field to themselves. He knew perfectly well by this time with whom he had to deal. Writing in 1514 to

¹ E. O. V. i. 5.

INTRODUCTION

Erasmus, he says: "It was by the emperor's own command that I presented my *Opinion* upon the proposed destruction of Hebrew writings. This *Opinion* was, however, assailed by *certain Theologians at Cologne* in language most unbecoming to Divines; they heaped upon me foul obloquy and vulgar abuse worthy of the vilest buffoons."¹ "Accordingly," he adds, "I set forth, as I was bound to do, a defence of my character and my writings."

This Defence, which appeared early in September 1511, was entitled *Augenspiegel*—referred to in Latin as *Speculum Oculare*, but the meaning of which was made quite clear by the representation of a massive pair of spectacles on the title-page.

In this vigorous counter-attack Reuchlin does not mince matters. Pfefferkorn acted as a thief in stealing the *Opinion*; the imputation of bribery is an abominable lie, as Reuchlin's accusers are well aware; he sets forth, on the other hand, more than thirty deliberate falsehoods that he has detected in the *Handt Spiegel*—and he garnishes these solid arguments with flowers of vituperation quite as gaudy as those of his enemies. In those days, however, an omission to provide such verbal decorations would have been regarded as implying a doubt, on the part of the writer, as to the righteousness of his own cause. So far the *Augenspiegel* was not unworthy of its author; but it possesses other characteristics not so admirable. Beneath its outward bravery signs of timidity are not lacking. Reuchlin quotes the *Opinion* at full length, but takes the opportunity of explaining away, or modifying, some of its most liberal-minded passages. He allows that parts of the *Talmud* may be hurtful to Christianity, and while he reminds his readers that, as Christians, they are bound to love the Jews, who are their neighbours, he throws as a sop to his foes the comforting assurance that even if Jewish manuscripts are saved from the flames, their owners, at all events, are sure of hell-fire. The writer admits, however, that he cannot be reckoned among the Theologians, and must not trespass on their province.

¹ Erasmus, Ep. cclxxxv. (1706).

INTRODUCTION

This is not the voice of the true Reuchlin. We hear, rather, the accents of the student, getting on in years, and dreading lest he should be torn from his beloved studies, and hurled into a vortex of ecclesiastical strife. But the die was cast. Never again would he with placid mind ponder a scholar's dreams while he fed his pet peacocks at Stuttgart. He had been caught in a stream from which there was no escape. He may be forgiven if he cursed the day that saw Pfefferkorn's baptism!

The Jews bought the *Augenspiegel* eagerly. The Dominicans—who no longer sought to shelter behind their stalking-horse, Pfefferkorn—tried to suppress it, but heedlessly playing into their adversaries' hands, inveighed against it from their pulpits. In short, they fitted on the cap without hesitation, and declared that it was none other than their august Order which this mere jurist had dared to accuse of unchristian conduct!

On September 7, 1511, Pfefferkorn was permitted, apparently out of sheer bravado, to preach a sermon outside the church at Frankfort, and to conclude his discourse with a solemn benediction.¹ This was a dangerous experiment, for unauthorised preachers had before then been condemned to the stake, and Pfefferkorn later on, in alluding to the matter, thought it prudent to assume a somewhat apologetic tone, and declared that he had not preached "pontificaliter" concerning mysteries of the Church, but had merely addressed his Christian audience on—usury!² No one, surely, could object to a lecture on compound interest—a subject, he might have added, that the sensational arithmetical tables published in his *Praise and Glory of Maximilian* proved the lecturer to have made peculiarly his own.

The next few months were chiefly occupied in correspondence between Reuchlin and the Cologne theologians. The result was merely an exacerbation of the controversy. On March 22, 1512, Reuchlin issued another German pamphlet in his own defence.³

¹ E. O. V. ii. 14.

² *Joannis Pepericorni Defensio*, O. iii. b.

³ *Ain clare verstantuus in tütsch uff doctor J. R.*

INTRODUCTION

This blow was countered on August 12, by Arnold von Tongern, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Cologne, in a book entitled *Articuli sive Propositiones de judaico favore nimis suspectae ex libello theutonico Joannis Reuchlin*—i.e. the *Augenspiegel*. This volume contained a *Carmen* by Ortwin Gratius, and, strangely enough, an *Elogium* by Hermann Buschius—so soon to become an active foeman in the Reuchlinists' camp.

Of Arnold von Tongern we hear much in the ensuing pages. His friends regarded him as a man of high character and exceptionally pure life. His foes painted him as something less than a man. Indeed, Reuchlin himself, while still smarting under the *Articuli*, declared that on Christ's behalf he would gladly shed his blood so freely that "the timid, lily-livered, and effeminate Arnold would not so much as look upon it without turning pale as death and falling in a swoon!"¹

Before the end of the year another yet more scurrilous pamphlet, under Pfefferkorn's name, appeared; this was the *Brantspiegell*, or Burning-glass.

Reuchlin's reply to Arnold and his colleagues was published in the spring of 1513. This was entitled *Defensio Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis . . . contra Calumniatores suos Colonienses*. In this the exasperated scholar turns to bay and slashes his assailants with every weapon of learning, sarcasm, and vituperation that he could lay his hands to.² Some of his friends thought him unwise. But Reuchlin realised by this time the importance of the fray in which he was involved, and the true nature of the foe with whom he had to grapple. The *Rabies Theologorum* had broken out in a most virulent form. The Dominicans were infuriated and in league against him. "No opposition," writes Sir W. Hamilton, "had hitherto prevailed against that powerful order, . . . while a contemporary pope emphatically declared that he would rather provoke the enmity of the most formidable sovereign than offend even a single friar of those mendicant fraternities, who, under the mantle of humility, reigned omnipotent over

¹ H. von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* (1717), ii. 93.

² Cf. E. O. V. i. 24.

INTRODUCTION

religious or philosophical views, we shall not be far wrong if we say that his sojourn in Italy had made him, in the literal sense of the word, a free-thinker—but a free-thinker who felt no impulse to impose his own faith, or want of faith, upon the world at large. We need not be greatly surprised, therefore, to learn that on returning to the Fatherland in 1503, Mutian accepted, without hesitation, a canonry at Gotha. Here, inscribing “*Beata Tranquillitas*” above his study door, he resolved to spend the rest of his days in learned leisure. Other preferments were proffered the recluse from time to time, but were invariably declined: his income sufficed to provide him with books, and he sought for nothing beyond them. Nevertheless, natural indolence, or a contempt for the opinion of the world, led Mutian to seek no literary renown. He has left no writings behind him, save his letters,¹ and, to judge from internal evidence, we may well doubt whether these were intended for publication.

Before long, however, the “blessed peace” of Gotha began to pall upon the gregarious Mutian. Society there was doubtless as dull as it was limited, and a scholar who does not write must converse. Fortunately his old university was scarce twenty miles away, and Mutian began to betake himself thither, often for considerable periods.

At Erfurt he speedily made himself the centre of a congenial circle. A band of young and ardent humanists had thither congregated: their aspirations were lofty but vague, and needed but the guidance of a leader of riper years and experience to burst the last bonds of scholastic tradition, and take their places in the forefront of the army of light. The epigrammatist Euricius Cordus, whom Lessing eulogised and imitated—Georg Burckhard, better known as Spalatinus, afterwards the friend and correspondent of Luther—the brilliant but bibulous Eobanus Hessus, then in his early youth—Justus Jonas, the brothers Eberbach, and Herebord von der Marthen, were all numbered among the young disciples who from time to time sat round Mutian’s easy-chair, and hung with mingled joy and

¹ Ed. by C. Krause: Cassel, 1885.

INTRODUCTION

bewilderment upon their master's words—drinking in his reckless heterodoxy, his neo-Platonic phantasies, learnt from Pico, Politian, and Marsilio Ficino—his eulogies of the Koran—his merry scoffs at the pedantry that passed for learning—and his biting sarcasms on the corruption of the Church and of cloistered life, where :

“ Round many a convent's blazing fire,
Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun ;
There Venus sits disguised like a nun ;
While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
Pours out his choicest beverage high and higher ! ”

According to one of the Obscure Men, indeed, Mutian was “the worst of all the Reuchlinists, and such a hater of Theologians that he will not suffer the Divines of Cologne to be even named in his presence.”¹

Not that the members of the Erfurt circle could themselves lay claim to a high standard of asceticism : the wine-cup would not long remain full on a board at which Eoban Hesse sat ! But, for all that, the symposia of these “Poets dead and gone” were feasts of reason—high thinking there was, though the living was none too frugal. Our thoughts can scarcely fail to turn to a certain young monk then wearing away the best years of his life in the dreary convent of Fontenay-le-Comte. How gladly would François Rabelais have been welcomed within that joyous company ! Yet it were hard to say whether Pantagruel, Panurge, and Friar John would in that case have gladdened the hearts of the elect.

Making due allowance for the change of times and manners, we are reminded, too, of that *Convivium philosophicum* described by Clarendon, which gathered a century later round Lord Falkland on the lawns and terraces of Great Tew. As at Erfurt, men of learning, wit, and above all of liberal mind there gathered to discuss theology and letters, and dreamed young men's dreams of a still brighter future. As at Erfurt, they recked not of the approaching catas-

¹ E. O. V. ii. 59.

INTRODUCTION

I warded off the stroke by a legal process, and made my appeal to the Apostolic See. His Holiness thereupon remitted the case to the Bishop of Speyer for consideration, and forbade any other person whatsoever to take any steps with reference to the *Oculum Speculare*, under pain of excommunication. Upon the duly appointed judge opening the proceedings, the Dominicans sent their proctor, but not in legal form—thus acting in contempt of the court—and strove by dilatory devices to prejudice my cause. Furthermore, while the suit was yet undetermined, and notwithstanding the Pope's inhibition, they took upon themselves to commit the said book to the flames, at Cologne. Nevertheless the Apostolic Judge hath, with the aid and counsel of Jurists and Theologians, formed and issued his judgment, the tenor whereof I now send you by reason of the kindly interest that you ever feel in all those who have the love of learning and letters at heart. If, a twelvemonth back, I—a poor dweller in the far-off Hercynian Forest—was maligned before my English friends, let me now by your support be reinstated, in despite of these evil-hearted book-burners. *καπνιον ὁ σος*, Frankfort; at the April Fair, 1514.”

The decision of the youthful Bishop of Speyer—or rather of the assessors whom he appointed—was wholly in Reuchlin's favour. The *Augenspiegel* was held not to be a heretical book; Hoogstraten had therefore slandered Reuchlin, and must be mulcted in costs.

The fury of the Dominicans may be imagined. Hoogstraten, they decided, must promptly appeal to Rome, and at the Curia he should be backed by all the influence, and much of the wealth—of the Mendicants! If they could not win their suit, they had good reasons for believing that they could protract it till Reuchlin was ruined—or dead, and then, as “Lyra Buntschuhmacher” in his enthusiasm puts it, “they would effectually damn him!”¹

In the summer of 1514 the main action of the drama is, accordingly, transferred to Rome. Leo X. had for more than a year occupied St. Peter's chair. The most thorough-paced admirers of that eminent

¹ E. O. V. i. 35.

INTRODUCTION

pontiff will not claim for him a deep interest in matters of theological controversy, yet he was destined to be entangled in the fiercest struggles that had ever been forced upon the Church.

When Hoogstraten's appeal reached him, Leo, naturally enough, was disinclined to meddle personally with the matter; but he appointed a commission to investigate the case, presided over by Dominico Grimani—Cardinal of S. Marco, and Pietro Accolti—Cardinal of S. Eusebio. The former was a man of influence and enlightenment—Erasmus mentions his library as one of the most splendid in Rome—and, being a Franciscan, he was by no means prejudiced in favour of the great rival Order.

The first step taken by the commission was, of course, to secure the attendance of the interested parties or their representatives. Hoogstraten was summoned to appear in person; Reuchlin, "in consideration of his advanced years," was allowed to appear by proctor, though, as a matter of fact, he was not yet sixty, and of sound health. Nothing, however, could have suited the Dominicans better than this arrangement. The inquisitor arrived in Rome with a well-filled purse—or, to be more accurate, with liberal orders on the bankers—and was received with open arms by the upholders of the Dominican Order at the Curia. For some months all went smoothly. Hoogstraten was lavish with his gold. His feasts were crowded with "Curialists"¹—the satirist represents the hangers-on at court greedily sponging invitations to sup with "the great Doctor from Germany, who hath come hither to defend the Cause of the Faith."

It need not, of course, be supposed that Hoogstraten had resorted to any such crude procedure as actual bribery of the princes of the Church, but civilisation was in an advanced state at Rome, and there were a hundred ways of delaying or expediting the progress of a suit, known to the legal underlings at the Curia.

Reuchlin, on the other hand, found great difficulty in even obtaining a proctor to represent him before the

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 6, ii. 26, n.

INTRODUCTION

commission.¹ The learned Jews at Rome prudently kept in the background, rightly supposing that their overt action on Reuchlin's behalf would prejudice his case. That Reuchlin was in correspondence with them seems, however, certain, and a letter from him, in Hebrew, to Bonet de Lates, the pope's Hebrew body-physician, is extant. And so the case dragged slowly on. Little else could be expected. As a courtier remarked to one of the "Obscure Men," "If Reuchlin has any money, he had better send it: at the Curia money must be forthcoming or nothing can be done."²

We must not here attempt to follow all the cross-currents of intrigue indicated by the somewhat voluminous correspondence of that day which yet survives, but we cannot omit mention of the fact that Maximilian himself appealed earnestly to the pope on Reuchlin's behalf.³ Dating his letter "Inspruck, Oct. 23, 1514," the emperor comments with considerable warmth on the unfairness, not to say the illegality, of "this parcel of Professors at Cologne" in daring to ignore the decision of the Bishop of Speyer, "his well-beloved cousin," and continuing to harass a truly honourable, learned, pious, and orthodox man. He urges the pope to quash the proceedings, and thus "to free a wholly innocent man from these vindictive accusations, and permit him to spend the rest of his days in peace, and at liberty to devote his talents to matters of real importance to the Christian Commonwealth." Maximilian, it is true, partly explains his sudden interest in the matter by adding that "these captious Theologians have even dared to cast a slur upon ourselves, and others, our liege Princes."

While Hoogstraten's money lasted he had, to all appearances, his own way; but the day came when the bankers would no longer honour his drafts, and forthwith the sky lowered; and so as time went on the Dominicans and their supporters in Germany became not a little alarmed at the threatened loss of their prestige. They probably never expected that the

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 53.

² E. O. V. ii. 32.

³ Maius, *Vit. Reuchlini*, p. 462.

INTRODUCTION

defendant would persevere in his defence. They were prepared for a little preliminary expenditure, by way of lubricating the legal machinery of the Curia—but to regard an accusation brought by their omnipotent Order as seriously arguable was in itself an insult. If an inquisitor said a book was heretical, it was heretical—and there was an end.

It is not an uncommon thing for fear to manifest itself in the form of bluster and threats, and so it happened in the case of the Predicants. To be flouted by a mere pope and emperor was more than they could endure! What did they care for the emperor? He had no authority over the Church. Even the pope was not supreme; a pope's decision could be over-ridden by a council. Nay, some of the more hot-headed even threatened a schism, and there were dark hints of joining forces with the Bohemian Brethren.¹

All this was mere froth and fury—but the Order had still an important card to play, and they now played it for what it was worth.

Hitherto the Dominicans had sought for allies only among the universities of Germany. France—or, at all events, Paris—remained, and there they would not seek in vain. The College of the Sorbonne was at the height of its power, and it was practically identical with the theological faculty of the great university that then teemed with students. The Sorbonne, in fact, assumed, if it did not overtly claim, infallibility, and it has been truly spoken of as being, not many years later, “the refuge and fortress of the spirit of the past—the stronghold where Mediævalism fought its last fight against the mighty men of the Renaissance.” To Paris, accordingly, the anti-Reuchlinists appealed. All would be well if the Sorbonne did but condemn Reuchlin and his *Augenspiegel*. Powerful influence was at the same time exerted at the French court through the agency of Guillaume Haquinet Petit—confessor to Louis XII., as he also became to the successor of that monarch. The political rivalry existing between Louis and the emperor might reasonably be reckoned as a factor not to be disregarded. Upon

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 57.

INTRODUCTION

the question being submitted to them, the doctors of the Sorbonne were quite in their element, and they lost no time in issuing their condemnation, which appeared on December 5, 1514, under the title of *Acta Doctorum Parrhisiensium de sacratissima facultate theologica . . . contra Speculum oculare Ioannis reuchlin (etc.)*.

This thunderbolt proved innocuous ; the death of Louis XII. three weeks later doubtless prevented its being followed up as had been intended. It should be mentioned that there appeared, almost simultaneously, another dull but vituperative pamphlet, in Pfefferkorn's name, entitled *Sturm Glock* (The Tocsin). For publishing this book and the *Acta*, Quentell, the printer, had legal proceedings instituted against him on the ground that he had acted in defiance of the emperor's edict, and Pfefferkorn was coupled with him as defendant.¹

V

Meanwhile at Rome little progress was made with the great suit, the most notable fact in connection with it being the translation of the *Augenspiegel* into Latin by Martinus Gröning, by order of the court, and the consequent discovery of the fact that the translation hitherto relied upon, that, namely, provided by Hoogstraten, was grossly inaccurate. This put the whole case in a fresh light, and the arguments on both sides had to be begun anew. But while interest in the case itself slackened, the conflict it typified grew fiercer. By this time what had been at the outset a personal squabble had become a widespread campaign from which no scholar in Germany, however peace-loving, could altogether hold aloof. One after another joined the forces on either side.

And so, with ever-growing fury, the bitter fray went on. Neither party could claim the victory—peace with honour was impossible. It seemed as though every weapon of controversial hatred had been used in vain—from the ponderous artillery of pedantry to the poisoned dagger of slander.

¹ Cf. E. O. V. ii. 12.

INTRODUCTION

Nevertheless one weapon, and that the most potent, remained neglected—because in those days for the most part forgotten—the withering might of ridicule. But suddenly, at the close of 1515, “there was launched from an unknown hand, a pasquil against the persecutors of Reuchlin; it fell among them like a bomb, scattering dismay and ruin in its explosion.”¹

This, a thin quarto volume of less than forty pages, was entitled *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad venerabilem virum Magistrum Ortwinum Gratium Daventriensem Coloniae Agrippinae bonas litteras docentem: varijs & locis & temporibus missae: ac demum in volumen coactae*.

The point of the title was—or at least should have been—immediately obvious. In the spring of the preceding year Reuchlin had published a small collection of letters addressed to himself by sundry eminent scholars and distinguished men, naming the volume *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae latinae, graecae & hebraicae varijs temporibus missae ad Ioannem Reuchlin Phorcensem LL. doctorem*; and Ortwin is supposed to publish the epistles of his “obscure” correspondents, just as Reuchlin had given to the world the select letters of his illustrious friends. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how, in the face of these patent facts, any doubt could have arisen as to the precise meaning of “Obscuri Viri”: the writers are obviously not intended to be “Obscurantists,” or “Great Unknowns”—but simply, and in the literal English sense, obscure men, as opposed to men of eminence. Why Ortwin should be represented as employing so humble an epithet, and whether he was not thereby made to cast some slur upon his correspondents, are questions discussed in the sequel, with abundant humour, by one of the Obscure Men themselves.²

The plan of the satire is of the most simple, yet brilliantly original kind. The foes of the New Learning are made to display themselves—always without a trace of self-consciousness—in all their doltishness, pedantry,

¹ Hamilton, *Discussions*.

² E. O. V. ii. 1.

INTRODUCTION

and, it must be added, immorality. They are allowed, to use Bishop Creighton's words, "to tell their own story, to wander round the narrow circle of antiquated prejudices which they mistook for ideas, display their grossness, their vulgarity, their absence of aim, their laborious indolence, their lives unrelieved by any touch of nobility."¹ Pascal in the following century employed this device of self-revelation, with exquisite wit, in the *Provincial Letters*—but we must go back perhaps to Aristophanes to find a parallel in previous literature. It is, in fact, evident that this method of satire is essentially dramatic—and the dramatic art evinced is of a high order. The *Obscure Men* live before us upon the stage—they are made to unfold their characters as well as those of their correspondents through their own words. The fool exposes his folly in some artless request for information or guidance; the dull sensualist brags of a sordid amour—excusing himself because Magister Ortwin is similarly frank; the vain ignoramus exults in the acuteness with which he has overthrown an opponent on some childish grammatical point, while at the same time he is careful to tickle Ortwin's self-complacency by consulting him upon the subject.

The lover of true humour, in the sense in which we understand the word to-day—the humour of Falstaff, of Pecksniff, and even, in its daintiest form, of Elia—will find strange foretastes of this essentially modern literary gift in the rich and varied Comedy of the *Obscure*. When we compare the *Epistolae* with *The Ship of Fools* and the *Praise of Folly* we cannot help feeling that a gulf separates the first-named from the other two almost contemporary satires. The distinction, though irresistibly felt, may seem hard to define, until it flashes upon us that the works of Brandt and Erasmus, with all their enlightenment, are essentially medieval in treatment, while the *Epistolae* are modern through and through. We seem, in fact, to have found a region upon the chart of Literature where we can draw a line, and say, "Here the Middle Ages end."

¹ *History of the Papacy*, vi. 54 (1897).

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for the selection of Ortwin Gratius as the chief target for the satiric shafts of the Humanists are not very far to seek.

Ortwin, only son of Federic von Graes, was born at Holtwick, in Westphalia. The Obscure Men, however, hail him as *Daventriensis*, for it was at the famous school of Deventer that he was educated, at the cost, as it appears, of his uncle Johann von Graes. In 1501 Ortwin matriculated at Cologne, becoming Magister in 1506, and at Cologne he resided till the day of his death.

Now it was the Dominican party and the Faculty of Theology at Cologne that the *Epistolae* were primarily designed to attack: a sound literary instinct pointed out the advantage of ensuring a certain unity amid diversity by addressing all, or nearly all, the *Letters* to the same person—and if to a real one it would add zest. Some prominent Cologne don was thus clearly indicated as the feigned recipient. Arnold von Tongern was no doubt thought of, but Ortwin was the better qualified, and, from the satirists' point of view, the more deserving of the two.

In the first place he was, from the very outset, implicated in the Pfefferkorn pamphlets. In fact there were strong grounds for suspicion that, in a very real sense, Ortwin was Pfefferkorn. It seemed not unlikely that the scholar, who contributed Latin verses to the tracts, and translated four of them, was himself the instigator of the whole series. His publication, in 1514, of the book usually cited as the *Praenotamenta* classed him among the most militant and vindictive opponents of Reuchlin: for this offence alone he could have expected but little mercy. Furthermore, Ortwin was hated and despised by the rising generation of humanists in Germany, not only as an anti-Reuchlinist pamphleteer, but as a renegade. Like Mutianus Rufus and many another, he had enjoyed the privilege of being a pupil of Alexander Hegius; his scholarship was sound for the day, his Latinity was respectable—his *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, published twenty years later, was of value as a contribution to ecclesiastical history—yet was his crime

INTRODUCTION

unforgivable. "Ortuinus, qui est poeta eorum"¹—"Ortwin, that Poet of theirs"—such is the succinct indictment in the words of "Ioannes Holcot." It cannot be improved upon. The fact that Ortwin abased himself to become the kept humanist of the Cologne theologians suffices to explain all. The light of the new day had shone upon his face as upon the other "Poets," and yet—perhaps "for a handful of silver"—he had prostituted his scholarship in the defence of the barbarians!

But there is a much more important bond of unity between the various Letters of the Obscure Men than the mere fact that they are addressed to a single person. With all their diversity of aim, they scarcely ever fail to contain some allusion to one absorbing topic. Rumbblings of the Reuchlin controversy are heard, like the drone of a bagpipe, persistent amidst diverse airs. Letters from Rome contain casual remarks to the effect that things must be going ill for the Dominicans, since Hoogstraten's clothes are—worse than shabby!² Others are jubilant with the news that Reuchlin is growing blind, or that he is reduced to beggary. Ortwin is asked—Ortwin, of all men!—why he does not write somewhat in defence of the Faith. In one way or another, too, we are never allowed to forget for long, through the mouths of their puppets, that the true authors of the *Letters* recognise the vast principles really at stake.

It is for such reasons that some slight acquaintance with the details we have endeavoured to explain—dry and complicated though they perhaps may be—is absolutely necessary for due appreciation of the satire as a work of literary art. Given this key, the reader will find no difficulty in gaining access to the treasures of its wit and humour, and to its gallery of inimitable portraits.

VI

The precise date of the publication of the *Epistolae* has not been determined. That it was late in 1515 or early in 1516 is practically certain; it is equally certain

¹ E. O. V. ii. 21.

² E. O. V. ii. 6.

INTRODUCTION

that copies of the *Letters*, or of some of them, had, like other productions of that day, been circulated privately for some time before their publication—as early, indeed, as 1514.¹ In a letter to Erasmus, dated October 19 (1515), Wolfgang Angst, a learned reader in Anshelm's printing-office at Hagenau, refers to the "Obscure Men" and to certain writings of theirs which accompany his letter: he humorously declares that he cannot refuse the rascals' shameless request, for they have reminded him how Erasmus used to recite passages from their productions when he was at Strasburg not long before, and that, after all, it was his own *Praise of Folly* (1511), which set them an example. Angst declares that he was overcome by their malapert importunity, and therefore, "reliqui vela ventis; superest ut dieculae hospitium non deneges iis, quos tui tam cupidos fuisse cognoscis."²

The first and second editions of the *Epistolae* contained only forty-one letters, but after a few months a third appeared, with an Appendix of seven new letters, the last purporting to be sent from Rome by Hoogstraten. There were more to follow, but further mention of these may conveniently be deferred.

The book immediately gained a widespread popular success, but for diverse reasons. "It does one's heart good to see how delighted everybody is with the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*," wrote Sir Thomas More to Erasmus, in 1516, "The learned are tickled by their humour, while the unlearned deem their teachings of serious worth. When we laugh, they think we do but deride the style; this they do not defend, but they declare that all faults are compensated by the weight of the matter, and that the rough scabbard contains a brilliant blade! Would that the book had appeared under another title! I verily believe that in a hundred years the dolts would not perceive the nose turned up at them—though longer than the snout of a rhinoceros!"³

That Erasmus's own appreciation of the work, when

¹ Kampschulte, *Universität Erfurt*, i. 186, n.

² *Epp. Erasmi* (Le Clerc), 1777 (389).

³ *Erasmi. Epp.* (1706), No. MDLXXIV.

INTRODUCTION

it first appeared, was no less keen may be safely inferred : there is a story, which may be traced back to Simler's *Life of Bullinger*, that when he first read a copy lent him by a friend, "he fell into such a fit of laughing that an abscess in his face burst, which else should have been laid open by order of his physician." "This ought to be reckoned for one of the benefits produced by reading," is Bayle's characteristic comment.

Assuming this tradition to have a foundation in fact, it seems likely that it was the first or second edition that fell into Erasmus's hands, for in the Appendix to the third edition he is himself introduced by name, and, though the allusion is respectful enough, there is good reason to think that the sensitive scholar demurred to being depicted *dans cette galère*. We need not suppose that Erasmus had grown prim and prudish : but he had become a very notable man in the eyes of the world. He knew that great events were imminent, and he felt some doubt as to the part he would be found playing in them. It seemed scarcely prudent to commit himself unreservedly to a party who expressed their opinions with such heedless exuberance.

We have touched lightly in the preface on the exaggerated accusation brought by a certain school of writers against the *Epistolæ*, founded on the undeniable fact that they are not seldom indecorous in expression. We do not propose to magnify the importance of the charge by dilating upon it. The occasional grossness is perfectly innocuous, and the manners of the times would furnish ample excuse for its presence. After all, with respect to coarseness of situation and language, the authors of the *Epistolæ*, as Professor Saintsbury has remarked, "do not come near the common indulgence of the fifteenth century in most countries, or the recrudescence of the same thing in the mouths of the Reformers."¹ The question, of course, is merely one of taste and not of morality, but it may be observed that it is one thing to foist stupid indecencies into a great work in order to tickle the ears of the groundlings—as did Rabelais, probably, and the Elizabethan dramatists, certainly—and quite another thing,

¹ G. Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance*, 1901.

INTRODUCTION

with pungent wit to show monkish dissoluteness its own sordid image.

And even so, the authors of the *Epistolæ* apply the caustic of their contempt with gentleness and moderation. To quote again the words of a late eminent historian: "The Obscure Men are not wicked or vicious: they have their frailties and they fall before their temptations; but they do not rejoice in wrongdoing, and they feel remorse for their sins. They tell with brutal frankness the tales of their commonplace amours; but they are not hypocrites, and do not conceal their weakness."¹

No, they were not hypocrites, as later generations learned to understand the word. We have but to compare the summer lightning that plays about the head of "Master Conrad of Zwickau" with the thunderbolt cast by Burns at "Holy Willie" to realise the vast and suggestive difference. Both are "fashed" with the same failing—but while Conrad prattles of his lawless amours, he seeks to palliate them by the example of better men than himself, Samson and Solomon, to wit; and it is left to Holy Willie to scale the sublime heights of more modern hypocrisy, and cry:

"Maybe thou lets this fleshly thorn
Beset thy servant e'en and morn,
Lest he owre high and proud should turn,
 'Cause he's sae gifted;
If sae, thy han' maun e'en be borne
Until thou lift it."

The charge we have commented on can at all events be appreciated, even by those who do not sympathise with it, but another accusation seems inexplicable—except as an illustration of the liability of the edge of Satire's weapon to be turned when it is too keenly set: we mean the preposterous charge of blasphemy. "Preposterous" is surely not too strong a term to use when a writer who dared to show how the mysteries of a venerable religion were being smirched by ignoble and ridiculous associations, and who sought to rescue them from the mire, is branded as a blasphemer.

No better instance of this line of criticism could

¹ M. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vi. 54 (1897).

INTRODUCTION

perhaps be found than that contained in the following extract from Janssen's learned and elaborate *History of the German People*.

"The similes in the *Epistolae*," says this historian,¹ "are of the most offensive description. Our Lord Jesus Christ is compared to Cadmus. . . . Because Christ had two nativities, one before all time and another in his human form, he is compared to the twice-born Bacchus : Semele who brought up Bacchus signifies the Virgin Mary."

In sheer amazement, the student of the subject can but gasp, with Dominie Sampson, "Prodigious!" Would not the animadversion just quoted lead us to suppose that the writer who had ventured to make the comparisons thus reprobated was the author, or one of the authors, of the *Epistolae*? The reader, it is true, might be disposed to regard Janssen's indignation as being a little warmer than the case called for ; he might suggest that a simile may be in bad taste without being blasphemous—but he would not be prepared to hear that the comparisons in question are quoted from the work of an orthodox Franciscan monk, written in the fourteenth century, and printed six years before the *Epistolae* appeared.² Still less would he be prepared to hear that the fictitious author of the *Letter* in which these similes occur is at pains to point out their orthodox origin ! The ridicule poured out upon the absurd monkish practice of finding allegories of Holy Writ in classical fables would, in fact, have lost much of its pungency if imaginary instead of real instances of these "similes of the most offensive description" had been given. But this is not all : a singular literary coincidence remains to be pointed out : Johann Pfefferkorn, in his "Defence against the Libellous and Calumnious Letters of Obscure Men," published in 1516, makes a precisely similar accusation, quoting the instances of Cadmus, Bacchus, and Semele, amongst others, and reprobating the "blasphemous" licence of a writer who dares to draw parallels between the sacred narrative and heathen fables !

So it turns out, after all, that the zealous convert,

¹ Vol. iii. p. 79 (London, 1900).

² See E. O. V. i. 28, n.

INTRODUCTION

the orthodox historian, and the courageous satirist were of one mind after all, but whereas the first two merely deplored the licence referred to, the last boldly attacked it with the darts of ridicule and scorn.

It has been, in every age, the fate of satire to be misunderstood. It is a risk that every satirist must be prepared to run. When Swift suggested the addition of stewed babies to the gourmet's bill of fare, he probably foresaw that he would be stigmatised as a preacher of cannibalism, and when the authors of the *Epistolæ* emptied the vials of their scorn on the ignorant, the greedy, and the impure, they well knew, as men of the world, that there would not be wanting those who would straightway accuse them of folly, gluttony, and profligacy.

On the other hand, to defend the authors of the *Epistolæ* from the charge of cruel unfairness in their attacks upon individuals would be a hard, if not an impossible, task. "Their victims are treated like vermin; hunted without law, and exterminated without mercy." In a spirit of remorseless mischief the writers snatch the cowl from Hoogstraten the inquisitor, and, grinning, show us a crafty, cruel face beneath: they dare to foully smirch the vestal raiment of Arnold von Tongern; they impishly clap a dunce's cap on the learned pate of Ortwin Gratius, and stick him in his niche, an object of everlasting derision. As for Pfefferkorn, the renegade, boastful descendant of Naphtali "the hind let loose"—they affix to his brows, in lieu of phylactery, a pair of shameful antlers, and drive him with gibes and threats to join the wittol herd. To reach their victims they thrust a presumably chaste matron's reputation in the mire. No excuse is possible. Palliation there may be, in the manners of the time: the days of chivalry were over. Nevertheless, for us, the forms of maligned wife and slandered ascetic loom dim and unreal through the mists of four hundred years:

"Their bones are dust,
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust."

But the critic of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*
liii

INTRODUCTION

regarded merely as a work of literary art is in no way concerned with such moral blots. Even the most atrocious libel may possess eminent graces of literary form: how few readers who to-day take up the *Letters of Junius* to enjoy their vituperative eloquence care a straw about their truth and justice. And there is no lack of truth and justice here.

The *Epistolæ* were not allowed to pass unanswered. In the summer of 1516 there appeared "Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against the Slandorous and Calumnious Letters of Obscure Men." This production—interesting historically, but worthless from a literary point of view—professes to review the whole situation. Testimonials from universities alternate with plaintive excuses or passionate recriminations, and the winged words of the satire are ineffectually thrown back in the face of the satirist.

The issue of this forcible-feeble rejoinder—of course by Ortwin—was most ill-judged. Had the theologians taken their first correction mildly they might have escaped further chastisement: as it turned out, they did but prepare a fresh scourge for their own backs.

Early in 1517 a new series of Letters from the Obscure Men, sixty-two in number, made their appearance. In many of these "The Defence" is pounced upon as a foundation for fresh gibes: Ortwin's Latin phrases are for ever turning up in some ridiculous context—his earnest protestations are ludicrously misunderstood—his excuses meet with their usual fate of being twisted into confessions. In brilliancy of humour and keenness of satire the new *Letters* as a whole were not a whit behind their predecessors.

We have no record of Leo the Tenth's private opinion with regard to the *Epistolæ*. His literary taste was cultivated and comprehensive. In his official capacity, however, he deemed it advisable to issue a bull, dated March 15, 1517, which is a very characteristic specimen of papal fulminations: "It hath come to our knowledge," Leo is made to say, "to the grievous distress of our mind, that certain children of iniquity, in whose eyes there is no fear of

INTRODUCTION

God or man, impelled by wicked, damnable, and reckless loquacity, have published a certain scandalous libel entitled 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (etc.),' and have dared to send it to the ends of the earth, the better to disseminate their wicked calumnies." The faithful are thereupon admonished to give up any copies they may possess, in order that they may be burned: the authors, whoever they may be, are declared excommunicate; and the clergy are ordered to denounce the scandalous and heretical work from their pulpits—even in the vulgar tongue, if necessary. In this the advisers of his Holiness did not show their usual perspicacity. In the absence of newspapers there was no better advertising medium than the pulpit. Accordingly a few months later a second edition of the New Series appeared, containing an Appendix of eight more letters, some of which are as malicious and brilliantly scurrilous as any that had gone before.

The Reuchlin trial, though prologue to a drama of entrancing interest, came to a lame and impotent conclusion. The court—with the sole exception of Sylvester Prierias, Master of the Sacred Palace, and a Dominican—decided in Reuchlin's favour, but Leo, in the interests of peace, would not promulgate the sentence. On the contrary, he issued the mandate known as "De Supersedendo," and this meant that the whole matter was to be laid indefinitely on the shelf. In 1520, however, events took an unexpected turn. The pope promulgated the sentence, and, ignoring the judgment of the majority of the court, he sided with the minority of one, declared the *Augenspiegel* a dangerous book, and saddled Reuchlin with the costs of the trial.

The scholar was bent but not broken by the blow. Impoverished by the tedious litigation, he bravely struggled on, earning sufficient for his small necessities by teaching and lecturing during the five years that were left to him of a blameless and honourable life.

By his friends, and they were neither few nor powerless, he was upheld to the last as a champion of the New Learning and a martyr in its cause—the real victor, too, in the fight.

INTRODUCTION

The issues of the *Epistolae* that appeared in 1517 were the last to be published for nearly forty years, but in 1556 both parts of the work appeared for the first time in a single volume.¹ In the eyes of the new generation which had arisen it belonged to an age already half forgotten. The Reformation in Germany had run its course. The dawn that the *Epistolae* welcomed seemed fair enough, but it had ushered in a long day of storm. The blind and bloody struggles that ensued had exhausted the nation. In the impressive words of a recent writer, "Intellectually, morally, and politically, Germany was a desert, and it was called Religious Peace."²

VII

And now we are confronted by the thorny question—Who wrote the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*?

An adequate discussion of this would altogether exceed our limits, and demands a volume to itself. Fortunately for the student who wishes to probe the matter deeply, such a volume has very recently been provided by Herr Walther Brecht:³ in this work the methods of the "Higher Criticism" are applied to the problem with great patience and ability, and it is somewhat consoling to find that Brecht's solution differs but slightly from that arrived at by a similar method, some eighty years ago, at the hands of Sir William Hamilton.

For three centuries the authorship of the *Epistolae* was involved in an obscurity greater than that which enwrapped the *Letters of Junius*. We can scarcely give a better idea of the chaotic welter of critical opinions upon the subject which formerly prevailed, than by briefly summarising the pre-Hamiltonian theories.

At least twenty-eight writers assigned the *Epistolae* to a single author, and made their choice from a list

¹ Of the so-called Third Volume of the *Epistolae*, which was first printed in 1689 (?), it must here suffice to say, in the words of Professor De Morgan, "It is a stupid catchpenny with which the authors of the first and second probably had nothing to do."

² A. F. Pollard, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, ii. 279.

³ *Die Verfasser der Epist. Obsc. Virorum*, Strassburg, 1904.

INTRODUCTION

of eight persons, including Reuchlin himself, and Erasmus.

Eleven writers regarded them as the joint production of two or three pens—half-a-dozen possible combinations being suggested. Eleven other critics contended that the satire was the work of from six to sixteen authors acting in collaboration. They allow us to make our choice from ten different groups.

While giving a glimpse of this critical chaos we have, however, no intention of involving the reader in its perplexities. It may be said at once that we are to-day practically certain that the *Epistolæ* were the actual work of two men, but that they reflect the feelings and ideas of a coterie, or—if that term be held to have too mean a connotation—let us say, a literary sodality.

In the early years of the sixteenth century the University of Erfurt, already established for more than a hundred years, was, in more than one sense, the most popular in Germany. It was remarkable as having been founded, not by a princely benefactor, but by the burghers of the town itself. The citizens took much pride in their creation, and made the academic graduation days civic festivals. The undergraduates were more than tolerated by the townsfolk. Such exceptional amenities could hardly fail to attract students from all parts of Germany, and among them, twenty years before the date reached in our narrative, there had arrived a very remarkable boy. This was Konrad Muth, better known as Mutianus Rufus, born at Homburg in 1472. After receiving his early training, as already mentioned, under Hegius at Deventer, Mutian became a student at Erfurt at the age of fourteen, and some six years later journeyed to Italy, where he stayed for no less than seven years, studying at both Bologna and Rome, and living on terms of intimacy with some of the leading humanists of the day: it is a suggestive fact, too, that among the men of eminence with whom he was privileged to become acquainted, Pico della Mirandola, who had so fired Reuchlin's imagination, is to be especially included. Without attempting here to classify Mutian's

INTRODUCTION

religious or philosophical views, we shall not be far wrong if we say that his sojourn in Italy had made him, in the literal sense of the word, a free-thinker—but a free-thinker who felt no impulse to impose his own faith, or want of faith, upon the world at large. We need not be greatly surprised, therefore, to learn that on returning to the Fatherland in 1503, Mutian accepted, without hesitation, a canonry at Gotha. Here, inscribing “*Beata Tranquillitas*” above his study door, he resolved to spend the rest of his days in learned leisure. Other preferments were proffered the recluse from time to time, but were invariably declined: his income sufficed to provide him with books, and he sought for nothing beyond them. Nevertheless, natural indolence, or a contempt for the opinion of the world, led Mutian to seek no literary renown. He has left no writings behind him, save his letters.¹ and, to judge from internal evidence, we may well doubt whether these were intended for publication.

Before long, however, the “blessed peace” of Gotha began to pall upon the gregarious Mutian. Society there was doubtless as dull as it was limited, and a scholar who does not write must converse. Fortunately his old university was scarce twenty miles away, and Mutian began to betake himself thither, often for considerable periods.

At Erfurt he speedily made himself the centre of a congenial circle. A band of young and ardent humanists had thither congregated: their aspirations were lofty but vague, and needed but the guidance of a leader of riper years and experience to burst the last bonds of scholastic tradition, and take their places in the forefront of the army of light. The epigrammatist Euricius Cordus, whom Lessing eulogised and imitated—Georg Burckhard, better known as Spalatinus, afterwards the friend and correspondent of Luther—the brilliant but bibulous Eobanus Hessus, then in his early youth—Justus Jonas, the brothers Eberbach, and Herebord von der Marthen, were all numbered among the young disciples who from time to time sat round Mutian’s easy-chair, and hung with mingled joy and

¹ Ed. by C. Krause: Cassel, 1885.

INTRODUCTION

bewilderment upon their master's words—drinking in his reckless heterodoxy, his neo-Platonic phantasies, learnt from Pico, Politian, and Marsilio Ficino—his eulogies of the Koran—his merry scoffs at the pedantry that passed for learning—and his biting sarcasms on the corruption of the Church and of cloistered life, where :

“ Round many a convent's blazing fire,
Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun ;
There Venus sits disguised like a nun ;
While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
Pours out his choicest beverage high and higher ! ”

According to one of the Obscure Men, indeed, Mutian was “the worst of all the Reuchlinists, and such a hater of Theologians that he will not suffer the Divines of Cologne to be even named in his presence.”¹

Not that the members of the Erfurt circle could themselves lay claim to a high standard of asceticism: the wine-cup would not long remain full on a board at which Eoban Hesse sat! But, for all that, the symposia of these “Poets dead and gone” were feasts of reason—high thinking there was, though the living was none too frugal. Our thoughts can scarcely fail to turn to a certain young monk then wearing away the best years of his life in the dreary convent of Fontenay-le-Comte. How gladly would François Rabelais have been welcomed within that joyous company! Yet it were hard to say whether Pantagruel, Panurge, and Friar John would in that case have gladdened the hearts of the elect.

Making due allowance for the change of times and manners, we are reminded, too, of that *Convivium philosophicum* described by Clarendon, which gathered a century later round Lord Falkland on the lawns and terraces of Great Tew. As at Erfurt, men of learning, wit, and above all of liberal mind there gathered to discuss theology and letters, and dreamed young men's dreams of a still brighter future. As at Erfurt, they recked not of the approaching catas-

¹ E. O. V. ii. 59.

INTRODUCTION

trophe, soon to scatter them, and overwhelm not a few.

Among the members of Mutian's Circle, as it began to be called, was one to whom we have as yet made no reference. This was Johann Jäger, afterwards known to the world of letters as Crotus Rubianus (or, Rubeanus). This remarkable man was born at Dornheim, in 1480. He was of humble origin, and as a boy tended his father's goats in the rugged Thüringerwald. In his eighteenth year, however, he matriculated at Erfurt, and graduated bachelor in 1500. His Latinised name at first was, naturally, Joannes Venatoris, and "Crotus Rubianus" is decidedly enigmatical, until we remember that Dornheim is "thorn-home," and we are further given as a clue the fact that "Crotos" appears in the *De Re Rustica*¹ of Columella as a synonym of Sagittarius. A far-fetched cognomen was in those days an indication of sound scholarship.

Crotus was at first wholly orthodox, and he was the warm friend of another orthodox young student—Martin Luther—all too soon to quit the university for an Augustinian convent. That Crotus, however, had early doubts of the advantages of a monastic life is evidenced by his helping young Ulrich von Hutten, then a boy of seventeen, to escape from the abbey of Fulda, where he was immured.

Crotus's orthodoxy was, however, in those days, of by no means robust growth, and by 1509 he had become one of the leading lights among the Erfurt humanists, and conspicuous for his nimble wit and biting jests. "Omnia ridens," it was said of him, "sed seriis pariter aptus." His gaiety and common sense were alike conspicuous.

For a year or two Crotus had supported himself by the tuition of a few "sprigs of nobility," on Mutian's recommendation, but in 1509 one of those lovers' quarrels leading to a renewal of love—it was not the first—took place between the University and the municipality of Erfurt. So sharp was this town and gown squabble that many of the latter sought peace in flight, among them being nearly all the members of the Mutianic

¹ *De R. R.*, v. 57.

INTRODUCTION

circle, who thus became involuntary missionaries of humanism. In 1510 Crotus actually entered the convent at Erfurt, and perhaps took holy orders.

But such a man could ill brook the confinement of the cloister. He never ceased to correspond with his friends outside the walls, and in a letter to Mutian he complains that there is nothing to do save to kill time "by drinking, gaming, carnality or usury." To live away from his intellectual equals seemed to him "worse than to live as a beast in a herd." Accordingly, in 1512, when Mutian's little band—including Eoban Hesse and Hermann Buschius—had reassembled, Crotus was naturally from time to time once more found in their midst.

Among the diverse theories which, as we have mentioned, have at one time or another been mooted with reference to the authorship of the *Epistolae*, Crotus's share is seldom in doubt.

There exists, indeed, direct proof of this, apart from the overwhelming internal evidence afforded by the satire itself. Let us, for a moment, pass on to the year 1531. During the sixteen years that had elapsed since the first publication of the *Epistolae*, great events had happened, precursors of yet more significant ones which were shortly to follow. Most men of eminence had been compelled to declare themselves openly upon the side of Luther or of Rome. But there were a few who still faced both ways, and a few whose impetuous advocacy of the Reformation had not only been checked but followed by reaction. Among the latter was Crotus. He states his position quite candidly in a letter to Albrecht of Brandenburg (1531). After admitting that he had for several years been an ardent supporter of the reformers, the writer continues, "But when I perceived that they held not sacred even those things which had been handed down to us from Apostolic times, and that one sect did but engender another, it came to my mind that Satan might be using the Scriptures as a stalking-horse, and disseminating evil under the mask of goodness. I was therefore minded to abide in the Church in which I was baptized and nurtured. And notwithstanding that there be faults

INTRODUCTION

therein, they may be the sooner repaired than that new Church which hath already been rent asunder by schisms, though it hath stood but for a few years." In the same year Crotus made formal acknowledgment of this his backsliding in *An Apology privately addressed by J. Crotus Rubeanus to a Friend*. This fell into Luther's hands. Luther promptly sent it to Justus Menius, with instructions to attack the apostate without mercy. Justus Menius, an old associate of Mutian and his circle, and now an ardent reformer, was nothing loath. In the spring of 1532 there accordingly appeared, anonymously, *A Reply to the Apology of Crotus Rubeanus*. In this, Crotus is openly credited with the authorship of the *Epistolæ*—and his present cowardice is contrasted with the spirit with which in "that immortal poem" he had attacked the very abuses against which the reformers were contending. The writer makes it quite clear that he speaks from personal recollection, when he reminds Crotus of walks and talks which they had had together while the *Epistolæ* were in process of incubation; and finally he tries to arouse the pride of authorship in Crotus's craven heart by declaring that it were better that the Iliad itself should perish than the work whose trenchant wit had done more mischief to the supremacy of Rome than all the grave treatises of the age!

To this flattering impeachment Crotus never replied. Judgment goes by default.

In addition to its more permanent members, there flitted ever and anon across the Erfurt circle—keenly sympathising with their aspirations, but too eager and restless to remain for long—one of the strangest and most interesting figures of the day.

Ulrich von Hutten came of a noble Franconian family who had for many generations held their heads high among their turbulent and lawless compeers. As bishops, abbots, councillors, statesmen, and—to put it bluntly—robbers, the Huttens had from time to time shown their ability and resolution. It was chiefly in the lists and in the field that they had won renown, but it must be remembered that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "the field" often meant some neigh-

INTRODUCTION

bouring baron's estate, where rewards more substantial than honour's "mere scutcheon" were to be gained.

Ulrich was born in 1488, at his father's castle of Steckelberg in Hesse-Nassau, not far from Fulda with its famous Benedictine abbey. So puny and sickly did the child appear, that his father resolved to make a monk of him—although the first-born son—and sent him at the age of eleven to Fulda, to be educated under its stern abbot, and ultimately to take the monastic vows. Ulrich remained at Fulda for six years—a diligent student, it seems, who made good use of the means of learning there available—and then, in the summer of 1505, almost on the day when Luther voluntarily entered the convent at Erfurt—he ran away. Crotus Rubianus, as we have mentioned, is credited with having planned the lad's escape, and before the year was out the two friends made their appearance as fellow-undergraduates at Cologne. It must be added that Ulrich's father, an austere man—whom to-day we may venture to call pig-headed—seems to have cast off his erring son without further inquiry, and left the sensitive, delicate, and brilliant boy to the far from tender mercies of a turbulent world. In less than a year the two friends tired of the uncongenial surroundings of friar-ridden Cologne, and betook themselves to Erfurt. There they found Mutian and Eoban Hesse—a nucleus to which they were speedily attracted. But it was impossible for the adventurous Hutten to cast anchor for long, however pleasant the harbour; "my home is everywhere," he said—"in Germany" he should have added; for the key to much that is contradictory in Hutten's checkered career is his lofty patriotism, his burning desire to see Germany a nation, his determination, in particular, to cast off the temporal power of Rome, even if this should involve the severance of not a few spiritual bonds.

Frankfort-on-Oder and Leipsic were next honoured by the young enthusiast's presence, and in 1509, just as he had attained his majority, we find him—sick, destitute, but indomitable—seeking admission *in forma pauperis* to the University of Greifswald. At Greifs-

INTRODUCTION

wald some wealthy townsfolk, Lötze by name, seem in more senses than one to have taken the stranger in. Old Lötze was a shrewd man of business, and he evidently thought that Hutten *père* would repay with interest any advances made to his son. Perhaps the old knight disabused him somewhat brusquely of this idea—at any rate, in a season of bitter frost, Ulrich fled from Greifswald, was pursued by Lötze's servants, stripped not only of his wallet and his few books, but even of his clothes, and by a miracle reached Rostock, more dead than alive. Unpleasant though this adventure was, it might not have been worth recording had it not led to the publication of Hutten's first important work. This work, the *Querelen*, consists of twenty elaborate elegies, describing his scurvy treatment by the Lötzes, and calling down the vengeance of God and man upon his persecutors. Two of the elegies are dedicated to Crotus Rubianus and Eoban Hesse respectively, and it is noteworthy that the author seems to recognise the bonds of sympathy that were beginning to be established between the young adherents of the New Learning, by imploring the aid of all German humanists against an attack made upon one of their number. And now we pass over in a few lines several important years of Hutten's career. The *Life of Ulrich von Hutten* by Strauss¹ is available to English readers—with some abridgment—in an excellent translation.

We catch an interesting glimpse of Hutten during this period in the *Epistolæ*; for there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of "Master Johann Krabacius'" account of his brief sojourn among some congenial spirits at Vienna in the summer of 1511, and of the cause of its abrupt termination.²

Having become to some extent reconciled to his father, through the instrumentality of Crotus, Ulrich, in the spring of the following year betook himself to Italy, ostensibly with the intention of studying law. In Italy he remained for about two years, contriving to be made prisoner by the French and Swiss alternately.

¹ D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, London, 1874.

² E. O. V. i. 14.

INTRODUCTION

and finally joining the forces of the emperor. He found time, however, to write, among other poems, a noteworthy book of political epigrams which he dedicated to Maximilian.

On his return to Germany, Hutten, now to be ranked as an accomplished scholar, was honourably received at the court of Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz, and here an important event in his life occurred, his meeting, namely, with the already famous Erasmus, to their mutual satisfaction.

The treacherous murder of Ulrich's cousin Hans, by the Duke of Württemberg, in 1515, almost led to a small war between the duke and the powerful clan of the Huttens; Ulrich, who was expected by the family "to do something," contributed to the fray sundry Latin orations, with Cicero for his model, and in these he first displayed his powers of fiery and withering denunciation. In 1515 he returned to Italy, and a record of his journey thither assuredly exists in the guise of Wilhelm Lamp's narrative in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. It may be noted, as a suggestive literary fact, that during a residence at Bologna, for the ostensible purpose of studying law, Hutten found, to his delight, a Greek teacher who initiated him in Lucian and Aristophanes, and opened up to his pupil wider views of satire, and the dazzling possibilities of its rapier thrusts as opposed to the swashing blows of mere invective.

It was during this second sojourn of Hutten in Italy that the first volume of the *Epistolae* appeared. A copy was sent to him at Bologna, and in a letter written thence (August 22, 1516) to Richard Croke at Leipsic, he exclaims, "Accepi obscuros viros: dii boni, quam non illiberales jocos!" He goes on to say that he is suspected of being the author, and asks his friend to let him know more about the matter. Nevertheless in the "Appendex" to the third edition of the *Epistolae* contributions by his hand indisputably appear.

In common with other members of the Erfurt sodality, Hutten had taken the keenest interest in the Reuchlin controversy. As early as 1514 he had shown

INTRODUCTION

Erasmus a poem entitled "The Triumph of Reuchlin"—*Triumphus Capnionis*—and it appears that Erasmus had advised its being withheld for a time. A poem with the same title appeared in 1518, under the pseudonym of "Eleutherius Byzenus"; it may be briefly described as a savage onslaught upon all Reuchlin's foes, and of this it seems certain that Hutten was the author—or, at all events, an author. The list of verbal coincidences collected by Hamilton appears in itself sufficient to establish this. It is true that a difficulty is introduced by the fact that Mutian also saw in 1514 a "Triumph of Reuchlin" by "Accius Neobius," and this he attributes to Hermann von dem Busche. There can be little doubt that the two documents were drafts of one and the same poem (the change of pseudonym is clearly unimportant), and it is of course by no means improbable that Buschius as well as Hutten had a hand in it. In the twenty-fifth letter of the first series of the *Epistolae* it is plainly stated that "unus (poeta) jam composuit unum librum qui vocatur Triumphus Capnionis, et continet multa scandala de vobis." It is to be observed that the poem is here merely spoken of as "composed," not printed or published, and, as we have seen, it did not appear until three years later. The somewhat tangled chain of circumstances connected with the *Triumphus* at any rate tends to illustrate the fact that the German humanists of the day kept in touch with one another on the subject of the great controversy which so keenly interested them, and that their manuscripts were freely handed about, whether for criticism or mutual admiration.

The actual authors of the *Epistolae* accordingly stand before us to-day in the persons of Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich von Hutten. These are the names that Hamilton made more than probable in 1831, and that Brecht in 1904 made, as far as circumstances permit, a certainty.

The latter writer has spared no pains in dealing with the abundant materials at his disposal. He has critically dissected known writings of Crotus and Hutten and has laid them side by side with the *Epistolae*: in his enthusiasm he has never hesitated to

INTRODUCTION

vivisect a joke and illustrate its comparative anatomy—he has even laid hands on the Obscure Men themselves, classifying and labelling them like ghostly butterflies. Herr Brecht's work has, in fact, been admirably done, and it need never be done again. We take the case as proved.

To Crotus belongs the origination of the design—if indeed its germ was not rather a spark struck from the casual collision of many minds—and the first forty-one letters of the first series are probably from his pen alone. To Hutten belong the Appendix to the first series, and the whole of the second series—abounding as it does with Italian allusions. Once the clue is in the reader's hands, he will have little difficulty in recognising the respective styles of the two writers. Crotus, as a satirist, is the more humorous and the kindlier: if he impales his victims, he at the same time anticipates the gentle Angler's advice to "treat them as though he loved them." Hutten's contributions breathe on the whole a fiercer spirit. His bitter wit at times stabs like a poisoned dagger. He seems in deadly earnest when he is attacking abuses. More than once he ascends the pulpit, and speaks plain words of eloquent remonstrance;¹ his seriousness of purpose, in fact, peeps out, now and then, a little too obviously.

Nevertheless, we must not pass over in silence Erasmus's distinct assertion² that the authors of the *Epistolae* were three in number, and that he knew who they were. This plain statement, which was made "under circumstances in which it was no longer a point of delicacy to dissemble his knowledge," cannot be simply ignored. Still, while two distinct styles are plainly manifest in the *Epistolae*, not more than two seem recognisable. This circumstance does not, however, preclude the co-operation of a third person, or of several persons, in sketching ideas on which *Letters* might be based, or supplying jests and quips to be worked in by the actual authors. But if any confrère did more than this, and might therefore be regarded as completing Erasmus's trio, it was Hermann von dem

¹ For instance, in E. O. V. ii. 43, 50.

² Erasmus, *Spongia adv. asp. Hutteni*.

INTRODUCTION

Busche. The general tenor of this scholar's writings is satirical—often bitterly so—and Ortwin Grätius, his former schoolfellow, had become his pet aversion. Buschius was moreover a keen Reuchlinist when the *Epistolæ* were published, and was an intimate friend of both Hutten and Crotus. It is on such grounds as these, together with certain verbal coincidences, that Hamilton would allow to Buschius a larger share in the work than now seems probable.

VIII

A final problem confronts us—What is the actual position of the *Epistolæ* among the factors that produced the ecclesiastical cataclysm known as the Reformation? Were they a factor in any sense? Were they a cause or an effect? Even with reference to the Reuchlin controversy, are they to be compared to the brilliant cavalry charge that wins the battle, or to a mere paean of victory when all is over?

To these questions very diverse answers have been forthcoming—and will be forthcoming, until that distant day when the distorting prejudices, the antipathies, the hatreds, aroused by religious controversy become as fleeting as the healing antagonisms of war.

Herder has remarked, in an oft-quoted passage, that the satire “effected for Germany incomparably more than *Hudibras* for England, or *Gargantua* for France, or the Knight of La Mancha for Spain.” Before we give our assent to this proposition, or withhold it, it is necessary to inquire whether any of the works mentioned effected aught for the countries of their origin beyond conferring undying fame upon their literature. *Hudibras* was little else than a hearty kick bestowed upon a prostrate foe; as for the Knight of La Mancha, a recent critic has pointed out that not until a century and a half had passed after Cervantes' death, “did Spain recognise the worth of *Don Quixote* as a book of anything more than passing entertainment.”¹ It is not easy to deal with the influence of Rabelais in a sentence,

¹ H. E. Watts, *Life of Miguel de Cervantes*, 1891, p. 167.

INTRODUCTION

but we may agree with M. Millet that he was, for France, "le père de la grande comédie,"¹ and that but for him Molière would not have been, without attributing to him any great share in the spread of the Renaissance in his country. But Herder was referring to political rather than to literary influence, and it is therefore possible to agree with him without placing the *Epistolæ* upon a particularly high pedestal.

An influence, however, of more definite extent and degree has been claimed for the satire by Hamilton. He roundly declares his opinion that it was European in its influence, and that "it gave the victory to Reuchlin over the Begging Friars, and to Luther over the Court of Rome."

Two quite different things, be it remarked. In the case of Reuchlin *versus* the Dominicans the issue had been trembling in the balance for some time; king and emperor were pulling in different directions, and the prestige of the pope did not at the time appear to be directly or indirectly at stake. A slight push would be sufficient to give victory—if a barren one—to Reuchlin. In our opinion the *Epistolæ* gave the push, and the victory—though a barren one.

But the victory of Luther, if victory it was even in his case, was the issue of a bloodier fray. It was not till six months after the publication of the second series of the *Epistolæ* that Luther cast down the gage at Wittenberg: it was three or four years before the battle was joined.

But did the authors of the satire prepare the ground, and thus make the victory easier? Luther himself on more than one occasion inferentially acknowledged that in his opinion this is what they had done. And if the fiery monk's strife had been with the Dominicans alone, and not with the whole might of Rome, he would have been right, without qualification. The satire had declared that the upholders of the musty methods of scholasticism—with which, be it always remembered, the Church in Germany had disastrously identified herself—were not the repositories of all learning that they perhaps honestly thought themselves to be—but a pack

¹ R. Millet, *Rabelais*, Paris, 1903.

INTRODUCTION

of egregious dolts: it declared, too, that many of the monks and friars who professed to be not as other men, but able to set at defiance primitive instincts of a healthy animal, were not only very human in their frailties, but, if the truth be said, a trifle swinish! And the worst part of it was that people had come to believe that there was some truth in the indictment.

The temporal benefits that monasticism had conferred upon mankind were forgotten—or rather, to folk of those days were practically unknown. How monks and friars, heedless of discouragement and persecution, had kept alive the feeble sparks of literature and art when they seemed well-nigh perishing in the darkness of barbarism—how they had turned barren marshes into fertile tracts, and made devastated valleys once more laugh and sing with rustling corn—how they had fed the hungry and ministered to the sick—all these good works, and many more, of the pious men of old were forgotten. Can we wonder? The sordid lives of their debased successors in the sixteenth century veiled the vision of a glorious past. Successors, but—let us always bear in mind—not descendants. In that distinction lies the key to the failure of monasticism. The stupendous folly of celibacy had met with its inevitable doom. Year after year, generation after generation, century after century, the Church had lured thousands and tens of thousands of the keenest intellects, the most sympathetic—ay, and the bravest hearts into the cloister, and condemned them to sterile extinction. In ignorance, or defiance, of the laws of heredity, the devisers of monastic rules seem to have deliberately aimed at leaving to the unfittest of each generation obedience to the first recorded divine command to man: “Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.” But Nature’s laws cannot be abrogated even by a saintly veto. Slowly, but irresistibly, degeneracy in the classes from which the monasteries were chiefly recruited showed itself reflected within their walls, till drunken dullards reeled in cloisters that large-hearted enthusiasts had once paced. The place of ascetics ever struggling to keep the old Adam in check by fasting, flagellation, and phlebotomy, was taken by monkish

INTRODUCTION

Jeshuruns who waxed fat in sloth, and kicked against these wise and salutary rules of their Orders—ever scheming to evade them. It was men such as these who were the objects of the satirists' scorn. But while the writers saw before them an Augean stable which it would task the energies of a reforming Hercules to cleanse, it had not entered into the head of any one of them that it would be better to pull it down.

That Crotus, Hutten, or indeed any of the Erfurt circle, had a definite notion whither the tendencies they were fostering would ultimately lead is altogether improbable. Eoban Hesse lived and died a genial humanist; Mutian retired early from the fray, and, deprived of his revenues during the Peasants' War, passed away orthodox, penniless, and weary of the world; Crotus, as we have seen, recoiled in something like dismay when he came to the parting of the ways.

Hutten's case, it is true, was different. He threw in his lot with Luther and the reformers heartily enough, and did not draw back—yet it is always clear that political and patriotic, rather than doctrinal, motives actuated him. In his ironical Dedication to Leo X. of Lorenzo Valla's tractate on the Donation of Constantine (1517) Hutten nowhere touches on matters of faith and dogma: his attack is solely directed against the scandalous sale of indulgences, the compositions for frauds, the intolerable taxes, and the hundred and one other ways in which Rome extorted from the merchants and peasants of the Fatherland the wealth she required for the aggrandisement of an extravagant court and an ambitious pontiff.

We may, in fact, conveniently classify the reforming tendencies of the age under four heads, overlapping doubtless, but yet distinct in the main. First, a purely intellectual revolt against the bondage of scholasticism, due chiefly to the revival of classical learning: secondly, a moral reaction—by no means the earliest—against monkish profligacy and hypocrisy: thirdly, a political and economic rebellion against the temporal authority of Rome, and her consequent exactions; lastly, the "Reformation" proper, which practically aimed at

INTRODUCTION

giving the emancipated intellect complete freedom—under the name of the right of private judgment—to deal even with the scriptures and the creeds, thus rendering a Church unnecessary.

That the *Epistolæ* aided, directly and deliberately, the first three of these movements must be obvious to their readers: that they indirectly furthered the subversive aims of Luther, as well as those of his successors and rivals, is also indisputable—but that their authors took this line of malice aforethought is more than doubtful.

Such considerations show us why it is so hard to assign to the *Epistolæ*, with confidence, their true place and function in the German Renaissance. It is because in Germany the triumph of the revival of learning in winning intellectual freedom was, all too soon, obscured, if not neutralised, by one of its own indirect results. Protestantism, as we now see, was merely a by-product of a vast fermentation; but the effects produced by the reformers in their chaotic endeavours, not only to modify the tenets and purify the abuses of an ancient Church, but to dispense with it altogether, no man foresaw. That Church had become—as is the fate of Churches—inextricably entangled in political affairs, and the effects of the shattering blows it received are felt in a thousand forms, whether for good or ill, to the present day.

We need not wonder that our Satire is lost to view during forty years of blind and bitter strife. Wit and humour are swept out of sight.

“Mid clouds enveloped of polemic dust,
Which showers of blood seem rather to incite
Than to allay. Anathemas are hurled
From both sides; veteran thunders (the brute test
Of truth) are met by fulminations new—
Tartarean flags are caught at, and unfurled—
Friends strike at friends—the flying shall pursue—
And Victory sickens, ignorant where to rest!”

But let us not confuse with mere hoarse and incoherent battle-cries a work of literary art which belongs, after all, to the fair morn, and not to the day of gloom and agony that it ushered in. Rather let us be content

INTRODUCTION

to regard the *Epistolæ* as the mirthful trumpet-blast heard within the ramparts of Medievalism, that announced, if it did not cause, their impending fall. As the throes of Gargantua's birth were heralded by revelry and glee, so the joyous spirit of the Renaissance in Germany was embodied amidst peals of inextinguishable laughter.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

AD VENERABILEM VIRUM

MAGISTRUM ORTUINUM GRATIUM

DAVENTRIENSEM

COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE BONAS LITTERAS DOCENTEM:

Variis & locis & Temporibus missae:

ac demum in volumen coactae

[VOLUMEN PRIMUM]

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRO RUM

I

¶ **THOMAS LANGSCHNEYDERIUS**, *baccalurius theologiae formatus quamvis indignus Sal. d. superexcellenti necnon scientificissimo viro domino Ortvinio Gratio Daventriensi poetae, oratori, et philosopho, necnon theologo, et plus si vellet* 5

QUONIAM (ut dicit Aristoteles) dubitare de singulis non est inutile, et quia legitur in Eccl's: "proposui in animo meo quaerere et investigare de omnibus quae sunt sub sole:" igitur ego proposui mihi movere unam quaestionem in qua dubium habeo ad dominationem 10 vestram.

Sed prius protestor per deum sanctum, quod non volo tentare dominationem seu venerabilitatem vestram: sed

¹ *T. Langs.*: Böcking has devoted much research and ingenuity to an attempt to identify the Obscure Men with real personages. Except in a few instances, however, his results are inconclusive, and it is far from certain that personal allusions are as a rule intended. See ii. 58.

² *formatus*: one who had completed the prescribed course on the "Sentences" (of Peter Lombard), and was awaiting his licence. This degree still survives at the University of Coimbra. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1895, ii. 106. The statutes of the University of Erfurt ordained that a *Bac. form.* should remain in residence for two years, "in opponendo et respondendo," before obtaining his licence. J. C. H. Weissenborn, *Acten der Erfurter Universität. Halle*, 1881, Thl. ii. p. 57; and Thurot, *De l'organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris, au moyen âge*, Paris, 1850, p. 149.

³ *scient.*: "Heliandus . . . vir solers, scientificus, et disertus," (*Du Cange.*) Cf. *Forcellini*, s.v.

⁵ *et plus*: a parallel may be found in the *Timon* of Lucian, c. 52, where Demeas declares Timon to be the greatest of orators, "καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁπώρα ἂν ἐθέλοι."

⁶ *Arist.*: "Fortasse autem difficile sit de ejusmodi rebus confidenter declarare: nisi saepe pertractata sint: dubitare autem de singulis non erit inutile." A. M. S. Boetii, editio prima in *Categorias Aristotelis*, Venetiis, 1499, p. 50. (*Categ. vii. ad fin.*)

⁷ *Eccl.*: Eccles. i. 13; "funt." *Vulg.*

⁹ *unam*: merely "a"; very frequent in the E. O. V.

¹³ *tentare*: to examine; cf. "temptamen vel examen," *Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig*, 1861, 331. "He seide this thing, temptinge him." *John* vi. 6. (Wycl.)

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

ego cupio cordialiter et affectuose quod instruatis me
 15 super dubium illud. Quia scriptum est in evangelio :
 “Noli tentare dominum deum tuum,” quia, ut dicit
 Salomon : “a deo est omnis sapientia ;” sed vos dedistis
 mihi omnem scientiam quam ego habeo, et omnis scientia
 bona est origo sapientiae : ergo vos estis mihi quodam-
 20 modo deus, quia dedistis mihi initium sapientiae,
 loquendo poetice.

Est autem illa quaestio sic introducta : Dudum fuit
 hic prandium Aristotelis, et doctores, licentiati, necnon
 magistri fuerunt in magna laetitia, et ego fui etiam ibi ;
 25 et bibimus pro primo ferculo tres haustus de malvatico, et
 pro prima vice imposuimus semellas recentes, et fecimus
 offam, et deinde habuimus sex fercula de carnibus, et
 gallinis, et caponibus, et unum de piscibus ; et procedendo
 de uno ferculo in aliud, semper bibimus vinum Kotz-
 30 borgense, Rhenense, et cerevisiam Embeccensem, nec-
 non Thurgensem et Neuburgensem ; et magistri fuerunt
 bene contenti, et dixerunt quod d. Magistri novelli bene
 expediverunt se, et cum magno honore.

¹⁵ *Evang.* : Matt. iv. 7, “non
 tentabis.” *Vulg.*

¹⁷ *Sal.* : “omnis sap. a Domino
 Deo est.” *Vulg.*

²³ *prandium Arist.* : an Inception
 banquet given by the newly made
 Masters to the other graduates. The
 Statutes of the University of Leipsic
 contain several references to this
 festivity. For a sumptuary ordinance
 issued in 1496, regulating the quality
 and quantity of the viands and wines,
 see *Die Statutenbücher der Univ.*
Leipzig, Leipsic, 1861, p. 25. The
 junior students seem to have been in
 the habit of intercepting “cibaria et
 potagia” while being conveyed to
 the table ; and a warning to the
 undergraduates against interfering
 with the attendants was issued in
 1534. *Ibid.* p. 147.

²⁶ *sem. recent.* : “hot rolls,” *semella*
 being bread made of the finest flour ;
 Lat. *simila*, fine flour. Cf. “Simmels”
 and “Simmel-cakes.”

²⁷ *offam* : a “sop” for the wine.
 Cf. “Thanne he taketh a sop in
 fine clarree.” Chaucer, *Merch. Tale*,
 599.

²⁸ *procedendo*, &c. Cf. “Le tout

associé de breuvaige sempiternal.”
 Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 59.

²⁹ *Kotzborgense*, of Kötzschenbroda,
 a village near Dresden.

³⁰ *Embeccensem*, of Einbeck, or
 Einbeck, in Hanover ; still noted for
 its beer.

³¹ *Thurgensem*, of Torgau, in
 Prussian Saxony, on the Elbe.

³¹ *Neuburgensem*. Naumburg beer,
 however, seems to have had its de-
 fects. “Naumburg beer is very
 good,” wrote Luther to his wife in
 1546, “though I fancy the pitch
 fills my chest with phlegm. The
 devil has spoilt all the beer in
 the world with his pitch, and the
 wine with his brimstone.” *Life of*
Luther, by Julius Köstlin, London,
 1895, p. 487.

In the *De Generibus Ebriosorum*
 (*Frankfurti ad Moen.*, 1643, p. 454)
 we are warned that Naumburg beer
 injures the sight. A hint of the
 supposed cause may be gathered
 from Gerard's *Herball*, “Darnel
 hurteth the eies and maketh them
 dim, if it happen in corn either for
 bread or drink.” Cf. Ovid, *Fusti*, i.
 691.

I. 1] THOMAS LANGSCHNEYDERIUS

Tunc magistri hilarificati incepterunt loqui artificiter de magnis quaestionibus. Et unus quaesivit, utrum dicendum "magister nostrandus" vel "noster magistrandus," pro persona apta nata ad fiendum doctor in theologia, sicut pronunc est in Colonia mellifluus pater frater Theodericus de Ganda, ordinis Carmelitarum venerandissimus legatus almae universitatis Coloniensis, providentissimus artista, philosophus, argumentator, et theologus supereminens. Et statim respondit magister Warmsemmel lansmannus meus, qui est Scotista subtilissimus, et Magister XVIII annorum, et fuit tempore suo pro gradu magisterii bis reiicitus, et ter impeditus, et tamen stetit ulterius quoad fuit promotus pro honore universitatis, et intelligit bene facta sua, et habet multos discipulos, parvos et magnos, senes cum iunioribus, et cum magna maturitate dixit, et tenuit quod dicendum est "noster magistrandus," quod sit una dictio: quia "magistrare" significat "magistrum facere," et "baccalauriare" "baccalaurium facere," et "doctorare" "doctorem facere": et hinc veniunt isti termini "magistrandus, baccalauriandus, et doctorandus." Sed quia

³⁴ *hilarificati*: the only instance.

³⁴ *artificialiter*: "Scholastically," in accordance with the rules of art. Cf. *Recorde, Gr. Arts*: "You have answered the question very artificially; and truly I commend you." (N. E. D. i. 474.)

³⁹ *Theod. de G.*: Theodoric of Gouda—not of Ghent (Gaude, Gandavum) as might be supposed—an ignorant Carmelite monk, of whom H. Cornelius Agrippa wrote: "Of like clay they moulded another instrument; an untaught illiterate fellow—crafty and adroit withal, and therein the fitter for their machinations—a certain Carmelite monk, who, merely because he was useful in spreading those calumnies of theirs against Reuchlin that all Christendom wots of, the Cologne Divines rewarded with a Theologian's crown (*Theologica sua aureola remunerarunt*)." Epp. vii. 26. Not to be confused with the physician Theod. Gerardus, also of Gouda, and almost a contemporary.

⁴⁰ *legatus*: not of the Univ., but of

the Theological Faculty only. H. Glareanus, in 1514, assures Reuchlin that the University, as a whole, was not in opposition to him—"unless the theologians constitute the University." Epp. Ill. Vir. ad Reuchl.

⁴¹ *artista*: "master of the liberal arts." Urquhart (*Rabelais*, ii. 10) translates the obsolete French "artiens" as "Artists, or Masters of Arts."

⁴³ *Warmsemmel*: lit. "Hot-cake."

⁴³ *lansmannus*: "my compatriot." Cf. "Stand by me, countryman . . . I am your own native landsman." *Quentin Durward*, chap. vi.

⁴³ *Scotista*: follower of Duns Scotus; as opposed to follower of Thomas Aquinas. "Scotists and Thomists now in peace remain." Pope, *Ess. on Crit.*, 444.

⁴⁵ *reiicitus*: for *reiectus*, "ploughed."

⁴⁵ *impeditus*: "Si autem negligens quis omnino fuerit . . . sit impeditus." *Die Stat. der Univ. Leip.* (ut *supra*), p. 443.

⁵⁰ *una dictio*: "one word," the numeral here being correctly used.

⁵³ *termini*: "technical terms."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

55 doctores in sacra theologia non dicuntur doctores, sed propter humilitatem et etiam sanctitatem, et propter differentiam nominantur seu appellantur magistri nostri, quia stant in fide catholica in loco domini nostri Iesu Christi qui est fons vitae; sed Christus fuit nostrorum
60 omnium magister; ergo ipsi appellantur magistri nostri, quia habent nos instruere in via veritatis, et deus est veritas, quapropter merito vocantur magistri nostri, quia omnes nos scilicet Christiani debemus et tenemur audire praedicationem eorum, et nullus debet dicere
65 contra eos, ex quo sunt omnium nostrum magistri. Sed "nostro-tras-trare" non est in usu, et neque legitur in vocabulario Exquo, neque in Catholicon, neque in Breviloquo, neque in Gemmagemmarum, qui tamen habet multos terminos: Ergo debemus dicere "noster magistrandus," et non "magister nostrandus."

Tunc Magister Andreas Delitzsch, qui est multum

⁵⁷ *mag. nost.*: "They take themselves in a manner for God's peres, when they are saluted solemnly by the name of maister doctours, or Magister noster: . . . and therefore they affyrme it to be a muche great offence, if one doe write MAGISTER NOSTER otherwise than with great letters, that and if ye tourne the words, saying noster Magister, in steede of Magister noster, than all at ones ye disorder the majestee of the Theological name." Erasmus, *Enc. Moriae* (Challoner's transl.).

⁶⁷ *Vocabulario*, &c. The work usually cited as the *Vocabularius Ex quo* is a Latin-German vocabulary, compiled from the *Catholicon* (*v. infra*), and other works, and first printed in 1467.

⁶⁷ *Catholicon*. A Latin Grammar and Dictionary, compiled by Joannes Balbus de Janua (Giovanni da Genova) in five parts. It was based on the *Magnae Derivationes* of Hugutio, or Uguccione, of Pisa.

Uguccione's book (which was never printed, though MSS. are numerous) was in its turn based on the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, and the *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* of Papia (Papias) the Lombard. (P. J. Toynbee, *Dante's Obligations to the Mag. Deriv. of Uguccione of Pisa*, Romania, October 1897.)

The edition of the *Cathol.* pub. at Mentz in 1460 is one of the earliest of printed books. In an eloquent colophon the printer draws attention to the novelty of the process employed, in which neither "reed, stile, nor pen" was made use of.

⁶⁸ *Breviloquo*: this lexicon, formerly attributed to Guarinus of Verona, was the work of Reuchlin. S. Berger (*De Glossariis . . . quibusdam Med. Aevi . . . Dissertatio Critica*, Paris, 1879, p. 30) remarks that it would have been scarcely credible that such a "preposterous lexicographer" could have been Reuchlin himself, had not Melancthon vouched for the fact. We must bear in mind, however, that Reuchlin was only twenty years old when the *Breviloquus* was published, and although many of its etymologies are sufficiently absurd, it is not merely a Scriptural, but a classical vocabulary.

⁶⁸ The *Gemma Gemmarum* was a popular Latin-German lexicon, numerous editions of which had been published before 1515.

⁷¹ *Andr. Delitzsch*. Andreas Epistates, or Delicianus, was rector of the University of Leipsic in 1513 and 1519. (See note, l. 87, *inf.*)

subtilis et pro parte est poeta, et pro parte est artista, medicus et iurista, et iam legit ordinarie Ovidium in metañ, et exponit omnes fabulas allegorice et litteraliter, et ego fui auditor eius, quia exponit multum fundament- 75 aliter, et etiam legit in domo sua Quintilianum et Iuven- cum, et ipse tenuit oppositum magistro warmsemel, et dixit quod debemus dicere "magisternostrandus." Quia sicut est differentia inter "magister noster," et "noster magister," ita etiam est differentia inter "magister 80 nostrandus," et "noster magistrandus": Quia mgr̃ nř dicitur doctor in theologia, et est una dictio, sed "noster magister" sunt duae dictiones, et sumitur pro unoquoque magistro in quacunque scientia liberali, seu mechanica manuali seu capitali. Et non obstat quod 85 "nostro-tras-trare" non est in usu, q̃ possumus fingere nova vocabula, et ipse allegavit super hoc Horatium.

Tunc magistri multum admiraverunt eius subtilita- tem, et unus portavit ei unum cantharum cerevisiae Neubergensis, et ipse dixit: "ego volo expectare, sed 90 parcatis mihi," et tetigit birretum, et risit hilariter, et portavit magistro warmsemel, et dixit: "Ecce domine magister, ne putetis quod sum inimicus vester," et bibit in uno anhelitu; et magister warmsemel respondit ei fortiter pro honore Slesitarum. Et magistri omnes 95 fuerunt laeti, et postea fuit pulsatum ad vespas.

⁷³ Ordinary lectures were delivered before noon; opposed to "extraordinary" and "cursory" lectures, which were less formal, and given at various hours.

⁷⁴ allegorice, &c. See i. 28.

⁷⁶ Quintilianum, &c. The *De Institutione Oratoria Libri XII.* of M. Fabius Quintilianus was several times printed before 1513, as well as the *Declamationes*, now regarded as spurious. Caius Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, "the Christian Virgil," wrote a Gospel History in 3233 hexameters, under the title of *C. V. A. J. Hispani Presbyteri Evangelicae Historiae Lib. IV.* (Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, tom. xix.)

⁸⁷ Horatium: "Et nova fictaque habebunt verba fidem, si nuper Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta."

De Arte Poet., 52.

This quotation is attributed to Delitsch with peculiar propriety. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of: *Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini Institutiones Pætarum [sic] ad Pisones (s. l. et a).* This has, by way of preface, *Dicolon Distrophon M. Andree Epistatis Delitiani ad Lectorem*, and at the end some verses headed *M. Andreas Epistates Delitianus in Antipoetas.*

⁸⁸ Admiraverunt: Act. for Dep. forms are common in the E. O. V., but not consistently.

⁹¹ birretum: biretta, "college-cap."

⁹⁵ Slesitarum. The four "nations" at Leipsic University were usually known as the Bavarian, the Polish, the Saxon, and the Misnian. See Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages*, ii. 256.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Quapropter rogo excellentiam vestram quod velitis mihi exponere mentem vestram, quia vos estis multum profundus: et ego dixi protunc, "magister Ortvinus debet mihi bene scribere veritatem, quia fuit praeceptor meus in Daventria, quando fui tertiarius."

Etiam debetis mihi certificare quomodo stat in guerra inter vos et doctorem Ioannem Reuchlin. Quia intellexi quod iste ribaldus (quamvis sit doctor et iurista) nondum vult revocare verba sua. Et mittatis etiam adhuc semel mihi librum magistri nostri Arnoldi de Thungaris, quem articulatim composuit, quia est multum subtilis, et tractat de multis profunditatibus in theologia. Valete, et non habeatis pro malo, quod scribo vobis ita socialiter, quia vos dixistis mihi olim quod amatis me sicut frater, et vultis me promovere in omnibus, etiam si debeatis mihi concedere magnam pecuniam.

Datum in LYPTZICK.

II

¶ *MAGISTER IOANNES PELLIFEX S. D.
M. Ortvinio Gratio*

SALUTEM amicabilem et servitutem incredibilem. Venerabilis domine magister.

Quia, ut dicit Aristot' in praedicamentis, de singulis dubitare non est inutile: quapropter est una res quae

[¹⁰² *certificare*: for *certiorem facere*, "you might let me know."

¹⁰³ *guerra*, "dispute"; common in Med. Lat.

¹⁰⁴ *ribaldus*: here a mere term of abuse, "blackguard." For a discussion of this curious word, see T. Wright, *Political Songs of England*, 1839 (Notes).

¹⁰⁶ *Arnoldi*: of Arnold von Tongern, apart from his connection with the Reuchlin controversy, we know but little. Various known as Arnoldus Luydius, A. Tungris (Tungaris, Thungaris), he was born at, or near, Tongres, in what is now the Belgian province of Limbourg. In 1494 he became Dean of

the Faculty of Arts at Cologne, and held a prebend at the Cathedral, which he resigned on being presented to one at Liège by his patron, and former pupil, the bishop of the latter see. The derisive attacks made upon von Tongern in the E. O. V. are bitter and unscrupulous. He died at Liège, 1540, and was buried in the Cathedral, where his epitaph may still be read.

¹⁰⁷ *articulatim*: i.e. in the form of "Articuli." See Introd.

¹¹² *concedere*: i.e. by way of bribes to patrons.

¹ *Pellifer*: currier.

⁵ *Arist.* Cf. i. 1.

facit mihi magnam conscientiam. Nuper fui in missa Franckfurdensi. Tunc ivi cum uno baccalaurio per plateam ad forum, et obviaverunt nobis duo viri qui apparuerunt satis honesti, quantum ad aspectum, et habuerunt nigras tunicas, et magna caputia cum liripipiis. Et deus est testis meus quod putavi quod sint duo magistri nostri: et feci ipsis reverentiam, deponendo birretum: tunc ille baccalaurius stimulavit me, et dixit: "Amore dei quid facitis? isti sunt Iudaei, et vos deponitis birretum vestrum ante eos:" tunc ego ita fui perterritus, ut si vidissem unum diabolum. Et dixi; "domine baccalaurie, parcat mihi dominus deus, quia feci ignoranter. Sed quid putatis, utrum sit magnum peccatum?"

Et primo dixit quod videtur sibi, quod est peccatum mortale, quia comprehenditur sub idolatria, et est contra primum praeceptum ex decem praeceptis, quod est "unum crede deum." Quia quando aliquis facit honorem Iudaeo, vel pagano quasi esset Christianus, tunc facit contra Christianitatem, et apparet esse met

⁷ *missa*: Germ. *Messe*; fair, or market-day: originally used in the sense of "Mass," the word came to mean the festival of a saint on which a solemn mass was celebrated (e.g. Martinmas), and then a fair, frequently held on festival days—witness Bartholomew Fair, famous in England for seven hundred years. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.: "Sed et inde Germanis Missae nomen nundinis publicis quae ad alicujus Sancti festum vel Ecclesiam celebrari solent: verbi gratia Francfurtermisse."

¹¹ *liripipiis*: they were "liripionated," like Master Janotus de Bragmardo (Rabelais, *Garg.*, i. 18). The exact nature of the "liripipium" has been variously described by glossarists, and varied at different epochs. Ménage absurdly derived the word from *cleri ephippium* (see N. E. D.). Du Cange defines it as *epomis* (i.e. *ἐπώμις*, a shoulder-strap)—"unde Belgis Liire-Piipe, seu potius longa fascia, vel cauda caputii." It here means a long appendage of the hood, that hung down when the latter was thrown back, but was used to secure it when drawn over the

head. For an illustration, see W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1840, p. 532.

²¹ *peccatum mortale*. It was not until the XIIth Cent. that a serious attempt was made to distinguish mortal from venial sins, but thenceforward the Schoolmen exercised a vast amount of ingenuity with reference to the matter. Thomas of Walden, in response to Wiclif's challenge upon the subject, said, "Nothing is clearer than the difference between them, nothing more obscure than the line of demarcation." While to those who held that "an infinity of venial sins did not amount to a single mortal sin," it was clearly of the utmost importance to distinguish them accurately, insuperable difficulties arose, not only from diversities of classification on the part of authorities, but also from the incalculable effects of extenuating, or aggravating, circumstances in removing a sin from one category to the other. For an exhaustive historical account of the whole question, see H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Auric. Conf. and Indulgences*, vol. i.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Iudaeus, vel paganus, et tunc Iudaei et pagani dicunt :
 “ Ecce nos sumus de via meliori, quia Christiani faciunt
 nobis reverentiam ; et nisi essemus de via meliori,
 30 non facerent nobis reverentiam ; ” et sic fortificantur
 in sua fide, et despiciunt fidem Christianam, et non
 permittunt se baptizare.

Tunc ego respondi : “ Est bene verum, quando
 aliquis facit scienter ; sed ego feci cum ignorantia ; et
 35 ignorantia excusat peccatum. Quia si scivissem quod
 fuissent Iudaei, et fecissem eis honorem, tunc fuisset
 dignus ad comburendum, quia esset haeresis. Sed
 neque verbo, neque opere, sicut scit deus, aliquid novi,
 quia putavi quod essent magistri nostri. ” Tunc ipse
 40 dixit, quod tamen est adhuc peccatum, et dixit ; “ Ego
 etiam semel ivi per ecclesiam, ubi stat unus Iudaeus
 ligneus ante salvatorem, et habet malleum in manu ; et
 ego putavi quod est sanctus Petrus, et haberet clavem
 in manu, et flexi genua, et deposui birretum. Tunc vidi
 45 quod est Iudaeus, et etiam paenituit me : tamen in
 confessione cum confitebar in monasterio praedica-
 torum, dixit mihi confessor meus quod est peccatum
 mortale, quia debemus respicere ; et dixit quod non
 possit me absolvere, nisi haberet potestatem episcopalem,
 50 quia esset casus episcopalis. Et dixit quod si libenter
 fecissem, et non ignoranter, tunc fuisset casus papalis.
 Et sic fui absolutus, quia habuit potestatem episco-
 palem. Et per deum ego credo, quod si vultis salvare
 conscientiam vestram, oportet facere confessionem
 55 officiali consistorii. Et ignorantia non potest excusare

³⁵ *ignorantia excusat*. The different degrees and aspects of “ignorance” are to be carefully distinguished : *Ignoratio simplex*, where no suspicion existed of the existence of a law or precept ; *ig. probabilis*, resulting from wrong information given to an honest inquirer ; *ig. vincibilis*, where due diligence in inquiry has not been used ; *ig. affectata*, where ignorance is deliberately chosen with a sinful object ; and *ig. crassa aut supina*, alluded to below, l. 59. See Lea, *op. cit.*, ii. 251.

⁵⁰ *casus episcopalis*. “Reserved cases” were sins for which the parish priest had no right to grant absolution, and were ranked as “episcopal” or “papal” when reserved to the bishop

or the Holy See respectively. (Lea, *op. cit.*, i. 312.) St. Antonino, *Confessionale* (1450), gives a list of thirty-six papal reserved cases and fifty-seven episcopal, thus leaving very few for the priest.

⁵⁵ *officiali consist.* : “Le nom *consistorium* . . . dans l’Église on se servit d’abord de cette expression pour désigner le lieu où les prêtres se réunissaient comme conseillers de l’évêque ; puis on l’appliqua à la réunion elle-même dans laquelle un Prince de l’Église délibérait avec les dignitaires de son église sur des affaires importantes.” Wetzer und Welte, *Dict. Encycl. de la Théologie Cath.*, tom. v., Paris, 1859.

illud peccatum, quia deberetis respicere; et Iudaei habent semper unum gilvum circumum ante in pallio, quem deberetis vidisse, sicut et ego vidi: ergo est ignorantia crassa et non valet ad absolutionem peccati."

Sic pro tunc dixit mihi ille baccalaurius.

60

Sed quia vos estis profundus theologus, rogo vos devote necnon humiliter, quatenus dignemini mihi solvere praedictam quaestionem, et scribere an est peccatum mortale an veniale, simplex casus an episcopalis an papalis.

65

Et etiam scribatis mihi an videtur vobis quod cives in Franckfordia recte faciunt, quod habent illam consuetudinem, quod permittunt Iudaeos incedere in habitu magistrorum nostrorum: mihi videtur quod non est rectum et est magnum scandalum, quod non est differentia inter Iudaeos et magistros nostros; etiam est derisio sacrosanctae Theologiae. Et serenissimus dominus imperator nullo modo deberet [pati], quod unus Iudaeus qui est sicut canis, et est inimicus Christi, debet incedere sicut doctor sacrae theologiae.

75

⁵⁷ *gilvum circumum*: a circular yellow patch. The Jews had been obliged, throughout Western Europe, to wear a distinctive garb or badge since the XIIIth Cent. See Du Cange, s.v. *Judaei*. "Romae generale Concilium (Lateran), a Papa Innocentio celebratum . . . Judaeis indixit Signum circulare in pectoribus bajulare, ut inter ipsos et Christianos discretio seu divisio vestium haberetur." *Chron. Rothmagenae*, 1215. Sometimes the badge had to appear on the back as well as the breast. In a Synod held in Paris in 1269 it was ordered that Jews, of both sexes, should wear "unam rotam de filtro [felt], seu panno croceo, in superiori veste consutam ante pectus et retro ad eorum cognitionem." *Stat. Syn. Odonis Ep.*, Paris, 1269. In England the patches were rectangular. In Rymer's *Foedera*, ii. 83, there is a letter from Edward I. (May 24, 1277) to Hugo de Digeneton ordering all Jews, from the age of seven, to bear upon their outer garments a badge "ad modum duarum tabularum de feltro croceo, longitudinis videlicet

sex pollicum et latitudinis trium pollicum."

⁵⁹ *crassa*. Ignorance is "crassa et supina" when one "not deliberately, but through mere negligence, is ignorant of that which he can and ought to know." Ant. Diana, *Summa Diana*, Antwerp, 1659, p. 333.

⁷⁰ *scandalum*. The grievance that Jews were permitted to dress like Doctors of Divinity was an old one. In 1248 we are told that "the Jews of the diocese of Maguelonne [near Montpellier] and the surrounding districts affect large round capes after the fashion of the priests, so that it often happens that travellers and strangers pay them the respect due to clerics." *Reg. d'Inn. IV.*, ed. Berger, No. 4123. John Evelyn, *Diary*, May 6, 1645, relates a closely parallel mischance that befell a dignitary of the Church: "The Jewes in Rome wore red hatts till the Cardinal of Lions, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a cardinal, as he passed by his coach; on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Etiam mitto vobis unum dictamen magistri Berni. Plumilegi, vulgariter Federleser, quod misit mihi ex Wittenpurck. Vos enim novistis eum, quia fuit olim
 80 fecistis ei bonam societatem, et ipse adhuc est bonus socius et commendat vos laudabiliter: et sic valet in nomine domini.

Datum LYPTZICK.

III

¶ M. BERNHARDUS PLUMILEGUS Magistro Ortino Gratio, S. D. P.

“**M**US miser est antro qui solum clauditur uno.”
 Sic etiam possum dicere de me cum suppor-
 5 tatione, venerabilis vir, quia essem pauper si haberem tantum unum amicum, et quando ille unus superdaret me, tunc non haberem alium, qui me tractaret amica-
 biliter.

Sicut nunc quidam poeta hic qui vocatur Georius
 10 Sibutus, et est unus ex poetis saecularibus, et legit publice in poetria, et est alias bonus socius. Sed sicut vos scitis, isti poetae quando non sunt etiam theologi

⁷⁶ dictamen: i.e. the succeeding letter, i. 3, apparently.

¹ Plumilegus. Cf. i. 2. “B. P. vulgariter Federleser . . . ex Wittenpurck.” *Federleser*, lit. “feather-picker.” Allusion unknown.

³ Mus, &c. Paulus Olearius, *De fide concubinarum in Sacerdotes*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1643 (p. 538). Cf. “Est ist eine schlechte Maus die nur Ein Loch weiss.” Zingerle, *Der Deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter*, I. v., Wien, 1864 (p. 100). For many forms of this proverb, see Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, Leipsic, 1872-5, vol. i. p. 192.

⁴ cum supp.: “by your favour,” a deprecatory phrase occurring several times in the E. O. V. (i. 46; ii. 34, &c.), but not found elsewhere in this sense. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.

⁹ Georius, for Georgius: “Joris.”

¹⁰ G. Sibutus was a polemical

humanist and poet of Vienna. See ii. 51, n. He was a pupil of Conradus Celtes. Sibutus styled himself *Daripinus*, which Böcking ingeniously interprets as meaning “of Tannroda” (a village near Weimar), Tannroda meaning “pine-clearing,” and Daripinus being compounded of δάρειν and pinus. This hybrid is paralleled by *Albiorin*, i.e. *albam* + ὄρος, for Wittenberg, in *Georgii Sibuti Daripini Poete et Oratoris laureati: Silvula in Albiorin illustrata*, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. (By error, *Darigini* for *Daripini* in the Catal.) The best known work of Sibutus is, perhaps, his *Ars Memorativa*.

¹⁰ legit: “lectures publicly on.”

¹¹ bonus socius: “a boon-companion.” Cf. “As they call good fellows now a dayes, which are those that can drink best.” *Meet. of Gullants at Ord.*, 1604 (N. E. D.).

I. 3] BERNHARDUS PLUMILEGUS

sicut vos, semper volunt reprehendere alios, et parvi-
pendunt Theologos.

Et semel in una zeccha in domo sua, quando bibimus 15
cerevisiam Turgensem, et sedimus usque ad tertiam
horam. Et ego fui modicum ebrius, quia illa cerevisia
ascendit mihi in caput, tunc fuit ibi unus qui alias non
stetit bene mecum, et ego apportavi ei unum medium
cantarum, et ipse accepit. Sed postea non voluit mihi 20
simile facere.

Et ter cavisavi eum, et non voluit mihi respondere,
et sedit cum silentio et nihil dixit: tunc ego cogitavi:
“Ecce iste alias spernit te, et est superbus, et semper
vult te confundere.” 25

Et fui commotus in ira mea, et accepi cantarum et
percussi ei ad caput. Tunc ille poeta fuit iratus super
me, et dixit quod fecissem rumorem in domo sua, et
dixit quod deberem exire de domo sua in nomine
diaboli. 30

Tunc ego respondi: “Quid tunc est, si estis inimi-
cus meus. Ego bene habui ita malos inimicos sicut
vos estis, et tamen mansi prae eis. Quid tunc est
etiam si estis poeta. Ego habeo etiam poetas qui
sunt amici mei et sunt bene ita boni sicut vos; ego 35
bene merdarem in vestram poetriam. Quid creditis?
Putatis quod ego sum stultus, vel quod sum natus
super arborem sicut poma?”

Tunc vocavit me asinum, et dixit quod ego nunquam
vidi unum poetam. Et ego dixi: “tu met es asinus in 40
cute tua; ego vidi bene plures poetas quam tu;” et dixi
de vobis et de magistro nostro Sotphi in bursa Kneck,

¹⁵ *zeccha*: “a drinking-bout”;
“Nullum membrum universitatis
in loco suspecto zechas teneat;”
Stat. Univ. Tübingensis; *Urk. zur*
Gesch. der Universität Tübingen, 55,
421.

¹⁶ *Turgensem*. See i. 1, n.

²² *cavisavi*: “challenged” him,
and thus drew his attention to the
breach of good manners. (Peculiar
to the E. O. V.)

²⁶ *canta.*:

“Anone begynneth brawlyng and
debate

Blasfemyng and othes the pot
about the pate.”

—Barclay, *The Ship of Fools*,
ii. 71 (1874).

³⁷ *Natus*, &c. Cf. ii. 19.

⁴² *Sotphi*: Gerard of Zutphen,
Rector of the University of Cologne,
1505. See i. 19.

⁴² *Kneck*: or, rather, “Kuijk”;
one of the hostels at Cologne (in formal
documents, *Bursa Cucana*), named in
honour of a former rector, Johann
Cuick. A “Bursa” was a house in-
habited by students, under the super-
vision of a graduate; a hostel.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

qui composuit glosam notabilem, et de domino Rutgero
licentiato Theologiae in bursa Montis; et sic exivi
45 domum suam, et adhuc sumus inimici. Quapropter
rogo vos valide cordialiter quatenus velletis mihi semel
scribere unum dictamen, tunc ego volo huic poetae et
aliis ostendere, et volo gloriari quod estis amicus meus,
et estis bene melior poeta quam ille.

50 Et praecipue scribite mihi quid faciat dominus
Ioannes Pfefferkorn, an adhuc habet inimicitiam cum
doctore Reuchlin, et an vos adhuc defenditis eum
sicut fecistis, et mittite mihi unam novitatem. Valete
in Christo.

IV

❧ M. IOANNES CANTRIFUSORIS *M. Ortvino Gratia*

SALUTEM cordialem. Venerabilis domine magister,
quoniamquidem saepe tractavimus tales levitates
5 ad invicem. Et quia non est cura vobis si aliquis
dixerit vobis unam fantasiam sicut ego nunc intendo,
propterea non timui quod tollatis in malam partem
quod scribam vobis nunc unam cavillationem, quia
vos etiam facitis taliter. Et vos ridebitis, ego scio,
10 quia est mirabile factum.

Fuit hic nuper quidam de ordine praedicatorum, et

⁴³ *glosam notabilem*: viz. upon the first and second parts of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Grammaticus. (See i. 5, n.) This dreary treatise on Latin grammar comprises 2645 lines of doggerel verse (Pt. I., 1–1073; Pt. II., 1074–1549; Pt. III., 1550–2281; Pt. IV., 2282–2645). Its popularity was extraordinary. Karl Kehrbach, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, Bd. XII. (1893), describes 295 printed editions of the whole or part of the *Doctrinale*, or of commentaries thereon. The first edition is that of Venice (?), c. 1470—the last that of Brescia, 1583 (until reprinted by Kehrbach).

⁴⁴ *bursa Montis*, or Montana (otherwise “Burs unter XVI. Häusern”), named from Lambert de Monte.

⁴⁷ *dictamen*: here, simply “a composition.” The art of *Dictamen* comprehended the whole art of composition in prose and verse; and an important branch of it was concerned with rules for letter-writing, private and official. As Rashdall (i. 111) points out, *Dictamen* formed a link between grammar and law.

¹ *cantrifusoris*: quasi “cantharifusoris,” pewterer. The name occurs in the “Album” of the Univ. of Wittenberg in 1502, and as that of the author of two poems at the end of a pamphlet entitled *Orationes Doctoris Christophori Scheurli . . . Habita in gymnasio Wittenbergensi . . . 1507 (s. l. et a.)*.

fuit satis profundus in Theologia, et fuit speculativus, et habuit etiam multos fautores. Ipse vocatur dominus Georgius. Et primum fuit Hallis, deinde venit huc, et praedicavit bene per dimidium annum, in sermone suo reprehendens omnes homines, etiam principem et suos vasallos. Sed in collatione fuit socialis et laetae mentis, et bibit cum sociis ad dimidios et ad totos. Sed semper quando de sero bibit nobiscum, tunc de mane praedicavit de nobis, dicens: "Ita sedent magistri in hac universitate cum suis sociis per totam noctem bibentes, ludentes, et tractantes levitatem. Et ipsi deberent eos de talibus emendare, tunc ipsi incipiunt." Et saepe fecit mihi verecundiam.

Et fui iratus super eum, et cogitavi quomodo possem me vindicare. Et non potui imaginare quomodo facerem. Et semel dixit mihi unus, quomodo de nocte iret ille praedicator ad unam mulierem, et supponeret eam, et dormiret cum ea. Et ego audiens talia, semel accepi aliquos socios qui stant in collegio, et circa horam decimam ivimus ad illam domum, et per vim intravimus; tunc ille monachus volens fugere, non habuit tempus ut tolleretur vestimenta sua, et saltavit nudus ex fenestra, et ego risi ita quod statim perminxissem me, et clamavi: "Domine praedicator, tollatis pontificalia vestra," et

¹² *speculativus*: fond of mooting and discussing knotty points. In ii. 6 Hochstratus is said to be "speculativus et argumentifex singularis." In i. 42, "in spec. scient.," the word bears its more usual meaning of "theoretical."

¹⁴ *Hallis*. The Univ. of Wittenberg was incorporated with that of Halle in 1815—the latter having been founded in 1694 by Frederick I. of Prussia.

¹⁶ *principem*: i.e. Luther's friend, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.

¹⁷ *collatione*: here, as in many other places in the E. O. V., in the sense of the common evening meal or potation. In i. 30, however, we find *collatio* in the noteworthy sense of a sermon or discourse—"in secunda parte suae collationis induxit duas conclusiones," &c. The history of the word is not free from obscurity.

An excellent discussion of the whole matter, with copious illustrative quotations, will be found in the "New Engl. Dict.," s.v. "collation." It is there pointed out that the work from the public reading of which the term probably originated was the *Collationes Patrum in Scetica Eremo Commorantium*, of John Cassian, A.D. 410–20; "collatio" first signifying the work itself—then the reading thereof—and then, the repast that followed. Other authorities, however, quoted by Du Cange, consider that "collatio" originally meant a conference, or discussion, held by the monks upon the passage read.

²⁶ *imaginare*: peculiar to the E. O. V.

²⁷ *de nocte*, &c. Boccaccio relates a similar tale.

³⁵ *pontificalia*: literally, the insignia of a bishop; here, derisively.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

socii exterius proiecerunt eum in merdam et in aquam. Sed ego compescui eos, et dixi quod haberent discretionem; verūtamē adiuvi eos quod omnes supposuimus illam mulierem: et ita vindicavi me de illo monacho, et postea id non amplius praedicavit de me. Sed non debetis aliis dicere, propterea quod fratres praedicatores nunc sunt pro vobis contra doctorem Reuchlin, et defendunt ecclesiam et fidem catholicam contra illos poetas saeculares: ego vellem quod iste monachus fuisset de alio ordine, quia ille ordo est valde mirificus inter omnes.

Vos etiam debetis mihi aliquid risibile significare, et non irascimini mihi. Valet.

EX WITTENBERG.

V

¶ IOANNES STRAUSSFEDERIUS

Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM maximam et multas bonas noctes sicut sunt stellae in caelo, et pisces in mari. Et debetis scire quod ego sum sanus, et etiam mater mea. Et vellem libenter etiam taliter audire de vobis, quia ego cogito cottidie ad minus semel de vestra dominatione. Sed cum licentia audite unum magnum miraculum, quod fecit hic unus nobilista: diabolus confundat eum in aeternum: quia scandalizavit dominum magistrum nostrum Petrum Meyer in mensa, ubi fuerunt multi

³⁸ *exterius*: "in the street."

⁴⁰ *non debetis*, &c.: lest discredit attach to the Dominicans.

⁴⁵ *mirificus*: witness the "miracles" at Berne! The *Aurea Legenda* of Jacobus de Voragine is largely devoted to the wonders worked by Dominicans.

¹ *Straussfederius*. Probably merely "fool and featherhead." Tennyson, *Q. Mary*, v. 1.

³ *Salutem*, &c. Cf. *Epistole Karoli*, H. Quentell, Coloniae, 1493. (B.M.) "Salutes equantes maris arcnas" (p. v); "Salutes stellis numerosiores" (p. xxix).

⁹ *nobilista*: i.e. Ulrich von Hutten.

¹¹ *Meyer*: Peter Meyer, or Mayer, was *plebanus* (parish priest) of St. Bartholomew's, Frankfort-on-Main: a bitter opponent of Reuchlin and the humanists. Ever at strife with his fellow-citizens, he seems to have made Frankfort too hot to hold him, and in 1525 left it, never to return. In the *Triumphus Capionis* we read (vv. 789-841):—

"Sed quo te Mayre ponam
Petre loco? quove ore tuos pro tempore requē
Exponam mores?"

domini et nobilistae, et non habuit unam guttam verecundiae, sed fuit ita praetensus quod ego miror.

Ipse dixit: "Ecce doctor Ioannes Reuchlin est doctor quam vos," et dedit ei unum knipp. Tunc magister noster Petrus dixit: "Ego mitterem solvere collum meum an hoc est verum. Sancta Maria, doctor Reuchlin est in theologia sicut unus puer, et unus puer plus scit in theologia quam doctor Reuchlin. Sancta Maria, credatis mihi, quia ego habeo experientiam. Tamen ipse nihil scit in libris Sententiarum. Sancta Maria, ista materia est subtilis, et homines non possunt ita capere sicut grammaticam et poetriam. Ego vellem etiam bene poeta esse, et scirem etiam componere metra, quia audiui in Lyptzick Sulpitium de quantitatibus syllabarum. Sed quid est? Ipse deberet mihi proponere unam quaestionem in theologia, et deberet arguere pro et contra."

Et ipse probavit per multas rationes, quod nemo scit perfecte theologiam, nisi per spiritum sanctum.

Qua nunc vanissime rumpes
Materia jecur hoc? quoque exercebis
amaram

Ex odio linguam? quo nunc sermone placebis

Huic populo? quem deute petes?
quemve ore maligno?

Praeterea nemo est ex vulgo indoctor isto;

Audax nemo magis . . ."

¹² *guttam*: used in the sense of "a morsel" by Lucretius (iv. 1056) and Plautus (*Ps.* I. iv. 4), but here probably intended to be grotesque.

¹³ *praetensus*: here, "presumptuous." Du Cange gives only the meaning "suppositus, *Gall.* prétendu."

¹⁵ *knipp*: (Ger.) a derisive snap of the fingers.

²¹ *in lib. Sent.*: Peter the Lombard, one of the greatest of the Schoolmen, was born at Lumelognio, near Novara, in Lombardy, about 1100 A.D. The fame of his *Sententiarum Libri IV.* led to his being usually styled the Master of the Sentences. This "Book of Sentences" is a classified collection of opinions of the Fathers on various doctrinal points, with objections

and replies from other authors also. Innumerable commentaries on this work appeared (more than 150 in England alone) from the XIIth Cent. down to the Reformation. Among the commentators appear such great names as Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, William of Occam, and Thomas Aquinas. Peter the Lombard became Bishop of Paris A.D. 1159, and died in the following year.

²⁵ *Sulpit.*: "If I am not mistaken, he was a native of Verulum (Veroli) in the Campania di Roma. . . . He flourished towards the end of the XVth Cent. His commentary upon Lucan's *Pharsalia* was pretty good for the time. La Croix du Maine . . . calls him John Sulpitius of S. Alban." Bayle, *Hist. and Crit. Dict.*, ed. Des Maizeaux, 1738, p. 269. One edition of the work referred to is *Sulpitii Verulani de versuum scansione. De syllabarum quantitate* (&c.). Antonius Zarotus *purmensis impressit Mediolani. MCCCCXXXII. die. ii. Novembris.* (B. M.) S. attempts to formulate rules for the quantity of every possible syllable formed by a vowel and a consonant. The number of exceptions may be imagined.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Et spiritussanctus infundit illam artem. Et poetria est cibus diaboli, sicut dicit Hieronymus in suo epistolari.

Tunc ille bufo dixit quod non est verum, et quod doctor Reuchlin etiam habet spiritumsanctum, et quod
 35 est sufficiens in theologia, quia composuit unum librum satis theologicalem, et nescio quomodo vocatur, et nominavit magistrum nostrum Petrum unam bestiam. Et dixit quod magister noster Hochstratus est frater casearius. Et commensales riserunt. Sed ego dixi
 40 quod est scandalum, quod unus simplex socius debet esse ita irreverentialis coram uno magistro nostro. Et doctor Petrus fuit ita iratus, quod surrexit de mensa, et allegavit evangelium dicens: "Samaritanus es, et diabolum habes." Et ego dixi: "Capias tibi hoc."
 45 Et fui valde gavisus, quod ita realiter expeditum illum truffatorem.

Vos debetis procedere in factis vestris, et debetis defendere theologiam, sicut fecistis antea, et non debetis aliquem respicere, sive sit nobilis sive rusticus,
 50 quia vos estis sufficiens. Si scirem ita facere carmina sicut vos, ego non curarem unum principem, etiam si vellet me interficere. Sed alias sum inimicus juristarum, quia vadunt in rubeis caligis, et in mardaris schubis, et non faciunt debitam reverentiam magistris,
 55 et magistris nostris.

³² Hieron.: "Daemonum cibus est carmina Poetarum, saecularis sapientia, Rhetoricorum pompa verborum." Sanct. Hieron. Epist. ad Damasum de duobus filiis. Migne, Patrol. Coursus Completus, tom. xxii. col. 385.

³³ bufo: of frequent use in the E. O. V. for buffo. Cf. "Item praecipimus, quod clerici non sint joculariores, goliardi, seu bufones." Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, Martène et Durand, Paris, 1717, tom. iv. col. 727. See also i. 10 and i. 17. "Buffones, scurrae," Du Cange.

³⁵ sufficiens. Reuchlin, in a letter addressed to Arnold von Tongern, Oct. 28, 1511, and quoted at length in the *Pepericorni Defensio*, writes: "Fateor enim, in scholis theologiam non didici, sed civiles leges."

³⁵ unum libr.: possibly the *De Verbo Mirifico*; the *Augenspiegel* itself can scarcely be meant.

³⁹ casearius: i.e. a mendicant monk

to whom the country-folk were wont to give cheeses as alms. Cf. ii. 27.

⁴⁴ diabolum: John viii. 48; but "daemonium" in the Vulg.

⁴⁵ realiter: "to some purpose"; a favourite adverb in the E. O. V. Cf. "Promittit auxilium suum realiter cum effectu" (i. 11).

⁴⁶ truffatorem: the glossarists are not agreed upon the precise meaning of this word. Cf. Du Cange, Diefenbach, and Diez, s.v. "Boaster" or "wind-bag" seems most suitable here. "Trifler" is etymologically allied, as is "truffle."

⁵³ rub. cal.: the clergy were prohibited from wearing red shoes. Cf. Du Cange, s.v. *caliga*.

⁵³ mard. schub.: (Ger.) *Schaube*, "a cloak"; *Marder*, "a marten." Cf. "Budge doctors of the stoic fur." This passage is quoted by Du Cange, "*Mardara scuba*: Toga pellibus muscellarum instructa."

Ego etiam peto vos humiliter necnon affectualiter, quatenus significaveritis mihi quomodo stat in Parrhisia cum Speculo oculari. Deus tribuat quod alma mater universitas Parrhisiensis velit tenere vobiscum, et comburere illum haeticum librum, quia habet multa ⁶⁰ scandala, sicut scripsit magister noster Tungarus.

Ego audiui quod magister noster Sotphi, in bursa Kneek, qui composuit glosam notabilem super quattuor partes Alexandri, est mortuus. Sed spero quod non est verum, quia fuit excellens vir, et fuit profundus ⁶⁵ grammaticus, et fuit bene melior quam isti novi grammatici poetales. Salutare etiam dignemini mihi magistrum nostrum Remigium, quia olim fuit praeceptor meus singularissimus, et saepe dedit mihi bonas vexas, quando dixit mihi: "Tu es sicut auca, et non ⁷⁰ vis studere quod fias magnus argumentator." Et ego dixi: "Exinie domine magister noster, ego volo me emendare in posterum:" tunc aliquando dimisit me, aliquando dedit mihi bonam disciplinam. Et protunc ego fui ita discretus, quod libenter accepi correctiones ⁷⁵ pro negligentis meis. Sed nihil amplius habeo vos scribere, praeter quod velitis vivere centum annos. Et valete in requie.

Datum MOGUNTIAE.

VI

¶ NICOLAUS CAPRIMULGIUS *Baccalarius*
M. Ortino Gra.

SAL. plurimam cum magna reverentia erga vestram dignitatem, sicut debeo scribens ad vestram magistralitatem. Venerabilis domine magister, sciatis quod ⁵

⁵⁶ *affectualiter*. Not elsewhere found.

⁶² *Sotphi*. Cf. i. 3, n.

⁶⁴ *Alexandri*: Alexander Gallus, de Villa Dei, or Grammaticus, was born at Villedieu, in France, at the end of the XIIth or beginning of the XIIIth Cent. For his treatise on Latin grammar, see i. 3, n.

⁶⁵ *Remig.*: R. de Malmundario, Rector of the Univ. of Cologne in 1498. Cf. Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln*, i. p. 829. (For the text-book known as *Remigius*, see i. 7, n.)

⁶⁹ *singul.*: the student's especial tutor, or the head of the hostel in which he lodged.

⁷⁰ *auca*: a goose. "Lo sang e la graissa prendetz d'un auca," M. Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, ii. 142.

¹ *Caprimulgus*: for *Caprimulgus*, "goatsucker."

⁴ *magistr.*: the only instance. Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*, ii.) uses the form: "Those who seek truths, and not magistrality."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

est una notabilis quaestio quam peto seu rogo determinari a vestra magistralitate. Est hic unus Graecus qui resumit grammaticam Urbani, et quando scribit Graecum, tunc semper ponit titellos superius. Quapropter ego dixi nuper: "tamen magister Ortvinus Daventriae etiam practicavit grammaticam graecam, et etiam est sufficiens ita bene sicut ille, et nunquam scripsit ita titellos; et ego credo quod ita bene intelligit facta sua sicut ille, et adhuc posset corrigere istum graecum"; sed alii non voluerunt credere, et socii mei ac constantes petiverunt quod vellem scribere ad dominationem vestram, quod notificaretis mihi quomodo est, an debemus ponere titellos, an non. Si non debemus ponere, tunc per deum realiter volumus vexare illum graecum, et volumus facere quod debet paucos auditores habere. Ego bene vidi de vobis Coloniae in domo Henrici Quentel, quando fuistis corrector et debuistis corrigere graecum, tunc abscidistis omnes titellos qui fuerunt supra lris, et dixistis

25 "Quid debent illae stultitiae."

Et ita iam consideravi quod vos habetis aliquam rationem: alias non fecissetis. Vos estis mirabilis homo, et deus dedit vobis magnam gratiam quod scitis aliquid in omni scibili. Quapropter debetis etiam

30 laudare dominum deum in vestris metris, et beatam virginem, et omnes sanctos dei. Sed non habueritis mihi pro molestia quod impedio vestram dominationem

⁷ *Graecus*: probably Richard Croke. See i. 35, n.

⁸ *Urbani*: Urbanus Bellunensis (Urbanus Bolzanus), a Franciscan. His treatise on Greek grammar was first published by Aldus at Venice in 1497. A funeral oration by Albertus Castelfrancanus, one of his pupils, gives us some account of his life (Venice, 1524; there is a copy in the Brit. Mus.). Urbanus travelled through Greece to Byzantium, and brought back with him to Venice a store of Greek MSS., including an ancient copy of the Iliad. He died at the age of nearly 90.

¹² *unq. scrip.* Cf. *Manipulus florum collectus ex libris R. P. F. Jacobi de Hochstraten* . . . p. C. 4a: "Grillus . . . literas Graecas extirpare apud

Coloniam nititur, sicut et Ortuinus discipulus nuper conabatur damnare accentus, quos per ignorantiam vocabat titellos graecos."

¹³ *titellos*: i.e. the accents.

²² *H. Quentel*: Heinrich Quentel, or Quentell, a native of Strasburg, set up a printing-press at Cologne about 1479, and upon his death in 1503 the business was carried on by his heirs, where the Hôtel du Dôme now stands. Ortwin Gratius acted as editor and corrector of the press to the firm for several years.

³¹ *non habueritis*, &c. We are reminded of Rosa Dartle's "Now you must really hear with me, because I ask for information." *David Copperfield*, ch. xxix.

cum istis quaestionibus, quia facio talia causa informationis. Valete.

Ex LYPZICK.

35

VII

❧ M. PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS

M. Ortvino Gratia

SALUTEM innumerabilem. Venerabilis domine magister, si haberem pecunias et substantiam magnam, tunc vellem dare vobis unam notabilem⁵ propinam, credatis mihi firmiter, quod solvatis mihi istam quaestionem quam propono.

Sed quia pronunc non habeo oves et boves, universa insuper et pecora campi, sed sum pauper, propterea non possum vobis appreciare pro vestra doctrina; ¹⁰ sed promitto vobis, quod postquam sum beneficiatus, sicut iam insteti pro una Vicaria, tunc volo semel unum honorem specialem facere vobis.

Et scribatis mihi an est necessarium ad aeternam salutem, quod scholares discunt grammaticam ex poetis ¹⁵ saecularibus, sicut est Virgilius, Tullius, Plinius, et alii? Videtur mihi quod non est bonus modus studendi. Quia, ut scribit Aristoteles primo methaphysicae: "Multa mentiuntur Poetae;" sed qui mentiuntur, peccant, et qui fundant studium suum super mendaciis, ²⁰ fundant illud super peccatis. Et quicquid fundatum est super peccatis, non est bonum; sed est contra deum, quia deus est inimicus peccatis.

Sed in poetria sunt mendacia; et ergo qui incipiunt suam doctrinam in poetria, non possunt proficere in ²⁵ bonitate; quia mala radix habet super se malam herbam, et mala arbor profert malum fructum, secundum evangelium, ubi dicit salvator: "Non est arbor bonae quae facit fructum malum." Etiam bene adhuc

¹ *Hafenmusius*: perhaps *Hafen*, a pot, and *mausen*, to filch: "one who takes furtive sips." (Böcking.)

⁴ *substantiam*: as in the phrase "a man of substance."

⁵ *notabilem propinam*. Cf. Scott, *The Abbot*, xxvii., "There was never sic a braw propine as this sent to a yerl."

⁸ *non habeo*, &c. Cf. Psal. viii. 8: "Oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi." *Vulg.*

¹⁸ *Aristoteles*: *Metaph.* i. 2. "Πολλά ψεύδονται ἄνθρωποι" (quoting an adage).

²⁷ *mala arbor*: Luke vi. 43, "Non est enim arbor bona quae facit fructus malos." *Vulg.*

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 30 memoro illam doctrinam, quam dedit mihi semel
magister noster Valentinus de Geltersheim in bursa
Montis, quando fui suus discipulus, et volui audire
Salustium. Et dixit, "quare vis audire Salustium, tu
dischole?"
- 35 Tunc ego respondi, quod magister Ioannes de Vratis-
lavia dixit, quod discimus bona dictamina facere ex
talibus poetis. Tunc ipse dixit: "est fantasia, sed
tu debes bene advertere in partibus Alexandri, et
epistolis Caroli, quae practican-
40 orum; ego nunquam audiui Salustium, et tamen
scio dictamina facere metricae et prosae." Et sic
magister noster Valentinus fecit quod ego nunquam
studui in poetria. Et isti humanistae nunc vexant
me cum suo novo latino, et annihilant illos veteres
45 libros, Alexandrum, Remigium, Ioannem de Garlandia,

³¹ *Valentinus*: Valentin von Engelhard, of Geldersheim (a village in Franconia, Bavaria, on the Wern, near Wurtzburg), Canon of Cologne and Rector of the Univ. in 1503. (See Ep. ii. 29.) He was nicknamed the "fox-hunter," or "student-trapper," in consequence of the assiduity with which he sought students for his hostel. He died in 1526. Bianco, *Die Alte Universität Köln*, 1855, p. 296. (Cited by Böcking.) The tribulations of one of von Geltersheim's touts are amusingly described in ii. 29.

³³ *audire*: to hear lectures upon. Cf. ii. 46, "Volunt audire Virgilium et Plinium et alios novos autores."

³⁴ *dischole*: a somewhat difficult word. "*Discolus*, difficilis, morosus" (Du Cange). "Discors a schola; diversas scholas visitans" (Diefenbach). "A sham or froward student" (Rashdall, i. 432). Cf. ii. 63. The word occurs in a letter from Mutian to Urban, July 1, 1510. "Adeo δόσκολος, irreverens, superbus." Krause, *Die Briefwechsel des Mut. Ruf.*, 1885, p. 179.

³⁵ *Ioannes*. Böcking suggests that this is Ioannes Borscus, of Breslau, mentioned in a letter from Petrus Ravennas (see ii. 20, 50) to Ortwin Gratius, 1508.

³⁸ *Alex.*: i.e. Alexander Grammaticus.

³⁹ *Caroli*: i.e. Karl Mennicken

(Carolus Virulus). He was author of a very popular, if inept, treatise on letter-writing, "*Epistolae Karoli*" (bitterly criticised by Bebelius). Mennicken was Rector of the Paedagogium Lillii, at Louvain, for fifty-six years, and died in 1493, at the age of eighty.

³⁹ *practican-*. Cf. i. 6.

⁴⁴ *novo Latino*: i.e. Classical, as opposed to the Medieval Latin of the "*veteres libri*."

⁴⁵ *Remigium*: Remigius the Grammarian wrote a commentary on the *Ars Parva* of Donatus. The best known work of Remigius is, however, usually cited as *Dominus que Pars*. The earliest known edition has for its title: "*Dominus que pars*. (In presenti libello continentur haec. Primo Remigius seu dominus que pars. Secundo ordo constructibilium. Tercio regimina. Quarto regule congruitatum. Quinto metra constructionum. Sexto comparationes.) Impressum in caesarea civitate Lubicensi. 1489." The *Fundamentum scoliarium* of Remigius is merely an enlarged edition of the same work.

⁴⁵ *Ioannem*: John Garland, an Englishman. Böcking, following writers who were not acquainted with Garland's poem, *De Triumphis Ecclesiae*, places him in the XIth Cent., but it is now established that he flourished

Cornutum, Composita verborum, Epistolare magistri Pauli Niavis, et dicunt ita magna mendacia quod ego facio crucem pro me quando audio. Sicut nuper unus dixit, quod est in quadam provincia una aqua, quae habet arenam auream et vocatur Tagus; et ego fistulavi 50 occulte, quia non est possibile.

Ego scio bene quod etiam estis poeta, sed non scio unde habetis illam artem. Ipsi dicunt quod quando vultis, tunc facitis plura metra in una hora; sed credo quod intellectus vester est ita illuminatus per gratiam 55 Spiritussancti desuper quod scitis illa et alia, quia semper fuistis bonus Theologus, et reprehenditis illos gentiles.

Libenter vellem vobis scribere unam novitatem si scirem: sed non audiavi aliquid quam quod fratres ac domini de ordine praedicatorum habent hic magnas 60 indulgentias, et absolvunt a pena et a culpa, quando

two hundred years later, and was a teacher of Roger Bacon at Paris. Garland was a voluminous writer of works on grammar, alchemy, mathematics, and music, as well as of poetry. (D. N. B.)

⁴⁸ *Cornutum*: one of Garland's works, also known as *Distigium*, or *Scholarium*, consisting of a series of distichs embodying advice to young scholars. In the introduction to the *Cornutus Magistri Joannis de Garlandria* (H. Gran, Hagenau, 1489) we are informed that it is called "*Cornutus*," because, "just as animals defend themselves with a pair of horns, so does the author express his meaning in couplets." The first four lines of this curious work will give an idea of its strange Graeco-Latin jargon:—

"Caespit in phaleris hyppus blac-
taque supinus
Glossa velut themeto labat hemus
infatuato.
Qui kalus impraxi simul et est
pisticus hemo
Illius oda placet hic recte theo-
logisat."

⁴⁹ *Composita Verb.*: this may possibly be the *Libellus de Verborum Compositis* by the same author, or, more probably, the *Compositu Verborum* by Joannes Sinthen, a grammarian of Deventer, and teacher of Erasmus.

(See ii. 46.) Cf. *Cumb. Mod. Hist.*, i. 436.

⁴⁶ *Epistolare*: Paulus Niavis—Latinised from Schneevogel. "Qui fuit Magister Lypensis." (Cf. ii. 31.) Amongst other works attributed to P. N. are *Dialogus Mag. P. N. parvulis scholaribus ad latinum idioma perutilissimus* (Basle, 1489); *Epistolae breves (longiores, mediocres)*, Mag. P. N. (1494); and *Latina Ydeomata Mag. P. N.* (1494).

⁵⁰ *Tagus*: a classical commonplace. Cf. "Quodque suo Tagus amne vehit, fluit ignibus, aurum," Ov., *Met.*, ii. 251. "Cedat et auriferi ripa beata Tagi," Ov., *Am.*, I. xv. 34.

⁵³ With regard to Ortwin as a versifier, cf. :—

"te uno carmine vincat
Buschius, aut aliquis Musarum mactus
alumnus.
Isque tuis similes, si quid certaveris,
uno
Mille die versus faciet."

—*Trinmphus Capnionis*.

⁶¹ *a pena et a culpa*: *culpa*, the guilt; *poena*, the penalty still to be undergone when the guilt had been pardoned. The strictly orthodox view always had been that the guilt is pardoned by the Sacrament, while the indulgence remits only the temporal penalty. But for ages the popular belief was that plenary indulgences absolved *a culpa et poena*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

aliquis est confessus et contritus, et habent super hoc litteras papales. Etiam scribite mihi aliquid, quia ego sum vester tanquam famulus.

65

Valete ex NURENBERGA.

VIII

✠ FRANCISCUS GENSELINUS

M. Ortivino Gratia

SALUTEM quam mille talenta non possunt aequi-
valere in sua gravitate. Venerabilis domine magister,
5 scitote quod hic est magnus sermo de vobis, et theologi
valde laudant vos quod non respexistis aliquem, et
scripsistis pro defensione fidei contra doctorem Reuchlin.
Sed aliqui socii qui non habent intelligentiam, et etiam
juristae qui non sunt illuminati in fide christiana, sper-
10 nunt vos, et loquuntur multa contra vos, sed non
possunt praevalere, quia facultas theologica tenet vobis-
cum. Et nuper quando venerunt huc isti libri, qui
vocantur acta Parrhisiensium, tunc fere omnes magistri
emerunt et gavisii sunt maxime: ego protunc etiam
15 emi, et misi ad Heidelbergam ut ibi viderent. Et
credo quod ubi viderunt, tunc paenituit Heidelber-
genses quod non etiam concluderunt cum alma univer-
sitate Coloniensi contra doctorem Reuchlin. Et

⁶² *conf. et contr.* In Tetzels instructions to his subordinates the necessity of "confession and repentance" is alluded to, but the infallible efficacy of the indulgence is asserted absolutely. (See ii. 43 for a keen controversy between Frater Jacobus and Doctor Reyss on this subject.)

⁶³ *lit. papal.* The papal Letters were personal indulgences granted to individuals. They "became recognised articles of traffic by the Curia, with a fixed tariff of fees." H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Auric. Conf. and Indulgences*, iii. 191 (1896).

¹ Thomas Murner had been by an opponent nicknamed "den Gänsprediger"; the epistle, however, is not in keeping with what we know of Murner. (See ii. 3, n.)

⁷ *scrip.* In 1514 had been published *Praenotamenta Ortivini Gratii liberalium disciplinarum professoris citra omnem avarolentiam cunctis Christifidelibus dedicata* — directed against Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel*.

⁹ *jurist.* The University of Freiburg (in Breisgau), founded in 1455, had become famous for its school of jurisprudence under the influence of the celebrated Jurist, Ulrich Zasius. See ii. 9.

¹³ *Acta Parrh.* The "Acta Doctorum Parrhisiensium de sacratissima facultate theologica . . . contra Speculum Oculare Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis . . ." was printed by Quentell at Cologne, and published in 1514.

propterea audio quod universitas Coloniensis fecit
 unum statutum quod nunquam in aeternum volunt pro- 20
 movere unum qui complevit pro gradu baccalaureatus
 vel magisterii in Heidelberga: et est bene factum, quia
 sic debent discere quid est universitas Coloniensis, et
 alia vice debent tenere cum ea. Ego vellem quod sic
 facerent aliis, sed credo quod aliae universitates non 25
 sciverunt. Et igitur parcitis eis propter ignorantiam.
 Etiam quidam socius dedit mihi pulchra carmina quae
 debetis intimasse in universitate Coloniensi, quae
 ostendi Magistris, et Magistris nostris, et fuerunt
 multum commendata. Et nisi illa ad multas civitates 30
 pro vestra gloria, quia faveo vobis. Et sunt ista, ut
 sciatis quid puto:—

Qui vult legere haereticas pravitates
 Et cum hoc discere bonas latinitates,
 Ille debet emere Parrhisiensium acta 35
 Et scripta de Parrhisia nuper facta,
 Quomodo Reuchlin in fide erravit,
 Sicut magister noster Tungarus doctrinaliter probavit.
 Illa vult magister Ortvinus legere
 Gratis, in hac alma universitate, 40
 Et cum hoc textum ubique glosare
 Necnon quaedam notabilia in margine notare,
 Et vult arguere pro et contra,
 Sicut fecerunt Theologi in Parrhisia,
 Quando speculum oculare examinaverunt 45
 Et Reuchlin magistraliter damnaverunt,
 Ut sciunt fratres Carmelitae
 Et alii qui vocantur Iacobitae.

Ego miror quomodo potestis ita speculari talia: vos
 estis valde artificialis in compositionibus vestris, et 50
 habetis magnam dulcedinem, ita quod semper ego
 rideo prae laetitia, quando lego aliquid quod vos com-
 posuistis, et opto semper quod velitis diu vivere quod

¹⁹ *audio*, &c. This gossip of the worthy Genselinus must not be regarded as founded on fact.

³⁸ *Tungarus*. Arnold von Tongern's attack upon Reuchlin (briefly cited as the "Articuli"), with introductory elegiacs by Ortwin Gratius, had been published in 1512.

³⁹ *leg. grat.*: to deliver public lectures upon.

⁴⁷ *Carmelitae*: the existing mendi-

cant Order of Carmelites was founded in 1209. Theodoric of Gouda (see i. 1) was a member.

⁴⁸ *Iacobitae*: not, of course, the Jacobites of the Eastern Church. Cf. "Nam totum collegium tota cohors profugorum Henniguo favet et Iacobitas detestatur"; i.e. "Anhänger des Dechanten von S. Severi Jacob Doliator in Erfurt." Krause, *Die Briefwechsel des Mut. Ruf.*, 1885, p. 339.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

laus vestra crescat sicut fecit usque huc, quia vestra
55 scripta sunt valde utilia. Deus vos conservet et vivificet
vos, et non tradat vos in manus inimicorum vestrorum.
Et sicut dicit Psalmista: "Tribuat vobis dominus secundum
cor vestrum, et omne consilium vestrum confirmet."
Et vos etiam scribatis mihi de factis vestris, quia libenter
60 audio, et video quid facitis seu agitis: et sic Valete.

EX FRIBURGA.

IX

¶ *M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA*
S. D. M. Ortvinò Gra.

QUIA legitur Ec̄c̄es. XI. "Laetare juvenis in adolescentia tua." Quapropter ego nunc sum laetae
5 mentis, et debetis scire quod bene succedit mihi in
amore, et habeo multum supponere. Quia dicit
Ezechiel: "Nunc fornicabitur in fornicatione sua."
Et quare non deberem aliquando purgare renes? tamen
non sum angelus, sed homo, et omnis homo errat. Vos
10 etiam aliquando supponitis, quamvis estis Theologus,
quia non potestis semper solus dormire, secundum illud
Ecclesiastae IIII.: "Si dormierint duo simul, fovebuntur
mutuo: unus autem quomodo calefiet?" Quando
scribitis mihi quid facit vestra amasia? Nuper dixit
15 mihi unus quod quando ipse fuit Coloniae, tunc fuistis
in rixa cum ipsa et percussistis eam, quia fortassis non
fecit secundum opinionem vestram. Et ego miror
quare potestis ita pulchram mulierem percutere: ego
flerem si viderem: potius debetis dicere quod non faciat
20 amplius, tunc ipsa emendaret se, et de nocte esset vobis
amicabilior. Tamen quando legistis nobis Ovidium,
dixistis nobis quod nullo modo debemus percutere

⁵⁵ *Deus*, &c.: Psalm xli. 2.

⁵⁷ *Psal.*: xx. 4.

¹ *Zuiccavia*: Zwickau, a city of Saxony, about 80 miles SW. of Dresden. In 1520 Thomas Münzer was appointed pastor there, and put himself at the head of a band of frenzied fanatics known as the pro-

phets of Zwickan. Hence originated the worst follies and abominations of Anabaptism, culminating in the establishment of the New Zion at Münster, and the ruthless suppression of the mania by armed force in 1535.

⁷ *Ezech.*: Ezek. xxiii. 43.

¹² *Eccles.*: Eccl. iv. 11.

1. 9] CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA

mulieres, et allegastis ad hoc etiam sacram scripturam. Ego sum contentus quod amica mea est hilaris et non irascitur mecum; quando venio ad eam, tunc etiam 25 facio talia, et sumus in laetitia, et bibimus cerevisiam et vinum, quia vinum laetificat cor hominis, sed tristitia exsiccat ossa. Aliquando sum iratus super eam, tunc dat mihi osculum, et fit pax, et postea dicit: "domine magister, estote laetae mentis." 30

Nuper volui ire ad eam, tunc vidi exire quendam iuvenem mercatorem qui habuit apertas caligas, et sudavit in fronte, et credidissem quod supposuisset eam, et fui quodammodo iratus; sed ipsa iuravit quod non tetigisset eam ille mercator, sed voluisset ei vendere 35 linteam ad faciendas camisias; tunc ego dixi "est bonum, sed quando etiam datis mihi unam camisiam?" Tunc rogavit me quod deberem ei concedere duos florenos quod posset solvere illum linum, tunc etiam vellet mihi dare unam camisiam. Et protunc non 40 habui pecuniam, sed petii unum socium qui concessit mihi et dedi ei. Ego laudo quod aliquis semper est laetus. Et medici dicunt etiam quod sanum est quando aliquis est laetus. Quidam magister noster hic semper irascitur et nunquam est laetus, et propter semper 45 est infirmus. Ipse semper reprehendit me et dicit, quod non debeo amare mulieres, quia sunt diaboli, et perdicant homines, et sunt immundae, et nulla mulier est pura; et quando aliquis est cum muliere, tunc est sicut cum diabolo, quia permittunt nulli requiem. 50 Tunc ego dixi "parcatis mihi, domine magister noster, vestra mater etiam fuit mulier," et abiit.

Ipse etiam nuper praedicavit, quod sacerdotes nullo modo deberent habere concubinas secum, et dixit quod episcopi peccant mortaliter quando accipiunt decimam 55

⁵⁵ *dec. lactis*: vulg. *Milchzehnt*. Under the name of *cullagium* there is abundant evidence to show that throughout the Middle Ages a tax was exacted from priests in return for permission to keep what was euphemistically termed a *focaria*, or fireside companion. Unavailing protests against this practice were made from time to time. In the Vth Article of the Synod of Lillebonne, 1080, it is decreed that "Propter

eorum feminas nulla pecuniae emendatio exigatur." Gerard Groot, taking for his text Is. lii. 11, preached a notable sermon *De focariis* (Aurora, Dresden, 1859, v. 42).

In a complaint laid before the Pope by the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in 1522, it is stated that "In many parts of the country the Bishops and their emissaries not only condone the concubinage of priests, provided the tax demanded is paid, but they com-

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

lactis et permittunt ancillas esse cum presbyteris, quia deberent eas totaliter expellere. Sed sit a vel b, nos debemus esse aliquando laeti, et etiam possumus dormire cum mulieribus, quando nemo videt: postea tamen
60 facimus confessionem: et deus est misericors, et debemus sperare veniam.

Ego mitto vobis hic quaedam scripta pro defensione Alexandri Galli grammatici antiqui et sufficientis, quamvis poetae moderni volunt eum reprehendere; sed non
65 sciunt quid loquuntur, quia Alexander est optimus, ut olim dixistis mihi quando stetimus Daventriae. Quidam magister hic dedit mihi, sed nescio ubi accepit. Ego vellem quod faceretur imprimere, tunc maxime faceretis iratos illos poetas, quia ille auctor realiter vexat eos;
70 sed est ita poetaster compositum quod ego non intelligo, quia ille qui composuit est etiam bonus poeta: sed cum hoc est Theologus, et non tenet cum saecularibus poetis sicut est doctor Reuchlin, Buschius et alii. Statim

pel those priests who live continently to pay the same tax, declaring that the Bishop must have his money, and that when the fine was paid they could please themselves whether they lived a life of celibacy or not." Goldast, *Gravamina Ord. Imp. Cap.* lxx. (i. 464). Cf. also Bp. Creighton, *Hist. of the Papacy*, v. 20.

⁷³ *Buschius*: Hermannus Buschius—Hermann von dem Bussche—(1468–1534) was born at Sassenberg in Westphalia, and is described in the Register of Cologne Univ. as "equestris ordinis." As a boy, he was a pupil of Hegius at Deventer, where he was a fellow-student of Ortwin Gratius. In 1486 B. proceeded to Italy, where he remained for five years, and enjoyed the friendship of the eminent scholar and antiquary, Pomponius Laetus. In some verses inscribed to the younger Filippo Beroaldo, he says:—

"Olim Romanas juvenis digressus
ad arces
Perdomiti clarum quae caput orbis
erant.
Pomponi Laeti primum ceu fonte
perenni
Plurima de sacro sedulus ore bibi.

Post lustrum patriae capior revocantis amore

Et propriam Latia vertor ab urbe domum."

In the Register of Wittenberg Univ. for 1502 Buschius is first entitled "Pasiphilus" — *quasi* πᾶσι φίλος — a name ever after associated with him. The young scholar soon became known as one of the most ardent champions of the New Learning. Attacking with the utmost vivacity the errors and futilities of the scholastic text-books, ever at loggerheads with the defenders of medievalism, Buschius flitted restlessly from city to city throughout Germany and the Netherlands. He did not, however, at first throw in his lot with the Reuchlinists, and wrote an *Elogium* for von Tongern's "Articuli." But in 1514 Mutianus writes gleefully, "Buschius has sung his palinode!" and henceforward the latter is to be found in the foremost ranks of Reuchlin's defenders. In Oct. 1514 he writes to Reuchlin:—

"O! si videres nunc ora et vultus Theologistarum; talis est furientis invidiae species, talis est insaniae delirantis viva effigies. Inflatis buccis

quando fuit mihi data illa materia, tunc dixi, quod vellem vobis mittere quod legeretis. Si habetis aliquid ⁷⁵ novum, tunc etiam mittatis mihi. Valete in charitate non ficta.

Ex LIPTZICK.

X

¶ IOANNES ARNOLDI S. D. P.

M. Ortvino Gratia

QUONIAM quoniamquidem igitur vos concupiscitis semper habere unam novitatem, secundum quod dicit Aristoteles: "Omnes homines natura scire ⁵ desiderant." Quare igitur ego Ioannes Arnoldi vester discipulus, et humilis subditus mitto dominationi seu honorabilitati vestrae hic unum libellum quem composuit quidam ribaldus et scandalizavit dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn in Colonia, virum proculdubio ¹⁰ integerrimum, et ego fui valde iratus, sed non potui prohibere, quod non imprimeret, quia iste socius habet

contrahunt supercilia, caperant frontem, lumina tragica quadam torvitate horrificant, pallent, rubent, stupent, gemunt, stridentque dentibus." *Epp. Clar. Virorum*, iii. 4.

In 1516 Buschius paid a visit to England, and gained the friendship of Bp. Fisher and Sir Thomas More, while to Dean Colet, then engaged in establishing St. Paul's School, he seems to have rendered aid as one of its first lecturers. In 1526 B., after further wanderings, settled down at Marburg, and there, at the age of nearly three-score, took to himself a wife, Adelheida by name, and begat a son, Hieronymus. But he was not destined to end his life in domestic peace. In the autumn of 1533 the weary scholar journeyed to Münster and attended a disputation against the rising madness of Anabaptism. There the rapier of the brilliant controversialist found itself for the first time pitted against—not the rusty armour of scholasticism—but the bludgeons of a blind fanaticism. The contest was unequal—and Buschius, exhausted by the brutal strife, died at Dülmen in the spring of 1534.

J. Niesert, *Historisch-geographische-*

statistisch-literarisches Jahrbuch für Westfalen und den Niederrhein, ii. 304–323, enumerates forty works written, edited, or commented on by Buschius. Among these are many poems and epigrams, commentaries on Cicero, Silius Italicus, Martial, Claudian, Petronius, Juvenal, Plautus—the *Vallum Humanitatis*, an *Ars Memorativa*, *Spicilegium Philosophorum*, and the *Oestrum*. The best account of his life is given in *De Hermannii Buschii vita et scriptis commentatio historica*, H. J. Liessem, Bonnæ, 1866.

¹ *Arnoldi*. The personal allusion, if any, is unknown. This Ep., though undated, is by implication to be regarded as written at Mainz. Arnoldi is also the writer of ii. 36, in which his style exhibits a marvellous preciousness, acquired by a short residence in Rome.

⁵ *Arist.*: *Metaph.* "Πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει."

⁸ *libellum*: one of Ulrich von Hutten's works, but it is not clear which is intended. Böcking suggests the "Exclamatio in Pepericorum."

¹⁰ *virum*, &c.: Ortvinn's own words with reference to Pfefferkorn.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

hic multos fautores, etiam nobiles, et vadunt armati
sicut bufones, cum longis gladiis in plateis. Sed tamen
15 ego dixi quod non est rectum, quia debetis notare quod
iste poetae saeculares adhuc facient multas guerras, cum
suis metris, si magistri nostri non habebunt adver-
tentiam, et non citabunt eos per magistrum nostrum
Iacobum de Hochstraten ad curiam romanam. Et ego
20 timeo quod erit unum magnum disturbium in fide
catholica.

Rogo igitur vos quod velitis componere unum
librum contra istum scandalizatorem, et realiter vexare
eum. Tunc postea non erit ita audax quod velit
25 stimulare magistros nostros, quia ipse est simplex
socius, et neque est promotus neque qualificatus in jure
vel in artibus, quamvis stetit in Bononia, ubi etiam sunt
multi poetae saeculares, non zelosi et in fide illuminati.

Ipse nuper sedit in mensa et dixit quod magistri
30 nostri in Colonia et Parrhisia faciunt iniuriam doctori
Reuchlin, et ego tenui ei oppositum: tunc vexavit me
multis malis verbis et scandalosis, quod fui ita iratus
quod surrexi de mensa, et protestavi coram omnes de
iniuriis, et non potui comedere unam buccellam.

35 Vos debetis mihi dare consilium in supradicta causa,
quia etiam pro parte estis jurista.

Ego compilavi aliqua metra quae mitto vobis hic.
Choriambicum, Hexametrum, Sapphicum, Iambicum,
Asclepiadicum, Endecasyllabum, Elegiacum, Dicolon,
40 *Distrophum.*

Qui est bonus catholicus, debet sentire cum Parrhisiensibus,
Quia illud gymnasium, est mater omnium universitatum.
Deinde Colonia sancta, quae est in fide Christiana tanta,
Quod nullus debet contradicere, vel merito penam luere,
45 Sicut Reuchlin doctor, qui est speculi ocularis auctor,
Quem magister noster Tungarus, probavit quod est haereticus,
Neenon magister de Alta platea, qui fecit comburere eius dictamina.

¹³ *hic*: i.e. at Mainz. The University was founded in 1477. Little is recorded of its early history. See Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur.*, ii. 272.

¹⁶ *iste*. Sic, in A, B, C.

²⁰ *disturbium*: the only instance.

²⁷ *Bononia*: Bologna. Cf. ii. 59, "Ulrichum Huttenum qui studet Bononiae."

⁴² *gymnasium*: here simply "Uni-

versity." This is the only occurrence of the word in the E. O. V.

⁴² *mater*: in the next Ep., with more modesty, "soror."

⁴⁷ *de Alt. plut.*: i.e. van Hoogstraten. Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* was publicly burnt by H. and the Theologians at Cologne, on Feb. 10, 1514, as "offensive, and dangerous to religion."

Si haberem unum argumentum, ego vellem componere unum librum contra istum trufatorem, et probare quod de facto est excommunicatus. Non habeo plus tempus ad scribendum, quia oportet me ire ad lectionem, quia unus magister legit replicationes super veterem artem valde subtiliter compositas, et ego audio eas pro completionem. Valete super omnes socios et amicos meos qui sunt hic et ubique, et in omnibus locis et honestis.

XI

☞ CORNELIUS FENESTRIFICIS S. D. P.
M. Ortvino Gratiao

SALUTES tot quot habet caelum stellas et mare arenas. Venerande domine magister, ego habeo hic multas rixas et guerras a malis viris qui praesumunt esse docti, et tamen non didicerunt logicam, quae est scientia scientiarum. Ego legi nuper unam missam ad praedicatores de Spiritus sancto quod deus velit mihi dare suam gratiam, et bonam memoriam in syllogismis ad disputandum cum illis qui sciunt tantum latinisare, et dictamina componere. Etiam composui unam collectam in illa missa pro magistro nostro Iacobo de Hochstrat, et magistro nostro Arnolde de Tungaris, summo regente in bursa Laurentii, quod possunt in disputatione Theologica ad metam redargutionis ducere quendam doctorem in iure qui vocatur Ioannes Reuchlin, etiam est poeta saecularis et praesumptuosus, et tenet oppositum contra quattuor universitates, pro Iudaeis, et facit propositiones scandalosas et offensivas piarum aurium, ut probavit Ioannes Pfeffer-

⁵² *replicationes*: lectures in which the subjects dealt with were elucidated by copious arguments *pro et contra*. Cf.—

“My will is this, for plat conclusion,
Withouten eny repplicacioun.”

—Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 988.

⁵³ *pro comp.*: in order to attend the prescribed number of lectures.

¹ *Corn. Fenest.* Allusion unknown.

⁴ *hic*: at Mainz, as it appears.

⁶ *scientia scient.*: also “*Ars artium*”; see J. S. Mill, *Logic* (Introd.).

¹³ *Arnolde*. See i. 1, n.

¹⁴ *bursa Laur.*: S. Lawrence hostel, in the Schmerstrasse, Cologne.

¹⁸ *quattuor*: viz. Louvain, Erfurt, Mainz, and Cologne.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

korn, et magister noster Tungarus; sed non est fundatus in Theologia speculativa, nec qualificatus in Aristotele, aut Petro Hispano. Ideo magistri nostri in Parrhisia damnaverunt eum ad ignem vel reclamationem.

Ego vidi litteram et sigillum domini Decani sacrosanctae facultatis Theologicae Parrhisiensis. Unus magistrorum nostrorum valde profundus in sacra Theologia, et illuminatus in fide, qui est membrum quattuor universitatum, et qui habet plus quam centum scribentes super libros sententiarum, in quibus se fundat, dixit manifeste quod praedictus doctor Ioannes Reuchlin non potest evadere. Et quod etiam Papa non audet dare sententiam contra talem solennissimam universitatem, quia ipse non est Theologus, et beatum Thomam contra gentiles non intelligit, quamvis dicunt quod est doctus videlicet in poesi. Ostendit mihi magister noster qui est plebanus ad sanctum Martinum epistolam, in qua illa universitas sororij suae universitati Coloniensi valde amicabiliter promittit auxilium suum realiter cum effectu. Et tamen isti latinisatores praesumunt tenere oppositum.

Ego sedi nuper Maguntiae in corona hospicio, ubi tribulaverunt me valde indiscrete duo trufatores, et vocaverunt magistros nostros in Parrhisia et Colonia fantasticos et stultos. Et dixerunt quod ipsorum libri

²² *Petr. Hisp.*: Petrus Hispanus, of Lisbon, a Dominican. With the title of John XXI. he occupied the Papal throne for the last seven months of his life (1276-7). Among his works are reckoned "Summulae logicae," "Parva logicalia," and "Thesaurus pauperum." See i. 17, n.

³¹ *Libr. Sent.* See i. 5, n.

³⁵ *non est Theol.* "Leo X.," says Fra Paolo, "displayed a singular proficiency in polite literature. . . . He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and a greater inclination to piety." Erasmus, it is true, lauds Leo's attention to theology, amongst his other studies. But Erasmus was not free from obligations to the pontiff. See T. Roscoe, *The Life of Leo X.*, chap. xxiv.

³⁶ *contra gent.* The *Summa Contra Gentiles* is divided into four books. "Its principal practical aim, at the time it was written, was the enlightenment of the Moors, the Saracens, and the Jews of Spain; and also to bring into prominence those arguments from reason for the establishment of Christianity which were beginning to be undermined by the rationalistic spirit of the age." *The Life and Labours of Saint Thomas of Aquin*, by Archbishop Vaughan, London, 1875, p. 473.

³⁸ *plebanus*: parish priest: "Sacerdos qui plebi praeest," Du Cange; *plebes*, meaning "parish." Probably the Bartholomew (Zehender) of ii. 55.

³⁸ *S. Martinum*: the cathedral at Mainz.

⁴⁴ *trufatores*. See i. 5, n.

1. 11] CORNELIUS FENESTRIFICIS

super sententias essent fantasiae; similiter processus, copulata, reparationes omnium bursarum dixerunt quod essent vanitates. Tunc fui ita iratus quod non scivi respondere. Cum hoc etiam vexaverunt me, quod feci passagium ad Treverim ad videndum tunicam domini, quia dixerunt quod fortassis non esset tunica domini. Et probaverunt sic per Cornutum syllogismum: "Quicquid est laceratum, non debet ostendi pro tunica domini: sed illa est talis: ergo etc." 50

Tunc ego concessi maiorem, sed negavi minorem. Tunc probaverunt sic: "Beatus Hieronymus dicit: 'Vetusto oriens collisus errore tunicam domini inconutilem desuper contextam per totum minutatim discerpit per frusta.'" Et ego respondi, quod sanctus Hieronymus non est de stilo evangelii, nec immodicite ex apostolis; et sic surrexi de mensa et reliqui illos trufatores. 55

⁴⁷ *processus*: methodological treatises compiled for the use of students at the various hostels, according to the views they severally affected.

⁴⁸ *copulata*: compilations from the writings of various authors upon a single subject. Novices, who had to study these, were hence called "copulatistae." See ii. 35.

⁴⁹ *reparationes*: the same as "Summae." Panzer, i. p. 308 (228).

⁵¹ *Treverim*. The venerable relic known as the Holy Coat of Treves is preserved in the Cathedral. According to tradition it was deposited there by St. Helena (claimed by the Germans as a native of a village—Euren—near Treves), about A.D. 327. Trithemius, writing in 1512 (the date of the first recorded "exposition" of the relic), states that he had heard as a boy that the coat was deposited for safety under the High Altar by Pope John in 1196. But the relic has had many wanderings. In 1640 it was removed for safety to Cologne, in 1667 to Ehrenbreitstein, and in 1759 back to Treves. We next hear of it successively at Ehrenbreitstein once more, Würzburg, Bamberg, and Augsburg. In 1810, however, it was restored to Treves by Napoleon's orders. It was exhibited in 1844, and again in 1891, on which last

occasion nearly 2,000,000 pilgrims availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing it.

⁵³ *Corn. syll.*: a cornute, or cerate, argument is a dilemma. The classical instance is that quoted in Diogenes Laertius, vii. 187: "What you have not cast away, you have; you have not cast your horns—therefore you have horns."

⁵⁷ *Hieron.*: St. Jerome's metaphor, humorously treated as literal by the "duo trufatores," is to be found in the *Epp. ad Damasum*, xv.: "Quoniam vetusto Oriens inter se populorum furore collisus, indiscissam domini tunicam, et desuper textam, minutatim per frusta discerpit."

⁵⁸ *inconutilem*. This adjective is never used except in this connection. Trithemius relates that within the chest containing the relic was found the inscription: "Haec est inconutilis sacra Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi (tunica)." And in the Breviary of Treves there is a hymn beginning:—

"O vestis inconutilis,
Pro dulci nato Virginis—"

See *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, by R. F. Clarke, S.J., London, 1892.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Vos debetis scire quod tam irreverentialiter loquuntur
 65 de magistris nostris, et doctoribus illuminatis in fide,
 quod certe de facto possunt esse excommunicati a papa
 Si scirent curtisani, ipsi citarent eos ad curiam romanam,
 et impetrarent eorum beneficia, vel saltem tribularent
 eos cum expensis. Quis unquam audivit, quod sim-
 70 plices socii, in nulla facultate promoti vel qualificati,
 deberent vexare tam eximios viros, in omni profecto
 scibili profundissimos, ut sunt magistri nostri? Sed ipsi
 superbiunt propter sua metra. Ego etiam scio facere
 metra et dictamina, quia legi etiam novum latinum
 75 idioma magistri Laurentii Corvini, et grammaticam
 Brassicani, et Valerium Maximum, et alios poetas.

Et compilavi nuper in via eundo unum dictamen
 metricum contra istos hoc modo:—

Sunt Maguntiae in publica Corona,
 80 In qua nuper dormivi in propria persona,
 Duo indiscreti bufones
 In magistros irreverentiales nebulones,
 Qui audent reprehendere magistros in Theologia,
 Quamvis ipsi non sunt promoti in Philosophia;
 85 Nec sciunt in scholis formaliter disputare,
 Et ex una conclusione multa corollaria formare;
 Ut docet fundamentaliter doctor subtilis:
 Qui contemnit eum est multum vilis:

⁷⁵ *Corvini*: Laurentius Corvinus, 1465–1527, born at Neumarkt (Silesia), and hence styled *Noro-forensis*. His “De Latino Ydionate,” to judge by the numerous editions, was very popular as an elementary text-book. This little book contains dialogues between various interlocutors—Cirillus, Pamphilus, &c. A brief extract will give an idea of the value of the work for the student who would fain make “metra et dictamina”:—

Cir. “Quo properas, Pamphile?”

Pam. “Ad forum pergam.”

Cir. “Quid in foro acturus es?”

Pam. “Socer meus hesterno vespri duos mihi dono dedit obulos. Unum pro pane albo; alterum pro butyro ut darem. . . .”

Cir. “Vacuus mihi venter vehementer crepitat. Uno non ero contentus pane.”

⁷⁶ *Brassic.*: Joannes Brassicanus, the Latinised form of Johann Kohl-

burger, of Canstadt. (Not to be confounded with his more eminent son, Joannes Alexander.) His *Institutiones Grammaticae* was pub. at Strasburg in 1508, and often reprinted. He lectured on grammar and philosophy at Tübingen, and died c. 1520. Among some verses introductory to the “Gram. Instit.” (ed. 1512) this couplet occurs:—

IN OSORES.

“Brassica si quibus ingrata est, Nas-
 turtia rodant,
 Et grati his sunt Carduus atque filix.”

⁷⁶ *Val. Max.* The “Factorum-
 que Dictorumque Memorabilium
 Libri IX.” of Valerius Maximus—
 a series of miscellaneous historical
 anecdotes—seems to have been very
 popular in the German universities.
 Editions were very numerous.

⁷⁶ *poetas*: here, “Classics.”

⁸⁷ *doct. subtil.*: Dns Scotus.

I. 11] CORNELIUS FENESTRIFICIS

Ut concludunt quotlibeta doctoris irrefragabilis,
 Qui est in scientiis non expugnabilis: 90
 Et non sciunt quid est doctor Seraphicus,
 Sine quo nullus fit bonus phisicus:
 Et qui veraciter scribit, doctor sanctus,
 In Aristotele et Porphyrio tantus,
 Quod solus recte exponit quinque universalialia, 95
 Quae dicuntur etiam quinque praedicabilia:
 O quam breve continuat libros praedicamentales
 Et summat Aristotelis sententias morales.
 Quae omnia non intelligunt poetae:
 Ideo loquuntur ita indiscrete, 100
 Ut isti duo praesumptuosi trufatores,
 Qui vocant magistros nostros osores;
 Sed magister noster de Hochstrat debet eos citare,
 Tunc non amplius audebunt illuminatos vexare.

Valete et salutate mihi cum magna reverentia 105
 dominos meos magistrum nostrum Arnoldum de Tun-
 garis, et magistrum nostrum Remigium, et magistrum
 Valentinum de Gelterssheim, et dominum Iacobum de
 Ganda ordinis praedicatorum poetam subtilissimum, et
 alios. 110

⁸⁹ *doct. irrefrag.*: Alexander of Hales, a native of Gloucestershire, who became Professor of Philosophy and Theology in Paris, ultimately joining the Franciscan Order. He died A.D. 1245. His chief work is the "Summa Universa Theologiae." He was an uncompromising supporter of Papal supremacy, and consistently intolerant of all heretics.

⁹¹ *doct. Seraph.*: Giovanni di Fidenza, better known as St. Bonaventura—the glory of the Franciscan Order, whose general he became in 1256. The fervid writings of St. Bonaventura are mainly concerned with mystical theology, appealing not at all to the "Bonus phisicus."

⁹³ *doct. sanct.*: Thomas Aquinas.

⁹⁴ *Porph.*: Porphyry, originally Malchus, was one of the most eminent of the neo-Platonists. He was the pupil of Longinus and

Plotinus, and teacher of Iamblichus. His chief work, now lost, was directed against Christianity, but among the schoolmen his fame rested chiefly on his *Isagoge*.

⁹⁷ *continuat*: "makes a running commentary on." The "Continuum" of Thomas Aquinas was, however, on the Gospels.

⁹⁸ *summat*: "epitomises." Aquinas wrote a commentary on Aristotle's "Ethics."

⁹⁹ *poetae*: here, "humanists."

¹⁰² *osores*. See note, l. 74, *supra*.

¹⁰⁸ *Val. de Gelt.* See i. 7, n.

¹⁰⁹ *Ganda*: i.e. Gouda. Jacobus Gaudensis, a Dominican, was a man of sound learning, mentioned eulogistically on one occasion by Ulrich von Hutten (*Querelar.*, ii. 10, 181-4). Among his writings are: *Erarium Aureum*, *Stichologia Gaudensis*, and *Correctorium Bibliae*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XII

❧ *M. HILTBRANDUS MAMMACEUS*
S. D. M. Ortvine

AMICISSIME domine Ortvine, non possum iam scribere eleganter epistolam secundum praecepta
 5 quae scribuntur in modo epistolandi, quia hoc tempus non permittit, sed oportet breviter et statim manifestare paucis verbis quid est, quia habeo expedire casum unum vobiscum, qui est mirabilis, et est talis res. Vos debetis intelligere quod hic est terribilis fama, et omnes dicunt
 10 quod in curia romana causa magistrorum nostrorum male stat, quia dicunt quod Papa vult autentizare sententiam quae ante annum lata est in Spira pro doctore Reuchlin. Quando audiui tunc ita timui quod non potui aliquod verbum dicere, et fui sicut mutus,
 15 et per duas noctes non dormivi. Quia amici Reuchlin gaudent et vadunt ubique seminantes istam famam: et ego non crederem nisi vidissem unam litteram unius magistri nostri de ordine praedicatorum, in qua scripsit cum magna tristitia illam novitatem. Et cum hoc
 20 scripsit quod Papa permisit quod Speculum oculare debet in curia romana imprimi, et mercatores debent vendere, et omnis homo debet legere. Et magister noster Hochstratus voluit exire curiam romanam et voluit iurare paupertatem, tunc iudices non voluerunt eum
 25 dimittere. Sed dixerunt quod debet expectare finem, et quod non potest iurare paupertatem, quia intravit Urbem Romam cum tribus equis, et in curia romana

⁸ *in modo epist.*: one of the Formularies, or "scientific" treatises on the art of composing formal letters—a most elaborate process. The parts of a letter were five: (1) Salutatio, (2) exordium, (3) narratio, (4) petitio, (5) conclusio. See Palacky, *Ueber Formelbücher*, in *Abhdl. d. Böhm. Ges. der Wissensch.*, v. 2, 5; and Rockinger, *Ueber Briefsteller und Formelbücher . . . des Mittelalters.*, 1861.

¹² *sententiam*: i.e. the decision of the Bp. of Spire, March 29, 1514,

that the *Augenspiegel* was not heretical, and that Hoogstraten should pay the costs of the appeal. Cf. i. 18. ²³ *exire*, &c. Hutten writes to Gerbellius from Bologna, July 31, 1516, "Be of good cheer concerning Reuchlin; his deliverance is at hand; Hoogstraten, drained of all the funds with which he had hoped to win the day, has achieved nothing—and, hungry wolf that he is—is on the point of slinking off in dejection and poverty." *Hutt. Opp.* (ed. Böcking), i. 106.

habuit commensales, et exposuit magnas pecunias, et propinavit Cardinalibus, et Episcopis, et auditoribus consistorii multa munera, et propterea non debet iurare ³⁰ paupertatem. O sancta Maria, quid volumus nunc facere, si Theologia ita spernitur, quod unus iurista debet praevalere omnes Theologos? Ego credo quod Papa non est bonus christianus, qui si esset bonus christianus, tunc esset impossibile quod non teneret ³⁵ cum Theologis. Sed etiam si Papa dat sententiam contra Theologos, tunc videtur mihi quod debet fieri appellatio ad concilium, quia concilium est supra Papam, et in concilio Theologi habent praevalentiam super alias facultates: tunc spero quod dominus dabit benignitatem ⁴⁰ et respiciet famulos suos Theologos, et non p̄mittit quod inimicus noster supergaudeat nos, et dabit nobis gratiam spiritussancti quod possumus superare fallimoniam istorum haeticorum. Quidam iurista nuper dixit hic quod est fatatum, quod ordo praedicatorum ⁴⁵ debet perire, et quod ex illo ordine debent venire maxima scandala in fidem Christi, sicut non audita sunt prius: et dixit ubi legit illam prophetiam. Sed absit quod hoc sit verum. Quia ille ordo est utilis, et si ille ordo non esset, tunc nescio quomodo staret ⁵⁰ theologia, quia semper praedicatores sunt profundiores in theologia, quam minores vel Augustinenses, et tenent viam doctoris sancti, qui tamen nunquam erravit. Et etiam ipsi habuerunt multos sanctos in suo ordine, et sunt audaces in disputatione contra haeticos. Ego ⁵⁵ miror quare magister noster Iacobus de Hochstraten non potest iurare paupertatem; tamen est de ordine mendicantium qui manifeste sunt pauperes. Si non timerem excommunicationem, ego vellem dicere quod papa erraret ibi. Et non credo quod hoc est verum, ⁶⁰ quod ipse exposuit sic pecunias, et dedit propinas, quia

³⁸ *supra*. "Scarce a Council ever met which did not leave the Pope weaker than it found him." *Julius Erchiusus*, Paris, 1513. Cf. C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, p. 12.

⁴³ *gratiam*, &c.: Acts x. 45.

⁴³ *fallimoniam*. Not elsewhere found.

⁵² *minores*: i.e. the Franciscans,

who as Scotists were opposed to the Dominicans, who were Thomists.

⁵² *August*. Several religious orders were at different times called Augustinians. The Order here intended is that of the Austin Friars (Begging Hermits, or Hermits of St. Augustine), one of the four Mendicant Orders established under a definite Rule in the XIIIth Cent.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

est vir valde zelosus; et credo quod isti iuristae et alii fingunt talia, et doctor Reuchlin scit ipsis ita blandiri, quia etiam audiui quod multae civitates, et multi
65 principes, ac domini scripserunt pro eo. Et est ratio, quia non sunt in theologia instructi, et non intelligunt factum: alias permetterent istum haeticum habere diabolum, quia est contra fidem, etiam si totus mundus diceret contrarium. Vos debetis ista statim manifestare
70 magistris nostris in Colonia, quod sciunt capere consilium. Et scribatis mihi quid volunt facere. Et valete in Christo.

Datum in TUBINGA.

XIII

¶ M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA S. D. M. Ortwin

SICUT scripsistis mihi quod non amplius curatis illas levitates, et non amplius vultis amare mulieres, vel
5 supponere, nisi in mense semel, aut bis, ego miror quod talia scribitis. Tamen ego scio contrarium. Est hic unus socius qui nuper venit ex Colonia, et bene est vobis notus, et fuit etiam semper ibi vobiscum. Ipse dicit quod supponitis uxorem Ioannis Pfefferkorn: et
10 dixit mihi veraciter, et iuravit, et ego credo etiam. Quia vos estis valde amicabilis, et etiam scitis dare bona verba. Et cum hoc scitis perfecte artem amandi ex Ovidio. Etiam dixit mihi quidam mercator, quod dicunt Coloniae quod magister noster Arnoldus de
15 Tungaris etiam supponit eam; sed hoc non verum, quia ego scio veraciter quod ipse adhuc est virgo, et

⁶⁴ *audiri quod*, &c. Reuchlin himself, in a letter to Leo X., June 13, 1515, mentions among his active supporters the Emperor Maximilian, the Bishops of Strasburg and Constance, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg (Master of the Teutonic Order), fifteen mitred abbots (*infulam gestantes*), and fifty-three burghs (*civitates*) in Swabia.

¹³ *Ovidio*. In i. 9 Conrad also twits Ortwin with being an authority on Ovid.

¹⁶ *virgo*. In some verses appended to the "Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum" Joannes Murmellius (1479-1517) says of Arnold von Tongern:—

"Externas ejus longe pervenit in urbes
Nomen, et insignis fama pudiciciae."

Murmellius had been a pupil of A. von T., and in his "Scoparius," written shortly before his death, he

quod nunquam tetigit unam mulierem. Sed etiam si fecisset, vel faceret sicut non credo, tamen non esset propterea ita malus, quia humanum est errare. Vos multum scribitis mihi de isto peccato, quod non est ²⁰ maius peccatum in mundo, et allegatis multas scripturas. Ego scio bene quod non est bonum: sed tamen etiam in sacra scriptura reperitur, quod aliqui sic peccaverunt, et tamen fuerunt salvati. Sicut Samson qui dormivit cum una meretrice, et tamen postea spiritus domini ²⁵ irruit in eum. Et possum contra vos arguere sic: "Quisquis non est malevolus, recipit spiritum sanctum: sed Samson non est malevolus: ergo recipit spiritum sanctum." Maiorem probo, quia scriptum est: "In malevolam animam non introibit spiritus sapientiae;" ³⁰ sed spiritus sanctus est spiritus sapientiae; ergo. Minor patet, quia si illud peccatum fornicationis esset ita malum, tunc spiritus domini non irruisset in Samson, sicut patet in libro Iudicum. Etiam legitur de Salomone, quod habuit trecentas reginas, et concubinarum ³⁵ non fuit numerus; et ipse fuit maximus fornicator usque ad mortem suam: et tamen doctores communiter concludunt quod est salvatus. Quid nunc videtur vobis? Ego non sum fortior quam Samson, et non sum sapientior Salomone, et ergo oportet aliquando ⁴⁰ habere unam laetitiam. Quia, ut dicunt medici, hoc valet contra melancoliam. Ah quid dicitis de istis seriosis patribus? tamen dicit Ecclesiastes: "Et deprehendi nihil esse melius quam laetari hominem in opere suo." ⁴⁵

Quapropter ego dico cum Salomone ad amicam meam: "Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa mea; vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum, et in uno crine colli tui. Quam pulchrae sunt mammae

says: "Let us shun, as though they were a pestilence, those execrable and barbarous 'Epistolae' anathematised by the sovereign Pontiff." D. Reichling, *De Joan. Murm. Vit. et Script.*, Monast., 1870.

²⁴ *Samson*: Judges xvi.

²⁹ *scriptum est*: Wisdom i. 4.

³⁴ *Salomone*. Conrad underestimates the extent of the monarch's harem. See 1 Kings xi. 3. Cf.

"Yet Sampson was so tempted; and he had an excellent strength: yet was Solomon so seduced; and he had a very good wit." *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 2.

³⁹ *fortior*, &c. A similar remark is attributed to Aeneas Sylvius; viz. "nec sanctior sum David rege, nec Salomone sapientior."

⁴³ *Eccles.*: iii. 12, 22.

⁴⁶ *Salomone*: Cantic. iv. 9, 10.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

50 tuae, soror mea, sponsa mea. Pulchriora sunt ubera tua vino," et cetera. Per deum, valde iucundum est amare mulieres, secundum illud carmen Samuelis poetae:—

55 Disce, bone clerice, virgines amare,
Quia sciunt dulcia oscula praestare,
 Iuventutem floridam tuam conservare.

"Quia amor est charitas, et deus est charitas, ergo amor non mala res:" solvatis mihi illud argumentum. Etiam dicit Salomon: "Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam." Sed permittamus ista, et veniamus ad alia. Rogastis me quod deberem vobis nova significare: ergo sciatis quod iam in carnisprivio fuit hic magna laetitia. Et fuit hastiludium, et princeps met equitavit 65 in foro, et habuit pulchrum equum, et pulchrum andallum desuper, in quo fuit picta una mulier cum magno ornatu, et iuxta ipsam sedit quidam iuvenis in crispis crinibus, qui organizavit ei secundam psalmistam: "Iuvenes et virgines, senes cum iunioribus laudent 70 nomen domini." Et quando princeps venit in civitatem, tunc universitas intronisavit eum cum magna processione, et cives braxaverunt multam cerevisiam, et popinauerunt dulcia cibaria, et bene dapiverunt principem et omnes curiales. Et postea chorizaverunt, et ego steti in uno conspicello quod potui videre. 75 Non scio plura, quam quod opto vobis omnia bona: et Valet in nomine domini.

Ex LIPTZICK.

⁵² *Samuelis*. These verses are to be found in the *De Fide Concubinarum* of Paulus Olearius, with the addition of a fourth, viz.—

"Pulchram et amabilem prolem procreare."

"Samuel the Poet" appears to be identical with Samuel de Monte Rutilo (*i.e.* of Lichtenberg, in Franconia), thus referred to by Bebelius: "Vagatur etiam hincinde per Germaniam quidam Samuel ineptiarum plenus multos barbarismos seminans, nihil docens, praeter incultos rhythmos (quos dicimus) facere, et reliquas Latinae linguae calamitates, a quibus precor caveas, tanquam ab

aspidum venenis." There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of "*Monte Rutilo, Samuel de, Simonoma partium inclinabilium.* (? 1490)."

⁵⁹ *Salomon*: Cantic. viii. 7.

⁶³ *jam*: apparently in 1515.

⁶⁵ *andallum*: for *antellum*, housing of a horse. "Est antella quod est in pectore quadrupedantis." Ebr. Beth., *Græcis*, c. 10.

⁶⁸ *organizavit*: "Organo cantare, orgelen:" *ibid.*

⁷² *braxaverunt*: "*Braxator*, ein hyer brüwer; *Bravium*, wurrz, new byer." *Gemma Gemmarum*, Argent., 1505.

⁷³ *dapiverunt*. Not elsewhere found.

XIV

❧ M. IOANNES KRABACIUS S. D. M. Ortvino Gratio

EXCELLENS vir, secundum quod fui ante duos annos vobiscum in Colonia, et vos dixistis mihi quod semper deberem vobis scribere ubicunque essem, sic iam notifico vobis quod audiui de morte unius excellentissimi Theologi, qui vocatur magister noster Heckman de Franconia, qui fuit unus principalis vir, et tempore meo fuit ibi rector, et fuit profundus argumentator in via Scoti, et fuit inimicus omnium poetarum saecularium, et fuit vir zelosus et libenter celebravit missas; et quando tenuit rectoratum Viennae, tunc servavit supposita in magno rigore, et fuit laudabilis. Semel venit unus socius ex Moravia, quando ego fui Viennae, qui debet esse poeta et scripsit etiam metra, et voluit legere artem metrificandi, et non fuit intitulus. Tunc ipse magister noster Heckman prohibuit ei, et ipse fuit ita praetensus quod non voluit curare mandatum eius; tunc rector prohibuit suppositis quod non deberent visitare eius lectionem; tunc ille ribaldus accessit rectorem et dixit ei multa superba dicta, et tibusavit eum: tunc ipse misit pro famulis civitatis et

⁷ *Heckman*: Johann Heckmann was Rector of the Univ. of Vienna in 1507, 1510, and 1515. He is mentioned in ii. 9 as having saved "Philip Schlaurauff" from incarceration.

⁹ *ibi*: at Vienna—as appears from the context.

¹⁰ *Scoti*. A theologian told Erasmus that "nine years of study would not enable me to understand the preface of Scotus to Peter Lombard." *Comm. on Timothy*, i. 6.

¹³ *supposita*: almost equivalent to "undergraduates," those under authority, scholars. In i. 44, "suppositi."

¹⁴ *socius*: i.e. Ulrich von Hutten. In the summer of 1511 Hutten, in a

state of destitution, journeyed by way of Bohemia and Moravia to Vienna. That city already held many supporters of the New Learning. Vadianus (Joachim von Watt), Peter Eberbach of Erfurt, and others lived there in a *contubernium*, or community (usually of poor scholars), and hospitably received the wanderer. The account given by Krabacius is probably founded on fact; be this as it may, Hutten suddenly vanished from Vienna in the autumn of 1511.

¹⁶ *intitulus*: enrolled as a member of the University, matriculated.

²² *tibusavit*: Ger. *duzen*, Fr. *tutoyer*, "to thee and thou." Cf. "If thou thou'st him some thrice, it shall not be amiss." *Twelfth Night*, iii. 2.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

voluit eum incarcerare quia fuit magnum scandalum
 quod simplex socius deberet tibusare unum rectorem
 25 universitatis qui est magister noster; et cum hoc ego
 audio quod ille socius neque est baccalaurius neque
 magister, nec est aliquo modo qualificatus seu graduatus,
 et incessit sicut bellator, vel qui vult ambulare ad
 bellum, et habuit pileum et longum cultrum in latere.
 30 Sed per deum ipse fuisset incarceratus si non habuisset
 notos in civitate. Ego doleo maxime si est verum quod
 ille vir est defunctus, quia fecit mihi multa bona quando
 fui Viennae; et propterea feci ei epitaphium tale:—

Qui iacet in tumulis, fuit inimicus poetis,
 35 Et voluit eos expellere, quando voluerunt hic praticare,
 Sicut nuper unus socius, qui non fuit intitulatus,
 Veniens ex Moravia, et docens facere metra:
 Quem voluit incarcereare, propter suum tibusare:
 Sed quia nunc est mortuus, in Vienna sepultus,
 40 Dicatis bis vel ter, pro eo Pater noster.

Fuit hic nuncius qui portavit nova quae sunt mala si
 sunt vera, quod causa vestra non bene stat in curia
 romana; sed ego non credo, quia isti nuncii dicunt
 etiam multa mendacia. Poetae bene murmurant hic
 45 contra vos, et dicunt quod volunt defendere doctorem
 Reuchlin cum suis carminibus; sed quia vos etiam estis
 poeta quando vultis, credo quod bene manebitis prae
 ipsis. Tamen debetis mihi scribere quomodo stat nego-
 cium. Si tunc possum adiuvare vos, tunc habebitis me
 50 fidelem socium et adiutorem.

Valete ex NURENBERGA.

²⁶ *baccalaurius*. The Humanists dis-
 dained academical degrees because
 they despised the Universities that
 granted them. Johann Lindholz,
 Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy
 at Frankfort-on-Oder, declared that
 he conferred the degree of Bachelor
 on Hutten: this the latter denied.
 See Strauss, *Life of U. von H.*, trans.
 by Sturge, p. 28.

³¹ *notos*: i.e. Vadianus, Abhauser,
 and others of the Contubernium.

³² *ille vir*: i.e. Heckmann.

³⁴ *Qui*, &c. The style of this
 epitaph seems imitated from that in
De Generibus Elbrosorum (ed. 1643,
 p. 428), beginning: "Hic jacet ille,
 qui fuit unus inter mille," and end-
 ing: "Dicentes humiliter tria lig-
 nea Pater noster."

³⁵ *praticare*: to lecture upon.

⁴⁷ *manebitis prae*: Ger. *bestehen*
vor, to excel, or overcome.

XV

¶ GUILHELMUS SCHERSCLEIFFERIUS

S. D. M. Ortvinus

VALDE miror, venerabilis vir, quare mihi non scribitis, et tamen scribitis aliis qui non scribunt vobis ita saepe sicut ego scribo vobis. Si estis inimicus meus quod non vultis mihi amplius scribere, tunc scribatis mihi tamen quare non vultis mihi amplius scribere, ut sciam quare mihi non scribitis, cum ego semper scribo vobis, sicut etiam nunc scribo vobis, quamvis scio quod non eritis mihi rescribere. Veruntamen oro vos prae- cordialiter quod velitis mihi tamen scribere, et quando semel scripsistis mihi, tunc ego volo vobis decies scribere, quia libenter scribo amicis meis, et volo me exercitare in scribendo, ita quod possum eleganter dictamina et epistolas scribere. Ego non possum cogitare quid est in causa quod non scribitis mihi. Et conquestus sum nuper quando hic fuerunt aliqui Colonienses, et interrogavi: "Quid facit tamen magister Ortvinus, quod non scribit mihi? Ipse non scripsit mihi in duobus annis; dicatis tamen ei quod scribat mihi, quia libentius vellem suas litteras legere, quam mel comedere; et ipse fuit olim amicus principalis." Et interrogavi etiam quomodo transit vobis in illa lite cum doctore Reuchlin. Tunc dixerunt quod ille iurista scit vos circumducere cum sua arte. Tunc optavi quod dominus deus velit dare vobis suam gratiam quod eritis victor. Si vultis mihi scribere, tunc etiam debetis mihi de illo scribere, quia vellem libenter scire. Isti Iuristae vadunt hic et dicunt: "Doctor Reuchlin habet bonum negocium, et Theologi in Colonia fecerunt ei iniuriam." Et per deum ego timeo quod ecclesia potest in scandalum venire, si ille liber Speculum oculare non comburitur, quia habet multas propositiones irreverentiales, et contra fidem catholicam. Et si non cogitur ille iurista ad revocationem, tunc alii etiam tentabunt sic scribere in Theologia, quamvis non

¹⁰ *eritis . . . rescribere.* This mode paralleled by "ero invenire," ii. 70, of forming a future tense may be and "erit acquirere," ii. 67.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sciunt, et neque studuerunt in via Thomae, neque in via Alberti neque Scoti; et etiam non sunt illuminati in fide per gratiam spiritussancti. Quia unusquisque debet manere in facultate sua, et non debet mittere falcem in
40 messem alterius. Quia sutor est sutor et sartor est sartor, et faber est faber. Et non staret bene si unus sartor vellet facere calceos vel stamulta. Vos debetis audacter defendere vos et sacram Theologiam, et etiam ego orabo deum pro vobis, quod velit vobis tribuere
45 gratiam suam, et illuminare vestrum intellectum, sicut fecit antiquis patribus, ne diabolus praevaleat cum suis servitoribus contra iustitiam. Sed scribitis mihi tamen propter deum quomodo statis: vos facitis mihi magnam angustiam et non indigetis. Sed pro nunc commendo
50 vos domino deo. Valete in Christo.

Datum FRANCKFURDIAE.

XVI

❧ MATTHAEUS MELLILAMBIUS

S. D. M. Ortvino Gra.

QUONIAMQUIDEM semper fui amicus vestrae dominationis et procuravi vestrum bonum: ergo etiam
5 nunc volo vos in vestris adversitatibus cavisare, et volo in vestra fortuna esse laetus, et in infortunio tristis: quia vos estis amicus meus, et cum amicis debemus esse laeti quando lactantur, et contristari quando tristantur, ut scribit Tullius, quamvis est gentilis et poeta. Igitur
10 manifesto vobis quod hic habetis unum inimicum valde malitiosum, qui dicit multa vituperia contra dominationem vestram; et praesupponit multa extollens se in superbia sua, et dicit coram omnibus quod estis spurius, et mater vestra est meretrix, et pater vester presbyter.

³⁶ *in via Thomae, &c.* The school of the Albertists (followers of Albertus Magnus) was an offshoot of the Thomists, from whose doctrines their own differed but little. The Albertists and Thomists were in theology identified with the Dominicans, and the Scotists with the Franciscans. See ii. 45.

³⁹ *non debet, &c.* It is noteworthy that this proverb, of uncertain origin, occurs in a letter of Crotus Rubianus, dated Jan. 26, 1514 (? 1515).

¹ *Mellilambius*: "licker of honey"; perhaps "Bear," but the allusion is obscure.

⁹ *Tullius*: rather, Rom. xii. 15.

I. 16] MATTHAEUS MELLILAMBIUS

Tunc ego steti pro vobis, et dixi: "domine baccalaurie, 15
 vel qualiter estis qualificatus, vos estis adhuc juvenis et
 non deberetis vituperare magistros. Quia, ut scriptum
 habetur in evangelio: 'Non est discipulus super magis-
 trum.' S³ vos estis adhuc discipulus, et dominus
 Ortvinus est magister octo vel decem annorum; et ergo 20
 non estis sufficiens ad vituperandum unum magistrum
 vel virum in tali dignitate constitutum; alias etiam
 invenietis aliquem qui vituperabit vos, etiam si essetis
 adhuc ita superbus. Vos debetis habere verecundiam,
 et non facere talia." Tunc ipse dixit: "Ego loquor 25
 veritatem, et scio probare dicta mea et non volo vos
 respicere, quia Ortvinus est spurius, et quidam lans-
 mannus suus dixit mihi pro vero, quia novit ejus
 parentes, et etiam ego volo scribere hoc doctori Reuchlin,
 quia adhuc non scit. Sed quare velletis me vituperare? 30
 Vos nihil scitis de me." Tunc ego dixi: "Ecce,
 domini socii, iste praetendit se esse sanctum, quia dicit
 quod non potest vituperari et quod nihil mali fecit, sicut
 ille pharisaeus qui dixit quod ieiunaret bis in sabbato."
 Tunc ipse fuit iratus et dixit: "Ego non dico quod non 35
 peccavi, quia hoc esset contra psalmistam qui dicit
 'Omnis homo mendax,' et exponit glosa 'id est pecca-
 tor.' Sed dixi quod non debetis seu potestis me vitupe-
 rare quantum ad generationem de patre et matre. Sed
 Ortvinus est spurius et non est legitimus: ergo est 40
 vituperabilis, et ego volo eum vituperare in aeternum."
 Tunc ego dixi: "non faciatis, quia dominus Ortvinus
 est excellens vir et potest se defendere." Ipse vero
 dixit adhuc plura scandala de matre vestra, quod sacer-
 dotes et monachi et equestres et rustici in campo et in 45
 stabulo, et alibi supposuerunt eam. Et ego habui ita
 magnam verecundiam quod non creditis. Sed non
 possum vos defendere, quia non vidi patrem vestrum et
 matrem: quamvis credo firmiter quod sunt honesti et
 probi. Sed scribatis mihi quomodo est: tunc ego volo 50
 seminare vestram laudem hic. Etiam dixi sibi: "vos
 non debetis talia dicere, quia ponamus casum quod
 magister Ortvinus sit spurius, tamen fortassis est legiti-
 matus; et si legitimatus, tunc non est amplius spurius,

¹⁹ S³: A and B, "sed" C.

²⁷ lansmannus. See i. 1, n.

³⁴ pharisaeus: Luke xviii. 12.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

55 quia summus pontifex habet potestatem ligandi et sol-
vendi, et potest unum spurium facere legitimum, et
econtra. Sed ego volo probare ex evangelio, quod estis
dignus vituperari. Quia scriptum est: 'qua mensura
60 mensuraveritis, eadem mensurabitur et vobis.' Sed vos
mensuratis mensura vituperationis: ergo etiam sic debet
mensurari vobis. Etiam probo per aliud: quia dicitur
a domino nostro Iesu Christo: 'Nolite iudicare ne iudi-
cemini:' sed vos iudicatis alios et vituperatis eos: ergo
etiam debetis iudicari et vituperari." Tunc ipse dixit quod
65 mea argumenta sunt frascariae et non habent effectum.
Et fuit ita contumax quod dixit, Etiam si papa fecisset
unum filium extra matrimonium, et postea legitimaret
eum, quod tamen coram deo non esset legitimus, sed
ipse vellet eum tenere pro spurio. Ego credo quod
70 diabolus est in istis ribaldis quod ita vituperant vos.
Quapropter scribatis mihi quod possum vestrum hono-
rem defendere: quia esset scandalum quod doctor
Reuchlin sciret de vobis quod essetis spurii. Sed dato
quod sitis, tamen ille non potest sufficienter probare, et
75 si videtur vobis bonum, tunc volumus citare ipsum ad
curiam romanam, et cogere quod debet facere revoca-
tionem, sicut sciunt iuristae concludere; et possumus
eum facere irregularem, et per procuratorem possumus
tribulare eum, et accipere eius beneficia si incurrerit
80 irregularitatem, quia habet unum canonicatum hic
Maguntiae, et unam parochiam alibi. Et non habeatis
mihi pro malo quod scribam quid audiavi, quia puto
optime. Et valete in domino deo qui custodiat omnes
vias vestras.

85 Datum MAGUNTIAE.

⁵⁶ *legitimum*: e.g. in 1513 Giulio de' Medici was declared legitimate by Leo X. in order that he might be created Cardinal. See Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.*, chap. x.

⁵⁸ *scriptum est*: Matt. vii. 2; Mark iv. 24; but in the Vulg. "in qua mensura mensi fueritis remetietur vobis."

⁶² *Nolite*, &c. Matt. vii. 1; Luke

vi. 37; Vulg., "nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini (et non iudicabimini)."

⁶⁵ *frascariae*: It. *frasca*, pl. *frasche*; in pl., nonsense, trifles; *frascheria*, wanton trick, jest (Baretti).

⁷⁸ *irregularem*: "irregularitas" was a technical term for a canonical impediment hindering a person from taking orders. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.

XVII

❧ *M. IOANNES HIPPI*
S. D. M. Ortvinio Gratia

“**L**AETAMINI in domino et exultate iusti, et gloria-
mini omnes recti corde,” Psalm. xxxi. Sed ne
habeatis molestiam dicentes: “quid putat iste cum sua
allegatione?” debetis legere unam novitatem cum lae-
titia, quia hilarabit vestram dominationem mirabiliter;
et volo scribere cum brevibus verbis. Fuit hic unus
poeta qui vocatur Ioannes Aesticampianus, et ipse fuit
satis praetensus, et parvipendit saepe magistros artium,
et annihilavit eos in sua lectione, et dixit quod non sunt
sufficientes, et quod unus poeta valet decem magistros,
et quod poetae in processione deberent praecedere
magistros et licentiatos. Et ipse legit Plinium, et alios

¹ This undated Epistle is to be regarded as sent from Leipsic. *Hipp*: Ger. *Hippe*, “sickle” or “bill.” Böcking suggests that the writer is intended for Joannes Hoppe, Professor at Rostock. “Rev. pater Joannes Hoppe, theologie magister, heretice pravitatis inquisitor, ordinis predicatorii vicarius, leget et elucidabit diebus festis hora prima secundam secunde beati Thomae Aquinatis, summis festis dumtaxat exceptis.” Otto Krabbe, *Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1854, p. 321.

⁴ Psalm: Ps. xxxii. 2.

⁹ *Aesticampianus*: Joannes Rhagius Aesticampianus (1460–1520), the Latinised name of Johann Rack, of Sommerfeld. Visiting Italy in his youth, he entered the ranks of the Humanists, and on recrossing the Alps he proceeded to Paris. He is next heard of successively at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Cologne, Cracow, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder—where he reckoned Ulrich von Hutten among his pupils. For three years, 1507–10, he lectured publicly at Leipsic on Pliny, Plautus, and other classical authors. The barbarians of Leipsic,

however—as Fabricius puts it—could not brook the Humanities, and Rhagius was driven out, not without a parting bolt in the shape of a fiery oration: “You have overthrown Aesticampianus,” he cried, “after assailing him with every kind of weapon. What Humanists will visit you in the future? Not one, by Hercules, not one! You will live out your sordid lives, uncivilised and contemned—*damnati omnes immoremur!*”

After teaching the Classics for three years at Freiburg (see ii. 9), A. was attracted to Wittenberg by the offer of a handsome stipend from Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and there resided until his death.

“Virum doctrina et moribus insignem,” wrote H. Cornelius Agrippa of A. in 1533, and Luther addresses him as “virorum eruditissime et integerrime.” Among A.’s literary labours are an edition of the *Pinax* of Cebes, a *Modus epistolandi*, Epigrams, and prefaces to, or commentaries on, sundry works of Pliny, Plautus, and Cicero (see J. A. Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Aët.*, vi. 198).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 15 poetas, et dixit quod magistri artium non sunt magistri in septem artibus liberalibus, sed potius in septem peccatis mortalibus, et non habent bonum fundamentum, quia non didicerunt poetriam, sed tantum sciunt Petrum Hispanum, et parva loicalia; et habuit multos
20 auditores et domicellos. Et dixit, quod nihil est cum Schotistis et Thomistis, et emisit blasphemias contra doctorem sanctum. Tunc magistri expectaverunt suum tempus ut vindicarent se cum adiutorio dei. Et deus
25 voluit quod ipse semel fecit unam orationem, et scandalizavit magistros, doctores, et licentiatos, et baccalauios, et laudavit suam facultatem, et vituperavit sacram Theologiam. Et fuit magna verecundia inter dominos

¹⁶ *septem artibus*. "The Seven Liberal Arts" consisted of the *Trivium*, viz. Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, and the *Quadrivium*, viz. Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. "Grammar" included what we should term classical studies, and "Rhetoric" included poetry. During the Dark Ages the *Quadrivium* was almost lost sight of. See H. Parker, *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1890, pp. 417, and Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages*, i. 34.

¹⁶ *septem peccatis*:

"Sunt tumor, accidia, gula, luxuria, simulira,
Livor, avaricia, septem mortalia dira."—*Florentius*.

i.e. Pride, Sloth, Gluttony, Lust, Anger, Envy, and Avarice. See Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, Bk. I. canto iv.

¹⁸ *poetrium*: here, "the humanities."

¹⁹ *Petr. Hisp.* See i. 11, n., and ii. 46 n.

¹⁹ *parva loi*. There were several medieval treatises known by this name. One due to Marsilius of Inghen, founder of the University of Heidelberg, was in use at Leipsic. Parts of the *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus were, however, also known by this title, witness: "Copulata omnium tractatum parvorum logicalium Petri hispani tribus adjectis modernorum tractatibus in suis commentariis textui pulcherrime annotatis. In argumentis et replicis denovo diligentissime correctis juxta

inviolatum processum magistrorum Colonie bursam Montis regentium, ac invictissimam doctrinam sancti Thomae uberissime propugnantium" (H. Quentell, Cologne, 1496). The nature of the work is illustrated by the introduction: "It may be asked how many of the tractates of Peter of Spain on Parva logicalia have been handed down to us. The answer is that they are eight (*sic*) in number—those namely, "Suppositionum," "Relativorum," "Ampliationum," "Restrictionum," "Distributionum," "Exponibilium," and "Syncategorematum"; the authenticity of the penultimate tractate is, however, denied by many. There are, moreover, three other tractates besides those just enumerated, viz. "Obligatoriorum," "Insolubilium," and "Consequentiarum," of which the first two are rather curious than necessary; and the last contains errors which have crept in out of "the moderns." But it is to be observed that in the University of Cologne it hath been formally decreed by the Faculty of Arts that only six tractates are to be read. . . . Therefore, when candidates for a degree in the Faculty of Arts in the aforesaid University present themselves in the Red Chamber (*in rubea camera*) let them be careful, when asked the number of the tractates, to reply 'there are six.' It is explained that the "Parva Logicalia" are so called because "parva in quantitate, sed magna in virtute."

de facultate. Et collegerunt magistri et doctores concilium et dixerunt: "Quid facimus? quia hic homo multa mira facit: si dimittimus eum sic, omnes credent 30 quod est doctior nobis. Ne forte veniant moderni et dicant quod sunt de meliori via quam antiqui, et vilificabitur nostra universitas, et fiet in scandalum." Et dixit magister Andreas Delitzsch, qui est etiam alias bonus poeta, quod videtur sibi, quod Aesticampianus 35 est in universitate tanquam quinta rota in curru, quia impedit alias facultates, quod supposita non possunt bene in eis qualificari. Et alii magistri iuraverunt quod est ita. Et summa summarum ipsi concluserunt quod vellent relegare vel excludere istum poetam, etiam si 40 deberent in perpetuum habere inimicitiam. Et citaverunt eum ad rectorem et monuerunt eum in valvis ecclesiae; et ipse comparuit et habuit unum iuristam secum, et praetendit se defendere, et habuit etiam alios socios qui steterunt cum eo. Et magistri dixerunt quod 45 deberent abire, quia alias essent periuri, quia starent contra universitatem. Et magistri fuerunt fortes in bello, et permanserunt constantes, et iuraverunt quod vellent nemini parcere propter iustitiam, et aliqui iuristae et curiales rogaverunt pro eo. Et domini magistri 50 dixerunt quod non est possibile, quia habent statuta, et secundum statuta debet relegari. Et quod est mirabile, etiam princeps petivit pro eo, et nihil iuvit, quia dixerunt ad ducem quod oportet servare statuta universitatis. Quia statuta in universitate sunt sicut ligatura in libro. 55 Quia si ligatura non esset, tunc folia caderent hincinde. Et si statuta non essent, tunc non esset ordo in universitate, et supposita starent in discordia, et fieret confusum chaos: ergo deberet procurare bonum universitatis, sicut fecisset pater suus. Tunc princeps permisit sibi persuadere, et dixit quod non potest facere contra universitatem. Et quod expedit plus quod unus relegatur quam 60

³⁴ *Delitzsch.* See i. 1, n.

³⁹ *summa summarum.* Cf. Plautus, *Truc.* I. i. 4:—

"Quam penes amantūm summa summarum redit."

⁴⁸ *bello.* Cf. Hebr. xi. 34.

⁵³ *princeps*: i.e. George, Duke of Saxony. Erasmus, writing to the

Duke in 1520, assures him that under his auspices and through his munificence, the university has risen to the highest rank, and has become a home "*politioris literaturae.*" *Epp. Erasmi, ed. Peter Vander Aa, 1706* (Ep. 517).

⁵⁵ *ligatura*: "the binding."

⁶⁰ *pater*: i.e. Duke Albrecht; *ob.* 1500.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quod tota universitas patitur scandalum. Et domini magistri fuerunt optime contenti, et dixerunt: "Domine
65 princeps, deo gratias de bona iustitia."

Et rector affixit unum mandatum in valvis ecclesiae, quod Aesticampianus est relegatus ad decem annos. Et auditores sui fecerunt multa verba, et dixerunt quod domini de consilio fecerunt iniuriam Aesticampiano.
70 Sed ipsi domini dixerunt quod non vellent dare unum obulum pro eo. Et aliqui domicelli dixerunt quod Aesticampianus vellet istam iniuriam vindicare, et vellet citare universitatem ad Curiam Romanam. Tunc magistri riserunt et dixerunt: "Ha quid vellet facere
75 iste ribaldus?"

Et debetis scire quod nunc est magna concordia in universitate. Et magister Delitsch legit in arte humanitatis. Et similiter magister Rothburgensis, qui composuit unum librum bene in triplo ita magnum sicut est
80 Virgilius in omnibus suis operibus. Et posuit multa bona in illo libro, etiam pro defensione sanctae matris ecclesiae, et de laudibus sanctorum. Et commendavit nostram universitatem principaliter, et sacram theologiam, et facultatem artistarum, et reprehendit illos
85 poetas saeculares et gentiles.

Et domini magistri dicunt quod sua metra sunt ita bona sicut metra Virgilio, et non habent aliqua vitia, quia ipse perfecte scit artem metrificandi, et ante .XX. annos fuit bonus metrista. Quapropter domini de
90 consilio permiserunt, quod ipse debet librum publice legere pro Terentio, quia est magis necessarius quam Terentius. Et habet bonam christianitatem in se, et non tractat de meretricibus et bufonibus, sicut Terentius. Vos debetis haec nova manifestare in vestra universitate;
95 tunc fortassis etiam fiet sic Buschio, sicut factum est Aesticampiano. Quando mittitis mihi vestrum librum contra Reuchlin? Vos dicitis multa et nihil est. Et

⁷¹ *obulum*: "ein heller," *Gemma Gemmarum*; half a farthing.

⁷⁸ *Rothburgensis*: Joannes Matthias Tyberinus (Tuberinus Erythropolitanus); i.e. Johann Matthias of Rothenburg on the Tauber, the author of *Mathias de Caecitibus et saeris historiis, in Musas noxam digesta*, &c., Lips., 1514. Panzer, vii. 183.

⁹⁰ *consilio*: for *concilio*.

⁹⁵ *Buschio*: as, indeed, was the case. "Herm. Buschium diu ac multum vexatum eiecistis," exclaimed Aesticampianus in his speech already referred to.

⁹⁶ *librum*: i.e. Ortwin's *Praenotamenta*, published early in 1514.

scripsistis mihi quod vultis mihi veraciter mittere, et non facitis. Deus parcat vobis, quod non diligitis me, sicut et ego diligo vos, quia estis mihi sicut cor meum. Sed adhuc mittatis mihi, quia desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum, id est istum librum legere. Et scribite mihi novitates. Et semel componite unum dictamen, vel aliqua metra de me si sum dignus. Et valete in Christo domino deo nostro, per omnia saecula saeculorum Amen.

XVIII

❧ *M. PETRUS NEGELINUS*
S. D. M. Ortvino Gr.

QUAMVIS valde timeo esse ita audax, quod debeo vobis ostendere unum dictamen a me compositum, quia vos estis valde artificialis in compositione metrorum et dictaminorum; sed ego sum sicut pusillus, et sicut dicit Hieremias: "A, a, a, domine, nescio loqui, quia puer ego sum." Namque ego nondum habeo bonum fundamentum, et non sum perfecte instructus in arte poetria et Rhetorica. Attamen quia dixistis olim, quod deberem vobis componere omni modo unum carmen et mittere ad vos, tunc velletis mihi illud emendare, et ostendere ubi sunt vitia. Tūc ego cogitavi nuper: "Ecce iste est praeceptor tuus, et bene putat tecum, et tu deberes ei obedire. Ipse etiam potest te promovere in his, et in omnibus. Et tu poteris crescere in doctum virum, si vult dominus deus, et potest tibi bene succedere in tuis negociis. Quia legitur in .I. libro Regum: 'Plus valet obedientia quam victima.'" Quapropter mitto vobis hic unum poema per me compilatum in laudem sancti Petri, et unus componista qui est bonus

¹⁰¹ *desiderio*: Luke xxii. 15.

¹ *Negel*: the name of "Mag. Negelin" occurs in ii, 58, but he is there of Leipsic. The allusion is unknown.

⁶ *dictam*: an intentional blunder for "dictaminum."

⁷ *Hierem.*: Jer. i. 6; Reuchlin's *Vocabularius Breviloquus* begins with this quotation.

¹⁰ *poetria*: an adj. coined by N.; *poetrius*,—*a*,—*um*.

¹⁸ *Regum*: I Sam. xv. 22. Samuel's rebuke to Saul.

²¹ *Componista*. Not elsewhere found. An instance of "componist" in the sense of composer (1609) is cited in the N. E. D.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

musicus in cantu choralis et figurali, composuit mihi quatuor voces super illud. Et ego feci magnam diligentiam quod potui ita rignizare, sicut est rignizatum; quia
 25 illa carmina sonant melius, sicut partes Alexandri sunt compilatae. Sed nescio an habent vitia. Vos debetis illa scandere secundum artem metrificandi, et emendare.

Carmen novum magistri Petri Negelini in laudem sancti Petri incipit.

Sancte Petre domine nobis miserere,
 30 Quia tibi dominus dedit cum istis clavibus
 Potestatem maximam, necnon specialem gratiam
 Super omnes sanctos: quia tu es privilegiatus,
 Quod solvis est solutum, in terris et per caelum,
 Et quicquid hic ligaveris, ligatum est in caelis.
 35 Ergo te oramus, necnon devote supplicamus,
 Ut ores pro nostris peccatis, propter honorem universitatis.

Ipsi dicunt quod doctor Reuchlin, qui hebraice vocatur Ioannes Capnion, acquisivit unam sententiam pro se in Spira, sed magistri nostri de ordine praedicatorum
 40 dicunt, quod non nocet, quia ille episcopus non habet intelligentiam in sacra theologia. Et magister noster Hochstratus est in Curia Romana, et est bene visus apud dominum apostolicum. Et etiam habet sufficien-
 45 tiam in pecuniis et in aliis. Ego vellem dare quattuor grossos quod scirem veritatem: vos debetis mihi scribere. Sancte deus, quid est quod non mittitis mihi semel unam litteram? Tamen ego habeo libenter
 quando scribitis mihi. Valete, et dignemini mihi salutare magistrum nostrum Valentinum de Geltersheym, et
 50 magistrum nostrum Arnoldum de Tungaris in bursa Laurentii, et magistrum nostrum Remigium, et dominum Rutgerum, in bursa montis licentiatum, et prope diem magistrum nostrandum, necnon dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn virum zelosum, et alios qui sunt bene quali-

²⁴ *rignizare*. Not elsewhere found.

²⁵ *Alex.* His *Doctrinale* was in four parts and "*rignizatum*" as well.

³⁷ *Hebr.* In allusion both to Reuchlin's Hebrew studies, and the writer's ignorance of Greek.

³⁸ *sentent.* See i. 12, n.

⁴⁰ *Episc.* George, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was appointed bishop at the age of 28, in June 1513. F. X. Remling, *Urkundenbuch zur*

Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer, Mainz, 1853, ii. 477.

⁴² *Hochstr.* Hoogstraten immediately proceeded to Rome to plead his cause in person.

⁴⁹ *Val.* See i. 7, n.

⁵⁰ *Arnold.* See i. 1, n.

⁵¹ *Remigium.* See i. 5, n.

⁵² *Rutgerum.* Perhaps Rotger Sicamber (*Sycamber*).

I. 19] STEPHANUS CALVAstrius

ficati in theologia, et in artibus. Et valete in nomine 55
domini.

Datum in TREVIRIS.

XIX

☞ STEPHANUS CALVAstrius

Baccalarius M. Ortvinio Gr.

SALUTEM cum humilitate erga vestram majorita-
tem. Venerabilis domine magister: venit huc unus
socius qui portavit certa carmina, et dixit quod vos 5
composuistis illa, et intimastis in Colonia: tunc unus
poeta hic qui habet magnam laudem, sed non est bene
christianus, vidit illa et dixit quod non sunt bona, et
quod habent multa vitia: et ego dixi: "si magister
Ortvinus composuit, tunc non habent vitia, hoc est 10
certum": et volui impignorare tunicam meam, quod
si illa metra haberent vitia, tunc vos non composues-
setis: sed si vos composuissetis, tunc non haberent
vitia: et mitto vobis ista carmina quod videatis an vos
finxistis illa, et scribatis mihi. Et est illud carmen 15
scriptum in morte magistri nostri Sotphi in bursa Kneck,
qui olim composuit glosam notabilem, et nunc prohi-
dolor est mortuus. Requiescat in pace. Et est sic
initiatum:

Hic obiit unum sollemnissimum suppositum,
Per spiritumsanctum universitati natum,
Quod rexit in bursa Kneck,
Do macht er die copulat vō stuck zu stuck.

20

¹ This Ep. was reprinted in the second ed. of the Second Series of the E. O. V. (1517), with two slight alterations, mentioned below.

³ *major.*: here quaintly used as a title of honour; technically, in the Canon Law, "majoritas" refers to the rank of a superior relatively to that of an inferior cleric.

⁵ *certa*: for "quaedam": precisely equivalent to the English use of "certain" to qualify that which is known, but need not be further particularised.

⁷ *poeta*: probably Buschius himself—to whom Böcking attributes this Ep.

¹⁶ *Sotphi*. See i. 3, n. The *Epitodum* really written by Ortwin in memory of Gerhard von Zutphen appears in the *Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum*, published in 1518. The author complains that his elegy, "in epistolis Obscurorum Reuchlinistarum nequiter est immutatum." The succeeding verses, however, cannot be termed a parody of Ortwin's.

²² *rex*: "was Regent of."

²³ *copulat*. See i. 11, n.

²³ *von stuck zu stuck*: in the Second Series this becomes "von kot zu dreck"—"mud for mire"—to substitute one worthless thing for another.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

25 O si potuisset diutius vivere
 Et plus in glosa notabili scribere :
 Tunc adiuvasset hanc universitatem
 Et docuisset scholares bonam latinitatem :
 Sed nunc postquam decessit
 Et Alexandrum nondum satis expressit,
 30 Universitas luget suum membrum
 Tanquam unam lucernam vel candelabrum,
 Quod longe lateque luxit
 Per doctrinam quae ab eo fluxit :
 Nemo tam bene scripsit constructiones
 35 Et confundebat poetas illos bufones,
 Qui non recte discunt grammaticam,
 Per logicam scientiarum scientiam ;
 Et in fide non sunt illuminati,
 Ideo a sancta ecclesia alienati ;
 40 Et si non volunt recte opinari,
 Tunc debent per Hochstratum concremari,
 Qui Ioannem Reuchlin iam citavit
 Et in iudicio mirabiliter tractavit.
 Sed tu audi, deus omnipotens,
 45 Quod ego oro supplex ac flens :
 Da mortuo membro favorem sempiternam
 Et mitte poetas ad infernum.

Mihi videtur quod est optimum carmen, sed non scio
 quomodo debeo scandere, quia est mirabile genus, et
 50 ego tantum scio scandere hexametra. Non debetis pati
 quod aliquis reprehendit vestra carmina : et igitur scri-
 batis mihi : tunc ego volo vos defendere usque ad duel-
 lum. Et valet ex Monasterio in Westphalia.

XX

❧ IOANNES LUCIBULARIUS
 M. Ortvino Gra.

SALUTES quas nemo potest numerare. Venera-
 bilis domine magister : secundum quod promisistis
 5 mihi prius, quod velletis mihi esse adiutorium quando-
 cunque haberem necessitatem, et velletis me promovere

²⁵ *plus* : the *Glosa Notabilis* dealt
 with only two out of the four parts
 of the *Doctrinale*.

" Et mittite poetas ad infernum.

Et valet ex monasterio in west-
 phalia."

⁴⁷ In the Second Series the Ep.
 ends thus :—

The words " mihi . . . duellum "
 being omitted.

¹ *Lucib.* : the allusion is unknown.

prae omnibus aliis. Et dixistis quod audacter deberem vos invocare, tunc velletis mihi suppetiare sicut fratri, et non velletis me derelinquere in angustiis meis: sic nunc rogo vos pro amore dei, quia est valde necesse, ¹⁰ quod velletis mihi subvenire, quia potestis bene. Rector hic licentiauit unum collaboratorem, et vult habere unum alium: quapropter velitis pro me scribere litteras promotoriales quod velit seu dignetur me acceptare. Quia iam non habeo amplius de pecunia, quia exposui ¹⁵ omnia, et etiam emi libros et calceos. Vos bene novistis me quod sum sufficiens de gratia dei. Quia quando vos fuistis Daventriae, tunc ego fui secundarius; et postea in Colonia steti per annum, ita quod complevi pro gradu baccalauriatus; et fuisset etiam promotus ²⁰ circa festum Michaelis, si habuissem pecuniam. Etiam scio scholaribus resumere Exercitium puerorum, vel Opus minus secundae partis; et scio artem scandendi ut vos docuistis me, et Petrum Hispanum in omnibus tractatibus, et Parvulum philosophiae naturalis. Etiam ²⁵

⁸ *suppetiare*: for "suppetiari."

¹² *licent.*: "dismissed"; this meaning is not wholly foreign to the English "licence" (v.). "Licence from thee that needlesse suspicion." Southwell, *M. Magd. Funeral Leaves*, p. 188 (1594). (N. E. D.)

¹² *collaboratorem*: an assistant to the regular tutors.

¹⁵ *de*: of frequent use in the E. O. V. for the genitive case.

¹⁵ *exposui*: "have spent"; probably intended as a blunder for "expendi"; "exponere" occurs, however, in the sense of "throw overboard" in the *Digest* (*Marc.* 39, 4, 16, § 8).

¹⁸ *secundarius*: Classical, but not elsewhere used in the E. O. V.; here "in the second class" as a student.

¹⁹ *complevi*: fulfilled all the necessary conditions preliminary to taking his degree—(except payment of fees).

²² *Exercitium*. The *Exercitium Puerorum* was a very popular text-book compiled by an unknown hand. An example is:—

"Exercitium Puerorum Grammaticale in dietas distributum. Nuper per diligentem in multis castigationem de novo recognitum. Nou

sine plusculorum quae pueris profore visa sunt: additione necessaria.

"Impressus Maguntiae per Johannem Schoffer Anno incarnationis Quingentesimo sexto. Idibus Aprilis tertio." (Without pagination. Sig. A-Z.)

After the colophon, "Informatio pulchra ac fide digna de Rosario gloriose virginis Marie." (A woodcut on the last page.)

²³ *opus minus*: i.e. the "opus minus primae et secundae partis" of Alexander Grammaticus.

²⁴ *Petr. Hisp.* See i. 11, n.

²⁵ *Parvulum*: only once mentioned in the E. O. V.

"Parvulus Philosophiae naturalis cum utilissimo commentario ad studiosorum profectum per magistrum Gregorium Bretykoph de Konitz collecto. Insigne Jacob Thaureri (1511). Fol." Panzer, *Ann. Typ.*, vii. 173.

The date suggested is, however, erroneous. The Brit. Mus. copy has for colophon, on the first unnumbered leaf: "Finitum est hoc opusculum in famigera Liptzensi academia Impressum per providum virum Iacobum Thanner concivem Anno a nativitate domini nostri salvatoris Millesimo-

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sum cantor et scio Musicam choralem et figuralem, et cum hoc habeo vocem bassam, et possum cantare unam notam infra gammaut. Sed non scribo vobis talia iactanter, et ideo parcatis mihi, et sic commendo vos
30 omnipotenti deo. Valete.

Ex SUOLLIS

XXI

❧ *M. CONRADUS DE ZUICCAVIA*
S. D. M. Ortvino Gra.

SICUT enimvero scripsistis mihi nuper de vestra
amasia quomodo amatis eam intime, et etiam ipsa
5 amat vos, et mittit vobis sarta, et faciletas, et zonas, et
talia, et non accipit pecuniam a vobis sicut meretrices.
Et quando vir eius est extra domum, tunc acceditis
eam, et ipsa bene est contenta; et nuper dixistis mihi
quod pro una vice ter supposuistis eam, et semel
10 stando retro ianuam in introitu, postquam cantastis:
“Attolite portas principes vestras.” Et postea vir eius
venit, et vos fugistis posterius per hortum. Sic etiam
nunc volo vobis scribere quomodo succedit mihi cum mea
amasia. Ipsa est valde excellens mulier, et est dives,
15 et venit mirabiliter quod ego acquisivi notitiam cum ea,
quia quidam domicellus qui fuit notus pontifici, promovit
me. Et ego statim incepti eam valde amare, ita quod
non scivi aliquid facere in die, et de nocte non potui
dormire. Sed quando dormivi, tunc clamavi in lecto:
20 “Dorothea, Dorothea, Dorothea,” ita quod socii qui

quingentesimo duodecimo penultima
die mensis Januarii, 1512.”

The title is thus explained:—

“Ut crescant parvis sublimia robora
plantis,
Magnae sic artis estis origo liber
Que dat Aristoteles prelongo codice
doctus:
Hec dabit exiguis sub brevitate tibi,
Quid doceat queres? Naturas en
tibi rerum
Obtrusas monstrat: discere peritus
eris.”

²⁶ *Choral. et figur.* Du Cange

interprets *choralis* as “ad chorum
pertinens”; “*figuralis*” is not
given.

The plain-song, *cantus choralis*,
sprang from the earlier Gregorian.
A prick-song was a discant or division.
Figuration is the embellishment of a
simple theme. See H. Riemann, *Hist.*
of Music, London (s.a.).

¹¹ *Attol.*: Psal. xxiv. 7, 9.

¹⁶ *pontif.*: “*pontifex, ein byschoff*
oder ein burgermeister,” *Gemma Gem-*
marum.

²⁰ *Dorothea*: see the *Acta Sanctorum*,
Feb. 6.

stant in bursa audiverunt; et surrexerunt et dixerunt mihi: "Domine magister, quid vultis quod sic clamatis? Si vultis confessionem facere, tunc volumus afferre sacerdotem;" quia putaverunt quod essem in articulo mortis, et invocarem sanctam Dorotheam cum aliis 25 sanctis. Et ego erubescui valde. Sed quando veni ad illam amasiam, tunc semper fui ita perterritus, quod non potui eam aspicere, et fui rubicundus: tunc ipsa dixit: "Ah domine Magister, quare estis ita verecundus?" Et saepe interrogavit me rationem. Et 30 ego dixi quod non audeo dicere: sed ipsa voluit scire, et non voluit me dimittere, nisi vellem dicere ei; et dixit quod non vellet irasci super me, etiam si dicerem unam magnam nequitiam. Tunc semel fui audax, et revelavi ei secreta mea. Quia vos dixistis mihi olim, 35 quando legistis Ovidium de arte amandi, quod amatores debent esse valde audaces sicut bellatores, alias nihil est cum ipsis. Et dixi ei: "Domina mea reverenda, parcatis mihi propter deum, et propter honorem omnem vestrum, ego amo vos, et elegi vos prae filiis hominum, 40 quia vos estis pulchra inter mulieres, et macula non est in vobis. Quia vos estis speciosissima sicut est una in toto mundo." Tunc ipsa risit et dixit: "Per deum, vos scitis amicaliter loqui, si ego vellem credere." Et postea saepe veni in domum eius et bibi cum ea. Et 45 quando fuit in ecclesia, tunc steti ita quod potui aspicere eam; et ipsa etiam aspexit me quasi vellet me transvidere. Et nuper rogavi eam valde quod vellet me habere commendatum: tunc dixit quod non amarem eam. Et ego iuravi quod amarem eam sicut propriam 50 matrem, et vellem omnia facere ad servitium eius, etiam si solveret mihi vitam. Tunc respondit illa pulchra amasia mea: "Ego bene volo videre an est ita," et fecit unam crucem ad domum suam cum creta, et dixit: "Si amatis me, tunc semper de sero quando est tene- 55 brosum, debetis osculare illam crucem propter me." Et ego feci taliter per multos dies. Tunc semel venit unus, et permerdaviti mihi crucem, et ego osculando maculavi os, et dentes, et nasum. Et fui valde iratus super eam. Sed ipsa iuravit ad sancta sanctorum quod 60

²¹ *stant*: "reside," common in E. O. V.

⁴² *vos estis*: Cantic. iv. 7.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

non fecisset; et ego credo, quia per deum alias est honesta. Et imaginavi mihi unum socium, qui debet fecisse. Et si possum perscrutare, dico vobis quod debet habere retributionem suam. Sed iam habet
65 amicabiliore gestus erga me quam antea. Et spero quod supponam eam. Dudum aliquis dixit ei, quod sum poeta, et ipsa dixit: "Ego audiui quod estis bonus poeta: ergo debetis mihi semel scribere unum carmen:" et ego feci illud, et cantavi de sero in platea quod ipsa
70 audit; et postea exposui ei teutonice; et est hoc:

O alma Venus, amoris inventrix et dominatrix,
Quare tuus filius est inimicus meus?
O pulchra Dorothea, quam ego elegi amicam,
Fac mihi etiam sic qualiter ego tibi:
75 Pulchrior es tu inter omnes huius urbis puellas,
Et splendes sicut stella, et rides sicut rosa.

Ipsa dixit quod vult per suam vitam servare illud propter me. Vos debetis mihi dare consilium quomodo debeo me regere, et quomodo debeo facere quod amat
80 me. Et parcatis mihi quod fui ita grossus scribendo ad dominationem vestram. Quia est consuetudo mea quod sum socialis cum amicis meis. Vale in nomine benedicti.

Ex LYPTZICK.

XXII

❧ GERHARDUS SCHIRRUGLIUS
M. Ortvinio Gratio

*Salutem dicit variam per domini nostri gloriam,
Qui resurrexit a mortuis, et nunc sedet in caelis.*

5 **H**ONORANDE vir, notifico vobis quod non sum libenter hic, et paenitet me quod non mansi Coloniae apud vos, ubi potui melius proficere. Et vos potuissetis me facere bonum loicū, et etiam pro
10 parte poetam. Et in Colonia sunt homines devoti, et libenter visitant ecclesias, et in dominica vadunt ad sermonem. Et non est tanta superbia sicut hic.

¹ *Schirr.* Allusion unknown.

² *loicū*: for *logicū*; not unusual in the XVth Cent.

Supposita non faciunt reverentiam magistris. Et magistri non habent advertentiam ad supposita, et mittunt eos ire quomodo volunt; et non portant caputia. Et quando sunt in zechis ad vinum, tunc iurant per deum, et blasphemant et faciunt multa scandala. Sicut nuper unus dixit quod non credit, quod tunica domini in Treveris esset tunica domini, sed una antiqua et pediculosa vestis: et non credit etiam quod crinis beatae virginis est adhuc in mundo. Et unus alter dixit, quod possibile est, quod tres reges in Colonia sunt tres rustici ex Vestphalia. Et q' gladius et clipeus sancti Michaelis non sunt ad sanctum Michaellem. Etiam dixit quod vellet merdare super indulgentias fratrum praedicatorum, quia ipsi essent bufones, et deciperent mulieres et rusticos. Tunc ego dixi: "Ad ignem, ad ignem cum isto haeretico:" et ipse derisit me. Ego vero dixi: "tu ribalde, tu deberes talia dicere, quod magister noster Hochstratus in Colonia audiret, qui est inquisitor haereticae pravitatis." Tunc dixit: "Hochstratus est una execrabilis et maledicta bestia;" et maledixit ei et dixit: "Ioannes Reuchlin est probus vir, et theologi sunt diaboli, et iniuste iudicaverunt quando combusserunt suum librum qui vocatur Speculum oculare." Tunc ego respondi: "Noli dicere hoc, quia scriptum habetur in Ecclesiastico capite VIII.: 'Non iudices contra iudicem, quia secundum quod iustum est iudicat.' Tu vides, quod universitas Parrhisiensis, ubi sunt theologi profundissimi et zelosi, et qui non possunt errare, etiam iudicaverunt ita sicut Colonienses; quare ergo vis esse contra totam ecclesiam?" Tunc ipse dixit quod Parrhisienses essent iniquissimi iudices, et quod acceperunt pecuniam a fratribus de ordine praedicatorum, quam portavit ipsis (ut ille nequam mentitur) zelosus vir et theologus scientificissimus, dominus Theodericus de Ganda, legatus universitatis Coloniensis. Et adhuc dixit quod ista non est

¹³ *tunicam*. See i. 11, n.

²⁰ *crinis*: a not uncommon relic. A large quantity brought from Jerusalem was deposited at Oviedo and Astorga; also at the Abbey of Corbie. For an instance at Cologne, see

Erhardus Winheim, *Sacrarium Agripinae*, Cologne, 1607, p. 179.

²¹ *reges*: the Magi—Kaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar. For a good description of the famous shrine, see F. Bock, *Der Kunst- und Reliquienschatz des Kölner Doms*, Cologne, 1870.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUN

ecclesia dei, sed est illa de qua dicit ps: "Odivi ecclesiam
 malignantium, et cum impiis non sedebō." Et culpavit
 50 magistros nostros in Parrhisia in omnibus actibus suis.
 Et dixit quod universitas Parrhiensis esset mater
 omnis stultitiae, quae haberet ibi originem, et venisset
 in Alemaniam et Italiam; et quod illa schola semi-
 nasset undique superstitionem et vanitatem. Et fre-
 55 quenter omnes qui student in Parrhisia, habent mala
 capita, et sunt quasi fatui. Et dixit quod Thalmut
 non est ab ecclesia damnatus. Tunc sedit ibi magister
 noster Petrus Meyer plebanus in Franckfurdia, et
 dixit: "Ibi ego volo ostendere quod iste socius non
 60 est bonus christianus, et non sentit recte cum ecclesia.
 Sancta Maria, vos socii vultis multum loqui de theo-
 logia, et non scitis. Quia etiam Reuchlin ignorat,
 ubi scriptum est quod Thalmut est prohibitus." Tunc ille socius quaesivit: "Ubi et scriptum?" Et
 65 dixit magister noster Petrus quod legitur in Forta-
 litio fidei. Respondit ille trufator, quod Fortalitium
 fidei est merdosus liber, et non valet; et quod nemo
 allegat istum librum nisi stultus et fatuus. Et ego
 fui perterritus, quia valde iratus fuit magister noster
 70 Petrus, ita quod tremuerunt ei manus; et ego timui
 quod noceret ei, et dixi ei: "Domine eximie, estote
 patiens, quia qui patiens est, multa gubernatur sapi-
 entia. Proverbiorum XIII. Permittatis istum, quod
 peribit sicut pulvis a facie venti. Ipse dicit multa,
 75 et tamen nihil scit. Et sicut scribitur in Ecclesi-
 astico: 'Stultus verba multiplicat,' ita ipse etiam
 facit." Tunc ipse prohdolor incepit multa dicere de
 ordine praedicatorum, quomodo isti probi fratres fece-
 runt unam nequitiam in Berna; quod ego non credo

⁵⁶ *Thalmut*. The Univ. of Mainz and Cologne had pronounced, in 1510, the opinion that the Talmud should be destroyed. See H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, 1892, iv. 475.

⁶⁵ *Fortal.*: the *Fortalicium contra Fidei Christianae hostes*, by Alphonsus a Spina, Bp. of Orense. The third of its five books is "De bello Judaeorum." First published not later than 1472, by J. Mentelin, Strasbourg. See Copinger, *Suppl. to Hain*, 872.

⁷³ *iii.*: Prov. xiv. 29.

⁷⁵ *Ecl.*: *Eccles.* x. 14.

⁷⁹ *Berna*. For a good account of this extraordinary case, see E. Belfort Bax, *German Society at the close of the Middle Ages*, 1894 (App.). See also "The Tragical History of Jetzer: or, a Faithful Narrative of the Feigned Visions, Counterfeit Revelations, and False Miracles of the Dominican Fathers of the Convent of Berne . . . to Propagate their Superstitions. For which Horrid Impieties, the

per vitam meam; et quomodo fuerunt combusti, et ⁸⁰
 quod ipsi semel imposuerunt venenum in sacramento
 eucharistiae, et sic interfecerunt unum imperatorem.
 Et dixit quod oportet istum ordinem delere; alias
 fient multa scandala in fide, quia omnis malitia est in
 illo ordine; et alia multa dixit. Ergo debetis aperte ⁸⁵
 scire quod vellem libenter redire ad Coloniam, quia
 quid debeo facere cum talibus maledictis hominibus?
 Veniat mors super illos, et descendant ad infernum
 viventes, ut inquit Psalmista, quia sunt filii diaboli.
 Si videtur vobis, tunc prius volo accipere gradum: si ⁹⁰
 non, tunc volo abire statim. Ergo debetis mihi cito
 scribere mentem vestram; secundum illam volo me
 regere; et cum hoc commendo vos domino deo.
 Valete.

EX MOGUNTIA.

95

XXIII

¶ *IOANNES VICKELPHIUS humilis sacrae
 Theologiae professor S. D. M. Ortvinio Gratio
 poetae et Theologo, etc.*

QUONIAMQUIDEM olim fuistis discipulus meus ⁵
 in Daventria, et ego amavi pro tunc vos ante
 omnes scholares, quia habuistis bonum ingenium et
 fuistis valde disciplinatus iuvenis, quapropter nunc
 etiam volo vobis dare consilium ubicunque possum.
 Sed vos debetis etiam bono animo accipere, quia deus
 est scrutator cordium et scit quod ego loquor vobis ex ¹⁰
 dilectione, et pro salute animae vestrae. Fuerunt hic

Prior, Sub-Prior, Lecturer, and Receiver of the said Convent were Burnt at a Stake . . . 1509. Collected from the Records of the said City by the care of Sir William Waller, Knight. Translated from his French Copy by an impartial Pen . . . London, MDCLXXIX."

⁸¹ *Venenum*: referring to the alleged poisoning of the Emp. Henry VII. in 1313. A long list of authorities is given by J. F. Meyer, *De Hostiis et Calice Venenatis*, Gryphiswald, 1703. C. Pezel, *Casau-*

bonus Redivivus, Marburg, 1616, quotes the saying, "Calix vitae, calix mortis." For a curious Latin poem, "De Imp. Heinrich VII. obitu: quem F. Paulinus, ordinis Praedicatorum, instinctu Florentinorum, in Eucharistia intoxicavit, Rhythmi in vetustissimo libro reperti," see Marg. Freher, *Germanicarum Rerum Scriptores*, Frankfurt, 1600 (tom. i., App.).

⁸⁹ *Psal.*: lv. 15 (A.V.).

¹ *Vickelphius: Angl.* "John Jasey-block."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

aliqui Colonienses qui dixerunt quod habetis Coloniae
 unam mulierem quae est saepe apud vos, et vos apud
 ipsam, et dicunt veraciter quod habetis actum cum
 15 ipsa. Et ego dolui valde cum magno terrore quando
 audiui, quia est magnum scandalum, si verum est, quia
 estis graduatus, et pro tempore ascendetis etiam ad
 altiora, scilicet ad gradus in sacra Theologia: et quando
 talia audiuntur de vobis, tunc dant malum exemplum
 20 iunioribus, qui peiorantur exinde. Vos tamen bene
 legistis in Ecclesiastico: "Propter speciem mulieris
 multi perierunt, et ex hac concupiscentia quasi ignis
 ardescit." Et in Ecclesiaste: "Averte faciam tuam
 a muliere compta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam."
 25 Et ibidem: "Virginem ne conspicias, ne forte scan-
 dalizeris in decore illius." Vos scitis etiam quod maxi-
 mum peccatum est fornicatio. Sed cum hoc audio
 quod illa mulier est legitima et habet virum. Propter
 deum dimittatis eam, et respiciatis famam vestram.
 30 Est scandalum quod homines debent dicere quod Theo-
 logus est adulter. Quia alias habetis satis bonam
 famam, et omnes dicunt quod estis bene qualificatus,
 sicut etiam ego scio. Vos deberetis quotidie semel
 35 habere unam devotam recordationem passionis domi-
 nicae, quia illud est magnum remedium contra tenta-
 tiones diaboli, et stimulum carnis, et petere in orationi-
 bus vestris, quod dominus velit vos custodire a malis
 cogitationibus. Ego credo quod talia legistis in poetis
 saecularibus, et peioratis vos inde. Et ergo vellem
 40 quod dimitteretis illos poetas, quia scitis quod sanctus
 Hieronymus fuit percussus ab angelo, quia legit in libro
 poetarum. Et Daventriae saepe dixi etiam vobis quod
 non deberetis fieri poeta vel iurista, quia isti sunt male
 affectionati in fide, et habent quasi omnes malam dis-

²¹ *Ecclus.*: ix. 9.

²³ *ardescit*: *exardescit* in Vulg.

²³ *Ecclus.*: really *Ecclus.* ix. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*: *Ecclus.* ix. 5.

⁴¹ *Hieron.* "My soul was caught up from me, and carried before the Tribunal of the Supreme Judge. . . . They asked me who I was, and I answered, 'A Christian.' 'Thou liest,' said the Judge, 'thou art a Ciceronian and not a Christian, for

where thy treasure is there will thy heart be also.'" He then seemed, in his dream, to be chastised, and awoke with bruises. A. Largent, *Saint Jerome*, 1900, p. 22. See also Migne, *Patrol.*, vol. xxii. (*Vit. St. Hier.*, cap. ix.).

⁴⁴ *affectionati*. Not found elsewhere.

⁴⁴ *disposit*. Not elsewhere found in the sense of "mood."

I. 24] **PAULUS DAUBENGIGELIUS**

positionem in moribus. Et de illis loquitur Psalmista : 45
 "Odisti omnes observantes vanitatem supervacue."

Etiam de alio volo scribere vobis. Ipsi dicunt quod
 vos scripsistis contra Ioannem Reuchlin causa fidei ;
 et est bonum, quia vultis lucrari super talentum ves-
 trum quod tradidit vobis deus. Sed dicitur hic quod 50
 Ioannes Pfefferkorn, quem etiam defenditis vos, est
 malus nequam, et non est factus christianus amore
 fidei, sed propterea quod Iudaei voluerunt eum sus-
 pendere propter suas nequitias, quia dicunt quod est
 fur et proditor, et sic fuit baptizatus ; et omnes dicunt 55
 quod occulte est malus christianus, et non manebit in
 fide. Ergo debetis videre quid facitis. Iam com-
 busserunt in Hallis unum baptizatum Iudaeum qui
 etiam vocatur Ioannes Pfefferkorn, et fecit multa mala.
 Ego timeo quod ille faciet semel talia, tunc vos male 60
 staretis. Sed nihilominus debetis defendere Theo-
 logiam.

Et accipite in bonam partem quod fraterne consului
 vobis : et Valete in bona prosperitate.

Datum MADEPURCK,

65

XXIV

❧ **PAULUS DAUBENGIGELIUS**

S. D. P. M. Ortvino Gratio

ECCE si ego sum mendax sicut nuper dixistis, quod
 promitterem vobis semper quod vellem vobis
 scribere et tamen non scriberem vobis. Iam volo 5
 probare quod teneo vobis fidem, quia vir maturus et
 rectus nihil debet promittere quod non vult servare.
 Et esset magna inconstantia de me si non servarem
 vobis promissa, et essem fallax. Vos debetis similiter
 scribere mihi ; tunc saepe volumus ad invicem mittere 10
 seu dirigere epistolas. Et iam debetis scire quod
 doctor Reuchlin permisit imprimere unum librum qui

⁵¹ *Pfefferkorn*. Roasted before a slow fire at Halle in 1514. He had confessed, among other crimes, to having poisoned thirteen sick folk in the guise of a physician, kidnapped

a child for sacrificial purposes, and committed blasphemy and sacrilege. Otherwise known as "Pfaff Rapp."

¹ *Daubengigelius* : "Deaf and dumb noodle."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

intitulatus est "Defensio": in quo scandalizat valde dedecorose, et vocat vos asinum. Et verecundatus sum
 15 valde legere illum librum, quamvis non legi eum per totum, quia proieci ante parietem quando vidi quod est ita malignosus contra Theologos et Artistas. Vos potestis eum legere si vultis, quia mitto hic eum vobis. Mihi videtur quod autor ille cum suo libro debet comburi,
 20 quia est maxime scandalosum quod aliquis debet talem librum compilare. Nuper fui Equiritia et volui emere equum, in quo volo equitare ad Viennam; tunc vidi illum librum venalem. Et cogitavi mecum quod necesse est quod vos videbitis illum, ut possitis ei respondere
 25 ad suam perversitatem; quia si possem facere vobis maiora servitia, non vellem tardari, quia habetis me humilem servitorem et fautorem vestrum.

Sciatis quod adhuc habeo malos oculos; sed venit huc quidam Alchimista qui dicit quod scit medicare
 30 oculis, etiamsi homo esset totaliter caecus in illa infirmitate. Et alias habet bonam experientiam, quia ambulavit per Italiam et Franciam, et multas provincias. Et sicut scitis, omnis Alchimista est medicus aut saponista; quamvis iam est depauperatus aliquantulum. Vos quaesivistis etiam quomodo succedit mihi
 35 alias. Gravior vobis quod quaeritis ita. Sed debetis scire quod adhuc bene sto de gratia dei. Et in ista

¹³ *Defensio*: the full title being, *Defensio Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis LL. Doctoris contra Calumniatores suos Colonieneses*. (Tubingae, apud Thomam Anshelmum Badensem, Anno MXXIII.) See Introd.

¹⁴ *dedec*. Reuchlin, in this work, gave the reins to his vituperative powers, Ortwin being thus introduced: "Consideranda non minus jam venit semipagani conditio, cui nomen Ortwinus, nomen barbarum, quod ipsum hominem barbarum esse designat, si nomina sint consona rebus. . . . Quid igitur tuba canat iste bonarum artium perversor, dicere volui professor Ortwinus Colonienensis versifex, metrifex, immo fex omnis sceleris et perfidiae." *Defensio*; H. von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Reformationis*, Pt. II. p. 71.

¹⁴ *voc. vos. asin.*: not in so many words, but in accusing Ortwin of

heresy (for having, in his verses, termed the Virgin "alma parens Jovis"), Reuchlin goes on: "Si forte dicere velles quoniam Juppiter dicatur quasi 'juvans pater,' quod de deo possit intelligi, at etiam de asino intelligitur, quem fortasse pro deo adoras versifex—immo versutifex." *Defensio*, *ibid.* p. 73.

¹⁷ *Malignosus*. Not found elsewhere. But *Malignus* was used, like *Malus*, to denote the Evil One. Cf. Du Cange, s.v.

²¹ *equiritia*: here, apparently, "Horse-market." Du Cange explains *equaritia* as "equorum grex."

³⁴ *Saponista*. Not previously found. A seller of salves and unguents. For *Sapo*, in the sense of a pomade, cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, xxviii. 12, 51. Quoted as a proverb by H. C. Agrippa, *De Inc. et Van. Sci.*, c. xc.

vindemia detorculavi multum vinum, et in frumentis habeo bonū sufficientiam.

Sed de novitatibus scitote, quod serenissimus dominus imperator mittit magnum populum in Lombardiam contra Venetianos, et vult eos corrigere pro superbia sua. Ego vidi bene duo milia cum sex baniris, et habuerunt pro dimidio cuspides, et pro dimidio pixides seu bombardas, et fuerunt satis terribiles, et habuerunt scissas caligas. Et fecerunt multa damna rusticis et villanis. Et homines dixerunt quod vellent quod omnes interficerentur. Sed ego opto quod redibunt cum sanitate.

Mittatis mihi cum isto nuncio formalitates et distinctiones Scoti quas composuit Brulifer. Et etiam Clipeum Thomistarum in littera Aldi, si potestis reperire.

³⁸ *detorc.* Not found elsewhere; for *torculari*, "pressed."

⁴⁰ *Dom. Imp.*: i.e. Maximilian, who was preparing an expedition against the Venetians.

⁴⁴ *baniris.* Not found elsewhere; probably for *banuis*, "standards."

⁴⁴ *cuspides*: spears. "In his (Maximilian's) early Burgundian wars, he began the reorganisation of the German foot-soldier, which soon made the German Landsknecht a terror to all Europe. . . . For their equipment he discarded the useless and cumbersome shield, and gave them as their chief weapon an ashen lance some eighteen feet long, though a certain proportion were armed with halberds, and others with firearms that were portable and efficient, at least as compared with earlier weapons of the same sort." T. F. Tout, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, i. 325.

⁴⁵ *pixides*: "culverins" in the sense of hand-guns—the original meaning of the English word, afterwards applied to cannon. Cf. "Hi praeter suorum caedem duas etiam pyxides, quas colubrinās vocant, perdiderant." Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, *Lib. II. de Bello Helvetico*.

⁴⁵ *bombardas*: here probably equivalent to *portativas*, or "arquebuses." The word had many meanings. See Du Cange.

⁴⁶ *scis. calig.*: probably "slashed

shoes." For the arms and dress of the Landsknechte, see *The Triumphs of Maximilian*, Holbein Society, Plate 104 (119). The *Gemma Gemmarum*, however, interprets *caliga* as "hose," and this may be its meaning here.

⁵¹ *Brulifer*: Stephanus Brulefer (the name is spelt in several ways), born at St. Malo, in Brittany, in the middle of the XVth Cent. He entered the Franciscan Order, became a pupil of Gulielmus Vorilongus, and obtained the Doctorate of the University of Paris. He was a "Scotist," and taught his master's scholastic theology at Mayence and Metz. "Clar. An. 1480. Ob. in conventu Bernonis provinciae Britanniae, post annum, ut videtur, 1500." H. Wharton, App. to G. Cave's *Scrip. Eccles. Historia Literaria*, Oxon., 1743, p. 137. The work alluded to is, doubtless, "Doctissimi sacre theologie doctoris Stephani Brulefer formalitatum Textus." "Les formalités sont les divers notions, les divers points de vue que l'esprit peut distinguer dans les choses." P. Nova, *Dict. de Terminologie Scolastique*, 1885, p. 138.

⁵² *Clipeum Thom.* The work referred to is supposed to be "Clypeus contra jacula adversus sacram ac immaculatam Virginis Mariae conceptionem volitantia per modum trium sermonum, cum quadam

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Etiam vellem libenter videre modum metrificandi
55 quem vos composuistis. Et emite mihi Boecium in
omnibus suis operibus, et praecipue de disciplina
scholarium, et de consolatione philosophica cum com-
mento Doctoris sancti. Et cum hoc Valet et habe-
atis me commendatum.

60 Ex AUGUSTA.

XXV

¶ M. PHILIPPUS SCULPTORIS S. D. M. Ortvinio Gratio

SICUT scripsi vobis saepe, ego habeo molestiam
quod ista ribaldria, scilicet facultas poetarum, fit
5 communis et augetur per omnes provincias et regiones.
Tempore meo fuit tantum unus poeta qui vocatus fuit
Samuel. Et nunc solum in ista civitate sunt bene
viginti, et vexant nos omnes qui tenemus cum antiquis.
Ego nuper realiter expediui unum qui dixit quod
10 scholaris non significat personam q̄ vadit ad scholas
discendi causa, et dixi: "asine, vis tu corrigere
doctorem sanctum qui ponit istam dictionem?"
Postea scripsit ipse unam invectivam ad me, et posuit
multa opprobriosa dicta, et dixit quod non sum
15 grammaticus bonus, quia non recte exposui ista
vocabula quando practicavi in prima parte Alexandri,
et in libro de Modis significandi. Et volo vobis

quaestione theologica ac disputatione
juridica in scholis juristarum almae
universitatis Lipsiensis facta sub
anno D. I. 1489." See Quétif and
Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedica-*
torum, Paris, 1719, vol. i. p. 384.

⁵² *in littera Aldi*. Not necessarily
printed by Ald. Manutius, but in the
style of type introduced by him in
1501.

⁵⁴ *mod. metr.* It does not appear
that O. ever published such a work;
but the Obscure Men are never tired
of girding at his poetic ambitions.

⁵⁶ *de discip. schol.* The treatise *De*
Disciplina Scholarium, though fre-
quently printed with the *De Con-*
solatione Philosophiae, was not the work

of Boethius, but was probably written
by Thomas Cantimpratensis, author
of a work entitled *Bonum universale*
de proprietatibus apum.

The book Ortwin is asked for is
some edition of *Boetius de consolatione*
philosophie necnon de disciplina schol-
arium cum commento Sancti Thome.

⁶⁰ *Augusta*: for Augusta Tubinga,
i.e. Tübingen, where the *Defensio* was
first published.

⁷ *Samuel*. See i. 13, n.

¹² *Doct. Sanct.*: Aquinas.

¹⁷ *De mod. sign.*: otherwise *Gram-*
matica Speculativa, by Duns Scotus;
"the first attempt to treat grammar
in a wide and philosophic spirit."
See D. N. B.

scribere formaliter illos terminos, quod debetis videre quod recte exposui, secundum omnes vocabularios, et ad hoc possum allegare autenticos autores, etiam in Theologia. Et primo dixi: "Seria aliquando significat ollam, et tunc dicitur a Syria, quia in tali provincia primo facta est; etiam potest dici a seriis, quia est utilis et necessaria; vel a serie, id est ordine fit. Item Patritii dicuntur patres senatorum. Item currus dicitur a currendo, quia per eum currunt interiora ad extra. Item ius, iuris, significat iustitiam; sed ius, iutis, significat prodium; unde versus:

Ius, iutis, mando; ius, iuris, in agmine pando.

Item Lucar significat pecuniam quae colligitur ex luco vel ex sylvā. Item mantellus significat pallium, et inde venit diminutivum manticulus. Mechanicus, id est adulterinus, hinc dicuntur artes mechanicae, id est adulterinae, respectu liberalium, quae sunt verae artes. Item mensorium est quicquid ad mensam pertinet. Item Polyhistor dicitur qui scit multas historias; inde venit Polyhistoria, id est pluralitas historiarum. Poly-senus dicitur qui habet plures sensus." Ista et similia dicit non esse vera, et scandalizavit me coram scholaribus meis. Tunc [ego] dixi quod sufficit ad aeternam salutem, quod aliquis est simplex grammaticus et saltem scit exprimere mentis conceptum. Tunc respondit, quod neque sum simplex neque duplex grammaticus, et nihil scio. Tunc fui laetatus, quia iam volo citare eum ad privilegia universitatis Viennensis, ubi debet respondere mihi, quia ibi sum promotus de gratia dei in magistrum; et si fui sufficiens toti universitati, etiam volo sufficiens esse uni poetae, quia universitas est plus quam poeta. Et credatis mihi, ego non vellem

¹⁹ *omm. vocab.* All the ensuing etymologies, except that of "currus," are to be found in the *Catholicon*. (See i. 1, n.)

²⁶ *Int. ad ext.*: the point of this is obscure.

³⁵ *ensorium*: "Meose, mensoriu, quod est in mensa," Wright, *Vocab.*, i. 26, 61.

³⁶ *Polyhistor*. Caius Julius Solinus compiled, chiefly from Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, a work entitled *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* in the third

Cent. A.D., first printed c. 1473. See "The excellent and pleasant work of Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor*. Containing the noble actions of humane creatures, the secrets and providence of nature, the description of countries. . . . Translated out of Latin into English by Arthur Golding, Gent. London, 1587." Cornelius Alexander (Suet., *De Ill. Gramm.*, 20) and C. J. Hyginus (Euseb., *Chron. II. Olymp.*, 193), were also dubbed Polyhistor.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

50 istam iniuriam dare pro viginti florenis. Dicitur hic quod omnes poetae volunt stare cum doctore Reuchlin contra Theologos, et quod unus iam composuit unum librum qui vocatur Triumphus Capnionis, et continet multa scandala etiam de vobis. Utinam omnes poetae
55 essent ibi ubi piper crescit, quod dimitterent nos in pace, quia timendum est quod Facultas artistica peribit propter illos poetas; quia ipsi dicunt, quod artistae seducunt iuvenes, et accipiunt ab eis pecuniam et faciunt eos baccalaureos et magistros, etiam si nihil
60 sciunt. Et iam fecerunt quod scholares non amplius volunt promoveri in artibus, sed omnes volunt esse poetae. Ego habeo unum amicum qui est bonus iuvenis, et habet optimum ingenium, et parentes sui miserunt eum ad Ingelstad, et ego dedi ei litteras promotoriales
65 ad quendam magistrum qui bene est qualificatus in artibus, et nunc tendit procedere ad gradum doctoratus in Theologia: tunc iste iuvenis recessit ab illo magistro et venit ad Philomusum poetam, et audit lectiones eius. Et si misereor illius iuvenis, secundum quod scriptum
70 est Proverbiorum XIX.: "Faeneratur domino qui miseratur pauperis"; quia si mansit usque ad hoc tempus apud illum magistrum, tunc iam esset baccalaurius. Sed sic nihil est, etiam si studet decem annos in poetria. Ego scio quod etiam habetis multas vexas ab
75 istis poetis saecularibus. Quamvis enim vos estis etiam poeta, tamen non estis talis poeta. Sed vos tenetis cum ecclesia, et cum hoc estis bene fundatus in Theologia. Et quando compilatis carmina, tunc non sunt de vanitatibus, sed de laudibus sanctorum. Libentissime vellem
80 scire quomodo staret negotium illū cum doctore Reuchlin. Si possum in hoc utilis esse vobis, tunc significate mihi et simul scribatis mihi omnia. Et Valet.

⁵³ *Triumphus*: von Hutten's *Tri. Capn.* was not actually published until 1517, under the pseudonym of "Eleutherius Byzenus"; but a copy had apparently been shown to Erasmus as early as 1514. Whether this is identical with another *Triumphus*, by "Accius Neobius," ascribed by Mutian to Buschius, is uncertain.

⁵⁵ *piper*: "wo der Pfeffer wächst," is still a German equivalent of "Jericho." In the *Vocab. Breuiloquus*,

s.v., we learn that "piper" is derived from "pyr," fire; and that the pepper-tree, which grows on the slopes of Caucasus, is guarded by serpents that have to be driven away by fire ere the fruit can be gathered.

⁶⁸ *Philomusus*: i.e. Jacobus Locher, the translator into Latin (1497) of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, and successor to Conrad Celtis in his professorial chair at Ingolstadt.

⁷⁰ *Prov.*: xix. 17.

XXVI

❧ *ANTONIUS RUBENSTADIUS**M. Ortino Gratia*

SALUTEM ex cordiali affectu amicabiliter optat. Venerabilis domine magister, sciatis quod pronunc non habeo tempus ad scribendum de aliis rebus non
 5 valde necessariis, sed tantum respondeatis mihi ad unam quaestionem quam sic propono: Utrum doctor in iure teneatur facere reverentiam magistro nostro qui non incedit in habitu. Est autem habitus magistrorum
 10 nostrorum, sicut scitis, caputium magnum cum liri-
 pipio. Est hic unus doctor qui est promotus in utroque iure et habet inimicitiam cum magistro nostro Petro Meier plebano. Et nuper obviavit sibi in platea,
 quando magister noster Petrus non ivit in habitu, tunc ille iurista non fecit ei reverentiam. Et postea fuit
 15 dictum quod non bene fecisset, quia etiam si esset inimicus eius, tamen deberet ei facere reverentiam, propter honorem sacrae Theologiae. Quia deberet esse inimicus personae et non scientiae. Quia magistri
 sunt in loco apostolorum. De quibus scriptum est: 20
 “Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium bona, prae-
 dicantium pacem.” Quapropter si speciosi sunt pedes eorum, quanto magis capita et manus debent esse speciosa. Et videtur quod omnis homo, etiam prin-
 25 cipes debent honorem et reverentiam facere Theologis et magistris nostris. Tunc ille iurista respondit, et praecise in contrarium allegavit suas leges et multas scripturas, quia scriptum est: “Qualem te invenio,
 talem te iudico.” Sed nemo tenetur facere ei reveren-
 30 tiam qui non incedit qualiter debet, etiam si esset princeps. Et quando presbyter reperitur in aliquo indecenti opere et non est vestitus sicut sacerdos esse debet, sed habitu saeculari, tunc iudex saecularis potest eum habere et tractare pro homine saeculari, et afficere

¹³ Meier. See i. 5, n.²⁰ scriptum: Rom. x. 15.²⁵ Qualem: Ezek. xviii. 30.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

35 eum pena corporali, non obstantibus privilegiis clericorum. Sic dixit ille iurista; sed vos debetis mihi significare mentem vestram, et si non scitis per vosmetipsum, tunc habetis consulere iuristas, et Theologos in universitate Coloniensi, quod sciam veritatem: quia
40 deus est veritas, et qui amat veritatem, amat etiam deum. Similiter debetis notificare mihi quomodo procedit in vestra lite contra doctorem Reuchlin. Ego audio quod ipse est depauperatus, propter magnas expensas, et valde laetor. Quia spero quod Theologi
45 erunt victores et vos etiam. Valete in nomine domini.

Datum FRANCKFORDIAE.

XXVII

¶ IOANNES STABLERIUS MILTEN-
PURGENSIS S. D. M. *Ortino Gratio*

SICUT semper cupivistis a me habere novitates, iam
est tempus quod debeo et possum vobis nova
5 scribere, quamvis doleo, quia non sunt bona. Sciatis quod fratres de ordine praedicatorum habuerunt hic indulgentias quas impetraverunt in curia romana magnis expensis, et colligerunt etiam satis magnam pecuniam. Tunc de nocte venit quidam fur in ecclesiam et
10 accepit plus quam trecentos florenos, et furatus est eos. Et isti fratres viri zelosi et in fide christiana valde bene affectionati tristes fuerunt, et conqueruntur de illo fure. Sed cives miserunt undique et non possunt reperire eum, quia aufugit, et habet secum pecuniam. Et est
15 magna nequitia, quod hoc debet fieri in indulgentiis papalibus, et in loco sacro: ipse est excommunicatus, sit ubi sit. Homines qui sunt absoluti et dederunt

³⁵ *priv. cler.*: "Qui in habitu et tonsura et ceteris ut laici conversantur deprehensi in maleficiis se pro clericis non defendunt." *Decretal. Greg. IX.*, Lib. V. tit. xxxiii. c. 27.

⁴³ *depauperatus*. R., in a letter to Mutianus (Aug. 22, 1513), laments his half-filled purse; and in 1519, writing to Pirckheimer, he says, "Sword and pestilence I have escaped; would that I could flee famine as well!"

⁴⁶ *Franck.*: i.e. Frankfort-on-Main.

¹ *Miltenspurgensis*: Miltenberg. A small town situated on the Main; the ancient *Schloss* of the Electors of Mainz is still one of its prominent features.

⁶ *praedic.* Apparently not to be taken in the usual sense of "Dominicans," since the monastery at Miltenberg was of Franciscans.

pecuniam suam ad illam cistam, nunc putant quod non sunt absoluti: sed nihil est: ipsi sunt ita bene absoluti ut sic fratres praedicatores haberent adhuc pecuniam suam. Etiam sciatis quod isti qui sunt ex parte Doctoris Reuchlin, vadunt hic et faciunt multos rumores, quia dicunt quod fratres praedicatores propterea impetrant illas indulgentias in curia romana, quod cum illa pecunia volunt vexare ipsum doctorem et tribulare eum in causa fidei. Et quod homines non debent eis dare aliquid, in quocunque statu fuerint, sive alto sive basso, sive ecclesiastico sive mundano. Nuper fui Moguntiae in actu illo quem celebraverunt magistri nostri contra Reuchlin: tunc est ibi quidam praedicator in summo qui est magister noster promotus in Heydelberga et vocatur Bartholomaeus Zehender, latine Decimarius: ille publicavit in ambone quod homines deberent convenire ad sequentem diem et videre quomodo Speculum oculare combureretur: quia ipse putabat quod non esset possibile, quod doc. Reuchlin posset invenire unam fallaciam quod illud non fieret: tunc unus socius qui est ibi, et dicunt quod est poeta, circumivit et seminavit pessimos sermones contra praedictum magistrum nostrum, et quando obviavit ei, tunc aspexit eum cum aspectu draconico et venenoso. Et dicit publice: "Iste praedicator non

¹⁸ *cistam*. Frequently used of the strong-box into which the proceeds of the sale of indulgences were dropped:—

"So wie das Geld im Kasten klingt,
Die Seele in den Himmel springt."

²⁹ *in actu illo*: Oct. 13, 1513; for a vivid description, by R. himself, of this fiasco experienced by his opponents at Mainz (Oct. 13, 1513), see *Intro.*

³¹ *summo*: i.e. the Cathedral Church of St. Martin at Mainz.

³² *Zehender*:

"Sta nunc Decimator in illa
Sublimis cathedra, diris clamoribus
aureis
Nunc rudis infesta populi, atque in
simplici turba
De Capnione refer, vigila, cruciare,
diurnis

Arde suppliciiis, nocturnum ab-
rumpe soporem

Illic duc, tacitos gemitu testare
dolores

Palle hac invidia, et quoniam cla-
mare vetaris,
(Quae fuit una tui livoris, et una
nocendi

Insita vis animo) leuto consumere
tabo

Ad Capniona nihil clamor tuus, et
tua praeceps

Pertinet illa nihil, et nihil hujus

Palloris rabies."

Triumph. Capnionis.

³³ *Ambone*: a raised reading-desk, or pulpit, from which the epistle and gospel were read and sermons preached. There were often a pair of ambos just within the choir.

³⁸ *socius*: not Hutten—who did not return from Italy until the following year.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

est dignus quod debet sedere in mensa ubi sedent probi viri, quia possum probare quod est nequam et pultronus,
 45 quia in ambone in ecclesia vestra coram omni populo mentitus est contra famam unius excellentis viri, et dixit illa quae non sunt facta." Et praetenditur dici: "ex invidia tribulant istum bonum doctorem"; et appellavit eum bestiam et canem; et dixit quod nullus
 50 pharisaeus unquam fuisset ita nequitiosus et invidus. Et venit talis sermo ad praedictum magistrum, et ipse excusavit se sufficienter, ut mihi videtur, quia dixit quod quamvis non combustus est ille liber, tamen fortassis comburetur in posterum. Et allegavit scrip-
 55 turam sacram in multis passibus, quod non est mendacium quando aliquis dicit aliquid pro fide catholica. Et dixit quod balini et officiales Episcopi Moguntinensis impediverunt illū factum contra omnem aequitatem. Sed homines deberent videre quid post hac contingeret.
 60 Quia ipse vellet propheta quod ille liber combureretur, etiam si imperator et rex Franciae, et omnes principes et duces starent pro doctore Reuchlin. Talia volui vobis significare, ut essetis cavisatus. Et rogo vos quod velitis esse diligens in negociis vestris, ne incurratis
 65 scandalum. Et sic valete.

Datum in MILTENPERGK.

XXVIII

¶ FRATER CONRADUS DOLLEN- KOPFFIUS M. Ortvinio Gratio

SALUTEM et devotionem humillimam cum ora-
 5 tionibus quotidianis apud dominum nostrum Iesum christum. Venerabilis vir, non habeatis molestiam, quod

⁴⁴ *pultronus*: (cf. ii. ix. and ii. 26) a dastard. "A poltroon is a bolster-man, a lie-a-bed." Skeat, *Concise Etym. Dict.*, 1890, p. 361.

⁴⁷ *praetenditur dici*: thus, in all edd. Böcking suggests "praetenditur dixisse," or "praetendit vel dixit." (The O.V. do not usually make blunders that are incomprehensible.)

⁴⁹ *eum*: i.e. Decimarius.

⁵⁰ *pharisaeus*: "a heretic"; since "Pharisee" means "one separated,"

the application is obvious, as Reuchlin pointed out in his *Vocabularius Breviloquus*, s.v., "Phariseus . . . i. divisus et dicitur a phares, quod est divisio. Et hinc quidam haeretici dicti sunt pharisei."

⁶⁷ *balini*: "balivi" in the ed. of 1643; "batini" in [B]. See Du Cange, s.v. *Bajulus*.

⁶⁰ *combur.*: the book was, in fact, burnt at Cologne on Feb. 10, 1514.

¹ *Dollenkopffius*: "Dunderhead."

scribo vobis de negociis meis, cum vos bene habetis
 majora pro agendo. Sed dixistis mihi olim quod deberem
 vobis semper scribere quomodo studerem et non deberem
 cessare in studendo, sed deberem procedere, quia haberem
 bonum ingenium, et possum cum adiutorio dei bene 10
 proficere, si met vellem.

Ergo debetis scire quod ego pro nunc contuli me ad
 studium Heydelbergense et studeo in Theologia; sed
 cum hoc audio quotidie unam lectionem in poetria, in
 qua incepti proficere notabiliter de gratia dei; et iam 15
 scio mentetenus omnes fabulas Ovidii in metamor-
 phoseos, et scio eas exponere quadrupliciter, scilicet
 naturaliter, litteraliter, historialiter, et spiritualiter;
 quod non sciunt isti poetae seculares.

Et nuper interrogavi unum ex illis: "unde dicitur 20
 Mavors"? Tunc dixit mihi unam sententiam quae non
 fuit vera; sed etiam correxi eum, et dixi, quod Mavors
 dicitur quasi mares vorans; et ipse fuit confusus.

Tunc dixi[t]: "quid significatur per novem Musas
 allegorice"? Tunc etiam ignoravit et ego dixi quod 25
 .IX. Musae significant .VII. choros Angelorum.

Tertio dixi: "unde dicitur Mercurius"? Sed
 quando non scivit, tunc dixi ei quod Mercurius dicitur
 quasi mercatorum curius, quia est deus mercatorum, et
 habet curam pro eis. Ita videtis quod iste poetae nunc 30
 student tantum in sua arte litteraliter, et non intelligunt
 allegorias et expositiones spirituales, quia sunt homines
 carnales: et ut scribit Apostolus .I. ad Corinthios II.:
 "Animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus dei."

¹³ *studium*: "University." The word *studium*, rather than *Universitas*, was used to denote a University in the sense of a locality: *Studium Generale* meaning a place where students from all parts were received. But by the XVth Cent., *Universitas* gradually became a mere synonym for *Studium Generale*. See a full discussion in Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur. in the Middle Ages*, i. 7-19.

¹⁷ *quadr.* See l. 50, below.

¹⁹ *Poet. sec.*: The Humanists, who were not concerned to interpret the Latin poets "in a four-fold manner."

²² *Marors*: this etymology is given by "Thomas Wallensis" (see below).

²⁶ *Septem choros*. This, however, is Dollenkopf's own blunder, for "Thomas Wallensis" (see below) interprets the nine Muses as "the nine orders of Angels" (*Met. Or. Moral.*, Paris, 1509; fol. vii). We are reminded of the scholar, who, being asked, "What are the twelve Signs of the Zodiac?" replied, "They are seven in number, and are called East, West, North and South."

²⁹ *Merc.* Another etymology to be found in "Tho. Wall."

³⁴ *Anim.*, &c. In the *Vulg.* "Animalis autem," &c.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

35 Sed possetis dicere; "unde habetis istam subtilitatem"? Respondeo quod nuper acquisivi unum librum, quem scripsit quidam Magister noster Anglicus de ordine nostro, et habet nomen Thomas de Walleys et compositus est ille liber super librum Metamorphoseos
40 Ovidii, exponens omnes fabulas allegorice et spiritualiter. Et est ita profundus in Theologia quod non creditis.

Certissimum est quod spiritussanctus infudit huic viro talem doctrinam. Quia scribit ibi concordantias
45 inter sacram scripturam, et fabulas poetales. Sicut potestis notare ex istis quae iam ponam. De Phitone serpente quem interfecit Apollo, scribit Psalmista: "Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei." Et iterum; "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis."

50 De Saturno qui supponitur homo senex, et pater

³⁷ *de ord. nost.*: i.e. a Dominican.

³⁸ *Thomas de Walleis*: the book here referred to is: *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione Predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata*. The first edition of this was printed in 1509, and with the text of Ovid, at Lyons, in 1510.

Thomas de Walleis, or Wallensis (i.e. "the Welshman"), has been confused with Thomas Jorz, or Joyce ("Thomas the Englishman"), John Wallensis, and sundry other real and imaginary personages. Cf. D. N. B., Arts. "Wallensis" and "Jorz."

³⁸ *Comp. est.* It has been shown, however, by J. B. Hauréau (*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. xxx. pp. 45-55, 1883), that Thomas Wallensis had nothing to do with the work printed under his name. M. Hauréau confidently traces the work to Petrus Bercherius (or Bercharius), i.e. Pierre Bersuire (Bercheur, or Berchoire), a Franciscan monk, who afterwards, like Rabelais, became a Benedictine.

Pierre Bersuire, *ob.* 1362, was born near the village of Bressuire (anciently Bersuire). He compiled an elaborate Biblical Encyclopaedia, and translated Livy.

⁴⁶ *de Phitone*: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 438-444.

⁴⁷ *Psal.*: ciii. 26. "Thomas Wallensis" does not quote this verse.

⁴⁹ *Super aspidem*, &c.: *Psal.* xc. 13.

⁵⁰ *de Saturno*. The "four-fold" mode of interpreting the *Metamorphoses*, adopted by "Thom. Wall," may be illustrated under this head:—*(Literaliter)*: "Saturn is said to devour his own sons, because a person born under the 'constellation' of Saturn rarely lives."

(Naturaliter): "Saturn devours his own sons, because he signifies Time, and whatsoever is born of Time is by Time wasted and consumed."

(Historialiter): "Saturn was King of Crete, of whom his brother Titan predicted that one of his sons would drive him from the throne. Whereupon he determined to devour his sons and avert the evil fate." He swallowed Juno, Neptune, and Pluto; but Jupiter, his son by Cybele, drove him from his kingdom.

(Allegorice): "An avaricious man, armed with rapine as with a scythe, devours his children, in the sense that by his extortions he impoverishes them and consumes their substance." Then follows the quotation from Ez. v. 10, given in the text. *Met. Ov. Moral. Exp.*, Paris, 1509, fol. ii.

deorum comedens filios suos, scribitur ab Ezechiele: "Comedent patres filios in medio tui."

Diana significat beatissimam virginem Mariam, ambulans cum multis virginibus hincinde. Et ergo de ea scribitur in ps̃: "Adducentur virgines post eam." Et 55 alibi: "Trahe me post te; curremus in odore ungentorum tuorum."

Item de Iove quando defloravit Callistonem virginem, et reversus est ad coelum scribitur, Mat. xii.: "Revertar ad domum meam, unde exivi." 60

Item de Aglauro pedissequa, quam Mercurius vertit in lapidem; illa lapidificatio tangitur Iob. xlii.: "Cor eius indurabitur ut lapis."

Item quomodo Iuppiter supposuit Europam virginem, etiam habetur in sacra scriptura, quod ego ignoravi prius, quia sic dixit ad eam: "Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam." Item Cadmus quaerens sororem suam, gerit personam Christi, qui quaerit suam sororem, id est animam humanam; et aedificat civitatem, id est ecclesiam. 70

De Actaeone vero qui vidit Dianam nudam, prophetizavit Ezechiel cap. XVI. dicens: "Eras nuda et confusione plena, et transivi per te et vidi te."

Et non est frustra a poetis scriptum quod Bacchus est bis genitus, quia per hoc significatur Christus qui etiam est bis genitus, uno modo ante saecula, et alia vice humaniter et carnaliter. 75

Et Semele quae nutrit Bacchum, significat beatam virginem, cui dicitur Exodi ii.: "Accipe puerum istum et nutri mihi, et ego dabo tibi mercedem tuam." 80

⁵³ *Diana*: "Ecce, suo comitata choro Dictynna per altum Maenalon ingrediens." Ovid, *Met.*, ii. 441.

⁵⁵ *Psal. xlv. 14*: *Vulg.* "Adducentur regi virgines post eam."

⁵⁶ *Alibi.*: Cant. i. 3. "Trahe me: post te," &c. in *Vulg.*

⁵⁸ *De Iove*: Ovid, *Met.*, ii. 347. The ridiculous allegorical interpretation is quoted almost verbatim from "Thomas Wallensis."

⁶¹ *Aglauro*: Ovid, *Met.*, ii. 830:—

"Saxum jam colla tenebat;
Oraque duruerant, signumque ex-
sangue sedebat."

⁶² *Job xlii.* Really chap. xli. 15.

"Cor ejus indurabitur tanquam lapis" (*Vulg.*).

⁶⁴ *Europam*: Ovid, *Met.*, ii. 847 sqq.

⁶⁶ *Audi, filia, &c.*: *Psal. xlv. 10, 11.*

"Audi filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui. Et concupiscet rex decorem tuum" (*Vulg.*).

⁶⁸ *Cadmus*: Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 1 sqq.

⁷¹ *Actaeone*: Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 177 sqq. But the correct reading is " . . . plena. Et . . ." (*Vulg.*). Quoted from Th. de W.

⁷² *Ezech*: chap. xvi. 7-8.

⁷⁴ *Bacchus*: Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 317.

⁷⁵ *Semele*. But Semele did not nurse Bacchus. When she had

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Item fabula de Piramo et Thisbe sic exponitur allegorice et spiritualiter: Piramus significat filium dei, et Thisbe significat animam humanam quam amat Christus, et de qua scribitur in evangelio: "Tuam ipsius animam
85 pertransibit gladius"; Lucae .ii. Sic Thisbe interfecit se gladio amasii sui.

Item de Vulcano qui eiicitur de coelo, et efficitur claudus, scribitur in ps. "Expulsi sunt nec potuerunt stare."

90 Haec et talia multa didici ex illo libro. Vos videretis mirabilia si essetis mecum. Et ista est via qua debemus studere in poetria.

Sed parcatis mihi quod praetendo quasi docere vestram dominationem, quia vos scitis melius quam
95 ego, sed feci in bona opinione.

Ego disposui hic, aliquis in Tubinga debet me certificare quicquid agit doctor Reuchlin, ita quod possim vos cavisare. Sed iam nihil scio, alias vellem nobis notificare.

Sed iam valete in charitate non ficta.

100 Datum HEIDELBERGAE.

XXIX

¶ M. TILMANNUS LUMPLIN
S. D. M. Ortvinio G.

"STULTISSIMUS sum virorum, et sapientia non
est mecum; non didici sapientiam, et non novi
5 scientiam sanctorum." Proverbiorum XXX. Ergo non debetis me spernere quod praetendo vobis dare

perished, and her child was "reborn" from the thigh of Zeus:—

"Nysa's Nymphs received
The charge, and in their distant
caverns hid,
And with due nurture reared the
growing God."

—Ovid, *Met.*, Bk. III. 313.

"Thomas Wallensis" relates that he was "in antris earum reconditus et nutritus."

⁸¹ *Piramo*:

"Dixit; et aptato pectus mucrone
sub imum

Incubuit ferro, quod adhuc a caede
tepebat." —Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 162.

⁸⁵ *Lucae*: chap. ii. v. 35 (*Vulg.*).

⁸⁷ *Vulcano*. The myth of Vulcan is not mentioned in the *Metamorphoses*, but Th. de W. enlarges on it.

⁸⁸ *Expulsi*, &c.: Psal. xxxvi. 12.

⁹⁰ *et talia multa*. Only the first four books of *Ovid Moralised* are here quoted. These four are, however, nearly equal in bulk to the remaining eleven.

⁹⁶ *aliquis*: a preceding "quod" is required.

⁹⁶ *Tubinga*: not far from Stuttgart, where R. was then living.

¹ *Lumplin*: perhaps from Ger. *Lump*, a ragamuffin.

consilium in factis vestris, quia facio talia bono animo. Et volo cavisare vos secundum quod ego intelligo, et modicum volo corrigere vos, quia vexatio dat intellectum. Et scriptum est in Ecclesiastico cap. XIII.: ¹⁰ “Qui tetigerit picem, inquinabitur ab ea.” Sic etiam fit vobis, quia vultis habere quod sum amicus vester: propterea oportet etiam pro bono accipere vexationes a me. Ego percepi seu intellexi quod vos tacetis in causa Ioannis Reuchlin, et non respondetis ei contra ¹⁵ suas scandalizationes. Et iratus sum valde, quia amo vos, et scriptum est: “Quem diligo, corrigo.” Nam quare incepistis ei respondere, si non vultis continuare? An non estis sufficiens? Vos estis per deum et prae- ²⁰ sertim in facultate theologica estis ei melior: et ergo debetis ei respondere, et defendere famam vestram, et praedicare fidem christianam, contra quam scribit ille haereticus.

Et non debetis aliquem respicere, quia dicit Salomon in Ecclesiastici XIII.: “Noli esse humilis in sapientia, ²⁵ ne humiliatus in stultitiam seducaris.” Neque debetis timere potentiam iuristarum, quod faciant vobis periculum corporis, quia debetis talia pati pro fide et veritate. Unde Christus dicit in evangelio Mat. XVI.: “Qui voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet ³⁰ eum.” Et si timetis quod non potestis eum vincere, tunc non creditis evangelio, quia ista est causa fidei. Et scriptum est in evangelio, quod nihil est impossibile homini qui credit: quia ponitur Mat. XVIII [XVII]: “Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti ³⁵ huic ‘transi hinc,’ et transibit, et nihil erit impossibile vobis.” Sed non est possibile quod doctor Reuchlin potest verum scribere, quia non habet fidem integre, quia defendit Iudaeos qui sunt hostes fidei; et est contra opiniones doctorum; et cum hoc est peccator, ⁴⁰ sicut scribit magister Ioannes Pfefferkorn in suo libro qui dicitur *Sturmglöck*. Sed peccatores non debent aliquid habere agere in scriptura sacra, quia scribitur Psalmo XLIX.: “Peccatori autem dixit deus: ‘Quare tu enarras iustitias meas, et assumis testamentum ⁴⁵

⁹ *Vexat.*: Is. xxviii. 19.

²⁵ *Eccles.*: xiii.; a part of v. 8; wanting in the Greek and the A.V.

⁴¹ *mag.*: ironical; P. was ignorant

of Latin, and not a graduate. The *Sturmglöck*, a violent attack on R., ostensibly by P., appeared towards the end of 1514.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

meum per os tuum?'" Quapropter ergo hortor vos, et rogo pectoraliter quatenus velitis audacter defendere vos, quod homines possent laudabiliter dicere de vobis quod defendistis ecclesiam et famam vestram. Nec
 50 debetis respicere aliquem, etiam si papa vellet prohibere, quia ecclesia est super papam. Et debetis me habere excusatum quod moneo vos, quia vos amo, et tu seis domine quia amo te. Valete in fortitudine corporis et anī.

XXX

¶ *Profundissimo necnon illuminatissimo magistro
 Ortino Gratio theologo, poetae, et oratori in
 Colonia, domino ac praeceptori suo observan-*
 5 *dissimo IOANNES SCHNARHOLTZIUS*
mox licentiandus salutes exuberantissimas dicit,
cum sui humilima commendatione ad mandata

CORDIALISSIME necnon profundissime Magister
 Ortvine: ego Ioannes Schnarholtzius, mox licen-
 tiandus in theologia in alma universitate Tubingensi,
 10 vellem libenter loqui cum vestra dignitate; sed timeo quod est irreverentialitas, quia vos estis ita doctus, et tam magnae reputationis in Colonia, quod nullus debet ad vestram dignitatem accedere, qui prius non bene praevidit se, quia scriptum est: "Amice, quomodo huc
 15 intrasti, non habens vestem nuptialem?" Sed vos estis humilis, et scitis vos humiliare, secundum quod dicit scriptura: "Qui se humiliat exaltabitur. et qui se exaltat humiliabitur." Ideo volo deponere pudorem, et cum dominatione vestra audacter loqui, sed tamen
 20 cum qua decet reverentia. Ego audiavi nuper praedicare hic a quodam magistro de Parrhisia in magna audientia in festo ascensionis domini, qui praemisit tale thema: "Ascendit deus cum iubilatione," et fecit unum bonum sermonem, quem omnes laudaverunt

⁵⁰ *papa*: Maximilian had written to Leo X. (Oct. 23, 1514) asking him to silence the hostile theologians. Maius, *Œil. Reuch.*, p. 462.

⁴ *Schnarholtzius*: perh. "creaking wood"; the allusion is obscure.

¹⁴ *scriptum est*: Matt. xxii. 12.

¹⁷ *scriptura*: Matt. xxiii. 12; Luke xiv. 11.

⁵¹ *eccles.*. Cf. i. 12.

²³ *ascendit*: Psal. xlvii. 5.

audientes, et fleverunt, meliorantes se ex illa prae-²⁵
 dicatione. Ipse in secunda parte suae collationis
 indixit duas conclusiones valde magistrales et subtiles.
 Prima fuit quando dominus ascendit in altum cum
 elevatis manibus. Tunc apostoli et beata virgo stete-
 runt et clamaverunt cum tanta iubilatione usque ad³⁰
 raucitatem, ut impleretur prophetia quae dicit:
 “Clamaverunt et raucae factae sunt voces eorum.”
 Et probavit quod iste clamor fuit laetitialis, et neces-
 sarius in fide catholica, teste domino dicente in
 evangelio: “Amen, amen, dico vobis, si isti tacebunt,³⁵
 lapides clamabunt.” Ipsi clamaverunt omnes chari-
 tative cum magno zelo. Praecipue tamen beatus
 Petrus qui habebat unam tubalem vocem, ut testatur
 David: “Iste pauper clamavit.” Ipsa beata virgo non
 clamavit, sed deum laudavit in corde suo, quia novit⁴⁰
 bene quod ista omnia deberent fieri, sicut ei praedixit
 angelus. Et quando apostoli ita unanimiter cum
 iubilatione et devotione clamaverunt, venit unus an-
 gelus de caelo, et dixit eis: “Viri Galilaei, quid hic
 statis et clamatis, et aspicitis in caelum? Hic Iesus⁴⁵
 qui assumptus est in caelum, sic veniet quemadmodum
 vidistis eum.” Et hoc factum est, ut impleretur
 scriptura quae dicit: “Clamaverunt isti, et dominus
 exaudivit eos.” Secunda conclusio extitit magistralior,
 et talis in sui forma: Filius hominis voluit habere suam⁵⁰
 passionem, sepulturam, resurrectionem in Hierusalem,
 quae est in centro terrae, quod omnes regiones scirent
 de eius resurrectione, et quod nullus gentilis posset
 se excusare cum sua haeresi et dicere: “Ego nescivi
 quod dominus resurrexit a mortuis:” Qñ ergo quod⁵⁵
 est in medio, omnes videre possunt qui sunt circa
 medium, et quod nullus incredulus haberet unum
 parvum refugium excusationis, in illo loco ubi dominus

²⁶ *collat.* See i. 4, n.³² *clamar.*: adapted from Psal. lxix. 3.³³ *laetit.* Not found elsewhere.³⁵ *evang.*: Luke xix. 40.³⁹ *David*: Psal. xxxiv. 6.⁴⁴ *vir Gal.*: adapted from Acts i. 11.⁴⁸ *script.*: Psal. xxxiv. 17.⁵² *centro.* Cf. Ezek. v. 5, and Psal. lxxiv. 12. Jerusalem is thus shownin most medieval maps. “Sunt etiam et Theologi qui . . . Hierosolymam medium terrae esse volunt, quia scriptum sit per Prophetam ‘Deus operatus est salutem in medio terrae.’” Corn. Agrip., *De Vanit. Scient.*, cap. 27.⁵³ *in illo loco*: for *ille locus*. “In the vale of Josephat, his doom he will do.” *Lamentatio Animarum* (E. T. S., ed. Furnivall, 1878, p. 73).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

ascendit, est in centro et in medio terrae, ac ibi pendet
 60 una campana quam omnis mundus audit, et quando
 ipsa pulsat, tunc dat horribilem sonum de extremo
 iudicio, et de ascensione domini. Et qñ pulsat, etiam
 surdi audiunt. Deduxitque multa corollaria ex illa
 conclusione, quam didicit in Parrisia. Sed quando
 65 cessavit praedicare, tunc quidam magister de Erphordia
 voluit eum reprehendere, sed stetit cum confusione.
 Vos debetis mihi ostendere libros ubi ista materia
 habetur, et volo emere. Datum ex Basilea apud
 Beatum Rhenanum, qui est vester amicus.

XXXI

¶ *Bartholomaeo Colpio baccalaurio theologiae for-*
mato ordinis Carmelitarum WILLIBRORDUS
NICETI ordinis Wilhelmitarum cursor in theo-
logia autoritate reverendissimi generalis in ordine
 5 *sese commendat cum salute*

Quot in mari sunt guttae, et quot in Colonia sancta beguttae,
Quot pilos habent asinorum cutes, tot et plures tibi mitto salutes.

VENERABILIS domine Carmelita Colpe, ego scio
 quod estis de optimo ordine, et habetis multas
 10 indulgentias a sede apostolica, et quod nullus ordo

⁶⁹ *Beat. Rhen.*: Bild von Rheinau (Elsass) (1485–1547), “than whom I have no more faithful friend,” wrote Erasmus. Studied at Paris under George Hieronymus Spartanus, and then, after visiting Strasburg, attached himself to the famous printing-office of Johann Froben at Basle (see ii. 9, n.). He edited Tertullian, Tacitus, Livy, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus. His epitaph at Schlettstadt commemorates his “innocentia, humanitas, frugalitas, pudicitia,” as well as his learning. His library still exists at Schlettstadt. A. Horawitz, *Des Beatus Rhenanus Thätigkeit*, Vienna, 1873; *Die Bibliothek und Corresp. des B. R.*, Vienna, 1874; Horawitz u. Hartfelder, *B. R. Briefwechsel*, Leipsic, 1886.

¹ One of the six Epp. not addressed to O. G.

¹ *formato*. See i. 1, n.

² *Carmel.*: a monastic order founded in the middle of the XIIth Cent., but regularised in 1209. Driven from Mt. Carmel, they went to Cyprus, and thence spread to Western Europe. (Changed to a Mendicant Order in 1247.) See Helyot, *Hist. des Ord. Relig.*, 1860.

³ *Wilhelm*. The Order of the Gulielmites was founded by St. William of Maleval, *ob.* 1156; otherwise termed “Hermits of St. Wilhelm”; they passed under Benedictine Rule. Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 10.

³ *Cursor*: a Bachelor who had to give courses of lectures on selected books of the Bible. Rashdall, i. 465.

⁶ *beguttae*: Beguines, a semi-

vestro ordini potest praevalere, quia potestis varios casus absolvere in confessione, quando videlicet confitentes sunt contriti et compuncti, et volunt communicare. Ideo volo a dominatione vestra interrogare unam quaestionem theologicalem, quam vos bene potestis determinare, quia estis unus bonus artista, et scitis bene praedicare, et habetis unum bonum zelum, et estis conscientiosus; et cum hoc audio, quod habetis unam magnam liberariam in vestro conventu, in qua sunt multi libri in sacra scriptura, in philosophia, etiā logica, etiā Petro Hispano. Nec non quidam processus magistralis de Colonia de bursa Laurentii, ubi regit actu magister noster Thungarus, vir valde zelosus ac profundus in Theologia speculativa, et illuminatus in fide catholica. Quamvis quidam doctor in iure vult eum vexare; sed non est formalis in disputando, nec qualificatus in libris sententiarum; ideo non curant eum magistri nostri. Nec non ꝑcipue audio, quod in praedicta liberaria, ubi cursores in Theologia habent suum studitorium, est ligatus in ferrea catena unus liber valde notabilis, qui dicitur Combibilationes, qui etiam continet auctoritates in Theologia, et prima principia sacrae scripturae, quem vobis legavit unus magister noster de Parrhisia in mortis articulo, quando fecit confessionem et revelavit quaedam secreta in Bonaventura, et mandavit quod nemo deberet in eo legere qui non esset de vestro ordine, et in hoc papa dedit quasdam indulgentias et carenas; apud quem librum iacet Henricus de Hassia et Verneus, et omnes alii doctores super libris senten-

monastic sisterhood, formed in the XIIth Cent. in the Netherlands. Bound by no vows, they devoted themselves to works of charity, and were at times persecuted as pietists by the Mendicant Orders. The Béguinage of St. Eliz. at Ghent is still famous. See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus*, Leipsic, 1790.

²¹ *Hisp.* See i. 11, n.

²¹ *processus.* See i. 11, n.

³⁰ *studit.* Not elsewhere found.

³¹ *Combib.* An imaginary book; perhaps a comic perversion of "Comestor." With this may be compared *Tarraballationes doctorum Coloniensium adversus Reuchlin*, in

the mythical library of St. Victor. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, ii. 7.

³⁸ *carenas*: a fast of forty days; hence a remission from such. "It may be your Quadrages are not Carenes." Jeremy Taylor, quoted in N. E. D., s.v. "carene." Cf. "Dix huit quarantaines des pechés oubliés." Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 50.

³⁸ *Hassia*: Henricus de Hassia, ob. 1397. Author of *Secreta Sacerdotum*, and the *Speculum anime*. See O. Hartwig, *Henricus de Langenstein dictus de Hassia*, Marburg, 1859.

³⁹ *Verneus*. Unknown. Böcking suggests "Harveus." Harveius is called a pillar of the church in the *Conciliabulum Theologistarum* (1643, p. 375).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 40 tiarum, in quibus omnibus vos estis fundatus, et scitis defendere omnem viam in disputando antiquorum, modernorum, Scotistarum, Albertistarum, et etiam illorum qui sunt de secta de bursa Kneck in Colonia, ubi habent proprium processum. Ideo rogo vos cor-
- 45 dialiter et charitative quod non velitis gravare in mea petitione, sed mihi dare unum bonum consilium in mea quaestione secundum vestrum posse. Et allegare quid domini doctores determinant disputative et conclusive. Est autem quaestio ista talis in sui forma:
- 50 "Utrum Lolhardi et Beguttae in Colonia sunt saeculares vel spirituales personae; utrum teneantur facere professionem. Et an possunt accipere mulieres et viros?" Ego diu studui in sacra scriptura, in Discipulo et in Fasciculo temporum, necnon in aliis libris autenticis
- 55 sacrae scripturae, sed non potui invenire. Sicut etiam quidam sacerdos in Fulda, qui multum studuit in dictis libris, sed non invenit in registro vel in libris; ipse est de genelogia domini pastoris ibidem, qui est poeta, quia scit bene latinisare, dictaminaque componere,
- 60 quia ego sum plebanus ratione monasterii; et habeo multos communicantes, et etiam tales personas de quibus iam facio quaestionem. Superintendens noster dicit manifeste quod ipse non potest conscientiam suam salvare in descissione talis quaestionis, quamvis habeat
- 65 disputata multorum doctorum de Parrhisia et Colonia, quia complevit usque ad licentiaturam, et respondit materialiter et formaliter pro completionem: si vos non potestis determinare illam materiam, debetis interrogare magistrum Ortvinum: ille docebit nos omnia.
- 70 Nam vocatur Gratius propter gratiam divinam in se quod nihil ignorat. Compilavi unum carmen heroicum de praedicto libro: vos debetis legere et corrigere, et facere unum punctum ubi sum superfluum vel diminutus; et audite quomodo placet magistro Ortvino: ego volo
- 75 mittere imprimere. Et sic incipit:

⁵⁰ Lolhardi. A semi-monastic society, with charitable aims, that arose in Brabant early in the XIVth Cent.; to be distinguished from the English "Lollards."

⁵³ Discip. See ii. 43, n.

⁵⁴ Fascic.: *Fasc. temp. omnes anti-*

quorum cronicas complectens. (By W. Rolewinckius, a Carthusian monk.) A French ed. appeared in 1495.

⁵⁶ Fulda: in Hesse-Nassau. Famous for its Benedictine Abbey. For the association of Crotus with this, see Introd.

Nemo debet esse tam stultus
 Et in tanta praesumptuositate sepultus,
 Quod velit fieri illuminatus in sacra scriptura
 Et formaliter deducere corollaria ex Bonaventura,
 Qui non didicit mentetenus combibilationes, 80
 Quas magistri nostri resumunt per omnes regiones,
 Praesertim in Parrhisia quae est mater omnium universitatum,
 Et in Colonia, ubi nuper magistraliter est probatum
 Per magistros nostros in theologiâli disputatione,
 In qua determinaverunt omnia seraphica probatione, 85
 Quod multo melius est scire istas combibilationes
 Quae plurima tractant per irrefragabiles rationes,
 Quam mentetenus scire Hieronymum et Augustinum,
 Qui tantum sciunt scribere bonum latinum :
 Quia combibilationes sunt optima materia, 90
 Ceu disputant magistri nostri per omnia monasteria :
 Ipsae concludunt per conclusiones magistrales,
 Qui sunt in divinis ipsi termini essentiales ;
 Et tractant etiam prima principia theologiae
 Et alia multa quae sunt valde magistralia. 95

XXXII

¶ *M. Ortvino Gratio viro inenarrabilium doctrinarum Magister GINGOLFUS LIGNIPERCUSSORIS mille millium salutes dicit in charitate non ficta*

GLORISSISSIME magister, ego amo vos pectora- 5
 liter ex intimo zelo, quia vos me semper amavistis
 ex quo fuistis praeceptor meus singularissimus in
 Daventria ; et quicquid vos stimulat in conscientia
 vestra, hoc me magis stimulat, et quod me stimulat,
 scio quod vos etiam stimulat, et vester stimulus semper 10
 fuit etiam stimulus meus, et nemo vos unquam stimu-
 lavit, qui me non durius stimulavit, atque cor meum
 totiens patitur stimulos, quotiens aliquis vos stimulat :
 credatis mihi in bona fide, quando Hermannus Buschius
 stimulavit vos in suo proemio, amplius me stimulavit 15
 quam vos, et cogitavi quomodo possum istum indis-
 cretum rixatorem restimulare, qui etiam tum prae-

¹⁵ *proemio.* It is not clear what the Prooemium of the *Valium Humanitatis*, which was not written till 1518.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sumptuosae superbiae est quod audet stimulare
magistros nostros de Parrhisia et Colonia; et ipse
20 tamen non est promotus, quamvis socii eius dicunt
quod ipse est promotus in baccalaurium iuris in Lypsi.
Sed ego non credo, quia etiam stimulat magistros in
Lypsi, videlicet magnum Canem et minorem Canem,
et alios multos, qui eum possunt multo melius stimu-
25 lare quam ipse illos stimulat: verum ipsi neminem
volunt stimulare propter suam moralitatem, et propter
doctrinam apostoli dicentis: "Nolite calcitrare contra
stimulos." Verumenimvero vos debetis eum resti-
mulare, quia habetis unum bonum ingenium et estis
30 inventivus, et scitis in una hora multa metra facere
stimulativa; scitis etiam eum stimulare in omnibus
suis factis et dictis. Ego compilavi unum dictamen
contra eum, ipsumque magistraliter, poeticeque stimulo;
non potest evadere stimulum meum. Si vult restimu-
35 lare, tunc volo iterum fortius stimulare. Datum raptim
ex Argē apud Mathiam Schurerium.

²² *non credo.* But Gingolf was mistaken; Buschius was admitted LL.B. at Leipsic in 1503. H. I. Liessem, *De H. Busch. vita et scrip.*, 1866, p. 32.

²³ *Canem*: "Magnus Canis" was Magnus Hundt, of Magdeburg (hence Parthenopolitanus) (1449 – 1519), Rector of the Univ. of Leipsic in 1499. Among his works are *Parvulus Antiquorum* (a compendium of Logic), *Expositio Donati secundum viam doctoris sancti*, and a *Parvulus philosophiae naturalis*, or introduction to Aristotle's Physics. "Minor Canis," also a Magnus Hundt of Magdeburg,

and probably a son of the preceding. See J. J. Maderus, *Scriptorum Insignium . . . Centuria*, Helmstadt, 1660 [XLVIII].

²⁷ *apost.*: Acts ix. 5.

³⁰ *inventivus.* Not met with elsewhere.

³⁶ *Schur.*: Matthew Schürer, of Schlettstadt, a printer of Strasburg, and a man of letters. He was the author of *Grammatica Nova*, publ. in 1501, and between the years 1506 and 1521 issued many works, including several by Erasmus and Wimpfeling.

XXXIII

❧ *MAMMOTRECTUS BUNTEMANTELLUS*

*in septem artibus magister, Magistro Ortino
Gratio philosopho, oratori, poetae, iuristae, theo-
logo, et sic sine statu Salutem dicit cordialissimam*

CONSCIENTIOSISSIME domine magister Ort-
vine, credatis mihi firmiter quod vos estis cor
meum, ex quo audiui multa a dignitate vestra in poesi
in Colonia, in qua vos excellitis omnes in illa arte, et
estis multo melior poeta quam Buschius vel Caesarius
et scitis etiam Plinium legere et grammaticam graecam. 10
Ex illa confidentia volo reverentiae vestrae quaedam
manifestare sub fide confessionis. Venerabilis domine
magister, ego amo hic unam virginem, filiam campana-
toris, Margaretam cum nomine, quae sedet nuper in
latere vestro, videlicet quando plebanus noster domina- 15
tionem vestram invitavit ad convivialitatem et tractavit
vos reverentialiter, quando bibimus et fuimus laetae
mentis, quando illa etiam propinavit vobis bonos
haustus: ego amo eam in tanto amore quod non sum
mecum credatis mihi firmiter quod neque comedo 20
neque dormio prae ea. Et homines dicunt ad me:
“Domine magister, quare ita pallescatis? amore dei
relinquite libros vestros, vos nimium studetis: debetis
aliquando solatium quaerere et zechare, vos estis
adhuc unus iuvenis vir, bene potestis adhuc proficere 25
ad doctoratum et fieri magister noster; estis etiam

¹ *Mammothrectus*. The compilation known as *Mammothrectus super Bibliam*, attributed to Joannes Marchesinus, was a very popular work in the XVth Cent. The word is very variously spelt, and is found in the form *Mammothreptus*, which St. Augustine (in Psalm xxx. serm. 2) explains as “a child too long unweaned.” Erasmus said that the M. had more faults than a leopard had spots. See S. Berger, *De Glossariis et Compend. Exeget. . . . Med. Aevi*, Paris, 1879, for a full discussion.

⁹ *Buschius*. See i. 9, n.

⁹ *Caesarius*: Joannes C. (1460–1551), educated under Hegius at Deventer. At Cologne he taught Greek, and, among other works, edited Pliny’s *Nat. Hist.* He was a warm supporter of Reuchlin, and died in great poverty at Cologne. See Bayle, *Hist. and Crit. Dict. (Des Maizeaux)*, London, 1735, s.v.

¹⁶ *convivialitas*. Not elsewhere found.

²⁶ *noster*. He was but plain “Magister.”

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

fundamentalis et bonus scholaris et iam quasi valetis unum doctorem": sed ego sum timidus et non possum dicere meam infirmitatem. Ego lego Ovidium de re-
 30 medio amoris quem Coloniae glosavi a vestra dignitate cum multis notabilibus et moralitatibus in margine: verum non iuvat, quia iste amor quotidie fit maior.
 { Nuper chorisavi cum ea ter in chorea serotinali in domo sculteti, tunc fistulator fistulavit cantilenam de
 35 pastore de nova civitate, et statim omnes chorisatores amplexabantur suas virgines sicut mos est. Et ego etiam meam valde amicabilem compressi ad pectus meum cum suis mamillis. Nec non tetigi fortiter manus eius, tunc ipsa risit et dixit: "in anima mea,
 40 domine magister, vos estis delectabilis vir, et habetis molliores manus quam alii, non debetis sacerdos fieri: sed uxorem accipere": et inspexit me delectabiliter, quod ego credo quod me etiam occulte amat: verum oculi eius cor meum sic laeserunt sicut una sagitta
 45 pertransisset. Et etiam ivi ad domum cum famulo meo, et posui me ad lectum: tunc mater mea flevit, quia timuit quod haberem pestilentiam, ac cucurrit cum urina mea ad doctorem Brunellum clamans: "Domine doctor, rogo vos propter deum, iuvate filium meum,
 50 volo vobis dare ad propinam unam bonam camisiam, quia promisi quod debet sacerdos fieri." Tunc medicus vidit urinam, et dixit: "ille patiens pro parte est cholericus et pro parte flegmaticus, ipse habet timere de magno tumore circa renes propter inflationes ac
 55 tormenta ventricularia ex mala digestionem, debet sumere medicinam extractivam: est una herba quae videlicet dicitur gyni, nascens in locis humidis, habens gravem odorem, sicut docet Herbarius; illius herbae partes inferiores debetis conterere, et cum suo succo facere
 60 unum longum emplastrum, et ei ponere ad totum ventrem suum hora consueta, et debet iacere super ventrem suum bene ad unam horam multum sudando, sic sine dubio cessabunt illa tormenta ventricularia cum

³⁴ *scult.*: praefectus, "Judex op-
 pidi"; Du Cange.

³⁵ *pastore*: the air of an old ballad,
 "Die Schäfers von Neustadt."

⁴⁸ *Brunellus*. See Hain (16214-18).

⁵⁷ *Gyni*: i.e. γυνή.

⁵⁸ *Herb.*: an anonymous work,
 otherwise *Aggregator practicus de
 simplicibus*, to be distinguished from
Aggregator de medicinis simplicibus of
 Jacobus de Dondis.

suis inflationibus, quia non est alia medicina tam efficax
ad istam infirmitatem sicut illa, ut est probatum in 65
multis patientibus: Verū certe bonum est ut ipse
prius accipiat unam purgationem de albo graeco cum
succo raphani añ .5 .iij. et bene erit." Tunc mater venit
et dedit mihi talem purgationem contra voluntatem
meam; et habui in illa nocte quinque sedes magnas 70
atque nihil dormivi, semperque cogitavi quomodo illam
in chorea compressi cum suis mamillis ad pectus meum,
ac quomodo illa me aspexit. Precor vos propter
omnem bonitatem quam in vobis habetis, quod velitis
mihi dare unum experimentum de amore ex vestro 75
parvo libro, in quo stat scriptum "probatum est,"
quem mihi semel ostendistis et dixistis: "Ecce ex illo
libro possum facere quod omnis mulier me amat";
et nisi faciatis, domine magister, tunc ego moriar,
et mater mea prae dolore etiam morietur. 80

EX HEYDELBERGO.

XXXIV

¶ *MAGISTER ORTVINUS GRATIUS Magis-
tro Mammotrecto profundissimo amico in primo
gradu amicitiarum S. D.*

EX quo dicit scriptura: "Amat dominus gradientes
simpliciter:" ideo laudo dominationem vestram, 5
subtilissime domine magister, quod scribitis mihi tam
simpliciter conceptum mentis vestrae, oratorie tamen,
sicut estis bene stilatus in latinisando. Ego volo vobis
etiam simpliciter scribere rhetoricaliter, et non poeti-
caliter. Domine magister amicabilessime, vos manifes- 10
tatis mihi de amore vestro: ego miror quod non estis
prudentialior, quam quod vultis amare virgines, dico vobis
quod male facitis, et habetis propositum peccaminosum,
quod vos posset ducere ad infernum. Ego cogitavi quod
estis discretus et non curatis istas levitates, quae semper 15
habent malum exitum. Ast dabo vobis consilium meum

⁶⁷ *alb. graec.*: a popular medieval
remedy, made of the chalky excreta
of hyenas and other carnivora.

⁶⁸ *ana*: for ἀνά, in the sense of "so
much of each," frequently used in old
prescriptions.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quod petitis. Ex quo dicit scriptura: "Qui petit, accipit." Debetis primo relinquere illas vanas cogitationes de vestra Margareta, quas diabolus vobis suggerit, qui est pater omnis peccati, teste Richardo super .IIII. Et quodcumque de ea cogitatis, facite crucem ante vos, nec non orate unum Pater noster cum illo versu in psalterio: "Stet diabolus a dextris eius." Etiam semper comedite sal benedictum in die dominico, et
 25 spargite vos cum aqua sancta quod consecravit stationarius sancti Ruperti: et sic potestis effugere illum diabolum qui vobis suggerit illum magnum amorem de vestra Margaretha, quae non est ita pulchra ut putatis: ipsa habet unam verrucam in fronte, ac magna rubeaque
 30 crura, grossas nigrasque manus, sibi que olet os suum propter malos dentes; nec non etiam habet spissum culum secundum commune proverbium: "Ars Margarethae est mirabile rete." Sed vos estis caecus ex illo diabolico amore quod non videtis eius vitia. Ipsa
 35 multum bibit et comedit, ac bis nuper bombisavit quando sedit apud me in mensa, et dixit quod fecit cum scamno. Ego habui in Colonia pulchriorem vestra Margaretha, et tamen dereliqui eam. Postquam accepit virum, saepe vocavit me per unam antiquam vetulam, quando vir
 40 eius fuit absens: sed non veni praeter semel: sed tunc fui ebrius. Ego hortor quod bis ieiunatis in sabbato, et postea faciatis vestram confessionem uni magistro nostro ordinis praedicatorum, qui posset vos bene instituere. Et quando fecistis confessionem, tunc debetis orare de
 45 sancto Christoforo quod velit vos portare in humeris suis, ne iterum recidivitis ac mergatis vos in mare amplum et spaciosum, in quo sunt reptilia quorum non est numerus, id est peccata infinita, sicut exponit Combibilator; ac postea orate ne cadetis in tentationem.

²⁰ *Richardo*: R. de Mediavilla; Richard Middleton, an Englishman, *ob.* 1307. He is supposed to have been a teacher of Duns Scotus, on whose tomb in the Church of the Minorites his name is inscribed. He wrote a Commentary on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. (See D. N. B.)

²³ *Psalt.*: cviii. 6.

²⁴ *sal bened.* See J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythol.*, 1883, pp. 1046-9.

³² *Ars*: "Ars Margarethae (Cortonensis), sanctae est ars in amore lasciviendi, et sanctae Margarethae Antiochenae formositas multum laudatur in Legenda aurea. Sed in hoc proverbio *rs* pronuntiandum est *rsch.*" (Böcking.)

⁴⁵ *portare*: referring to the legend of St. Christopher; "Christum ferens."

⁴⁸ *Combib.* See i. 31, n.

Surgite etiam mane, lavate manus vestras, ornatè crines, 50
et nolite esse accidiosus : scriptura enim dicit : “ Deus,
deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo.” Etiam vitate loca
secreta: nos scimus quod loca et tempora saepe inducunt
homines ad peccandum, et maxime ad luxuriandum.
Verum quod vultis a me habere unum experimentum 55
probatum de amore, sciatis quod ego non possum salvare
conscientiam meam. Quando glosavi vobis hic Ovidium
de arte amandi, dixi vobis quod nemo deberet facere
per artem nigromantiam quod mulieres se amant; et
quicumque contraiverit, ipse esset excommunicatus de 60
facto, et exquisitores haereticae pravitatis possunt eum
citare, atque ad ignem damnare. Ego dixi vobis etiam
unum exemplum, quod debetis notare, videlicet hoc :
Unus baccalurius Lypsensis amavit unam virginem
Katarinam Pistoris, et iectavit ipsam cum pomo nigro- 65
mantico, et ipse pomum accepit et posuit ad pectus suum
inter mamillas : et statim incepit istum baccalaurium
furaliter amare, sic : q̄. quando fuit in ecclesia,
semper inspexit istum baccalaurium. Et quando debuit
orare “ Pater noster qui es in caelis,” oravit : “ Baccal- 70
laurie ubi es ?” Etiam in domo quando pater vel mater
clamavit sibi, respondit : “ Baccalaurie, quid vultis ?”
Et ipsi non intellexerunt, donec quidam magister noster
praetergrediens domum eius salutavit istam virginem
dicens : “ Domine Catarina, bonum sero : proficiat vobis, 75
vos habetis unum pulchrum crinale.” Et respondit illa
virgo Catarina : “ Deo gratias, bone baccalaurie, vultis
mecum bibere de optima cerevisia ?” porrigens sibi
cantharum. Verum ille magister noster fuit iratus, et
accusavit ipsam apud matrem suam sic : “ Domina 80
Pistorissa, corrigite filiam vestram : ipsa est valde in-
discreta ; scandalizavit nostram universitatem : nam
vocavit me baccalaurium, et sum magister noster.
Amen, amen, dico vobis quod perpetravit peccatum
mortale : abstulit mihi honorem meum, et peccatum 85
non dimittitur, nisi ablatum restituatur. Alios magis-
tros nostros nominavit etiam baccalarios : ego credo
quod amat unum baccalaurium ; habete advertentiam.”
Tunc mater eius accepit unum lignum percutiens ipsam

⁵¹ *script.* : Psal. lxii. 2.⁵² *loc. sec.* : lupanaria.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

90 ad caput et dorsum suum quod perminxit sese, in-
cluditque ipsam in cubile per dimidium annum, et dedit
ei panem et aquam comedere. Interea temporis bacca-
laurius processit, et celebravit primitias, posteaque rexit
unam parrochiam in Saxonia Padoranw. Quod cum ipsa
95 audivit, saltavit ex alta fenestra, et fregit quasi dextrum
brachium, et fugit in Saxoniam ad istum baccalaurium,
cum quo adhuc est hodierna die, et habet cum eo
quatuor pueros. Vos vero bene scitis quod hoc est
scandalum in ecclesia. Ergo igitur debetis cavere ab illa
100 arte nigromantica, ex qua veniunt multa mala. Verum
potestis bene uti medicina quam vobis dominus doctor
Brunellus docuit de gyni: est bona medicina: ergo
probavi eam saepe contra tormenta ventricularia. Valete
cum matre vestra. Ex Colonia e domo domini Ioannis
105 Pfefferkorn.

XXXV

¶ *LYRA BUNT'SCHUCHMACHERIUS ordinis
praedicatorum theologus Guillermo Hackineto qui
est theologorum theologissimus S. dicit*

5 **V**OS scripsistis mihi ex Anglia de Londino unam
longam litteram pulchre latinisatam, in qua peti-
vistis quod deberem vobis scribere unam novitatem sive
bonam, sive malam, quia estis naturaliter inclinatus ad
audiendum nova: sicut faciunt omnes qui sunt de com-
plexione sanguinea, et audiunt libenter cantilenas musi-
10 cales, ac in mensa sunt laetae mentis. Ego fui valde
laetatus, quando accepi vestram litteram, sicut qui in-

⁹³ *cel. prim.*: celebrated mass for the first time.

¹ *Bunt.* The *Buntschuh*, or rough shoe of the Swabian peasantry, borne on their banners in the Peasants' War, had been adopted as a device as early as 1493. See *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, ii. 175.

² *Hackin.*: Guillaume Haquinet Petit, Confessor and Preacher to Francis I., as he had been to Louis

XII. An eminent theologian, and "pride of the Dominicans" as Budé calls him, he had earned the wrath of the Renschlinists, and his consequent inclusion among the *Obscure Men*, by his adverse influence with Louis. See *Budé to Erasm.*, Paris [1517]. Epp. clxviii.

⁹ *sang.* The four "complexions," according to Galen, were the melancholic, the phlegmatic, the choleric, and the sanguine.

I. 35] LYRA BUNTSCHUCHMACHERIUS

venit unam preciosam margaritam, et ostendi eam dominis meis Ioanni Grocino et Linacro dicens: "Videte, domini mei, videte, nonne iste magister noster est formalis in latinisando et componendo dictamina, et arte epistolandi?" Et iuraverunt quod non possunt similes epistolas componere in arte latinisando, quamvis sunt poetae, graeci, et latini. Et extulerunt vos super omnes qui sunt in Anglia, Frantia, Germania, et omni natione quae sub caelo est. Ideo non esset mirum quod vos estis generalis in vestro ordine, et quod rex in Gallia diligit vos: non enim habetis similem in latinisando, disputando, et praedicando; ac scitis regem cum regina optime informare in confessione. Etiam isti duo poetae laudaverunt vos quod habetis artem rhetoricalem: verum fuit ibi unus iuvenis socius, qui intitulavit se Richardum Crocum; ille praesumpsit contra vos, quod non scribatis secundum regulas artis rhetoricae; verum fuit valde confusus quando debuit probare. Ipse nunc stat in Lypsi et discit logicam Petri Hispani: credo quod postea erit cautior.

Sed accedo ad novitates. Schwitzenses et Lanssk-

¹³ *Io. Groc.*: William (not John), Grocyn, c. 1446–1519, born at Colerne, Wilts, and educated at Winchester, and New College, Oxford. In 1483 he visited Italy, and studied Greek under Chalcondylas. Returning to Oxford, he was probably the first publicly to lecture upon Greek in that university. Among his pupils were Sir Thomas More and Erasmus. Though a firm upholder of the New Learning, Grocyn never swerved from the strictest religious orthodoxy.

¹³ *Linacro*: Thomas Linacre, c. 1460–1524, born at Canterbury; Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, 1488. Like Grocyn, he visited Italy and studied Greek under Chalcondylas, and moreover counted More and Erasmus among his pupils on his return to England. L. was King's Physician under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and may be regarded as the founder of the Royal College of Physicians. He took priest's orders about four years before his death.

²³ *Reg. cum regi*. Since Louis XII. died Jan. 1, 1515, and the battle of

Marignano, mentioned below, did not take place till Sept. 13 of that year, it is clear that Francis I. and Queen Claude are intended.

²⁷ *Crocum*: Richard Croke, c. 1489–1558; born in London; graduated at Cambridge in 1506. He studied Greek under Grocyn at Oxford, and under Hieronymus Aleander at Paris, and lectured successively at Louvain, Cologne, Leipsic, Dresden, and Cambridge. In 1529 he was sent by Cranmer on a mission to Italy concerning the king's divorce. It is known that he was at Leipsic in 1515. Mutianus writing to Reuchlin, in 1515, remarks that Croke calls himself an Englishman, but that he should have judged him a Greek, such was his graceful fluency in that tongue. Croke was on very friendly terms with Reuchlin: "My Capnion," he calls him in an extant letter.

³² *Lanssknechti*. The Landsknechte were so called, not from the long lance with which they were armed, but from those German serfs who fought for their lords on foot. See i. 24, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

nechti fecerunt unam magnam guerram inter se, inter-
 ficientes se ad multa milia: sed timendum quod nullus
 35 illorum venit in caelum, quia faciunt propter pecuniam,
 et unus christianus non debet interficere alium. Sed
 vos ista non curatis, sunt enim leves personae, et sequ-
 untur rixas ex proposito. Alia novitas est pejor, deus
 det quod non sit vera. Scribunt de Roma, quod specu-
 40 lum Ioannis Reuchlin est de novo translatus de materna
 lingua in latinum ex mandato domini papae, et quod
 plusquam in ducentis locis aliter sonat in latinitate
 quam transtulerunt magistri nostri et dominus Ioannes
 Pfefferkorn in Colonia; ac dicunt pro certo quod
 45 Romae publice legitur et imprimatur cum Iudaeorum
 Talmut.

Ex hoc inferunt quod magistri nostri sunt falsarii et
 infames, quia male transtulerunt; etiam quod sunt
 asini, non intelligentes latinum, vel teutonicum; ac
 50 sicut combusserunt istum librum apud sanctum Andream
 in Colonia, sic etiam debent comburere sententiam
 suam, et sentimentum Parisiense, vel ipsi met debent
 esse haeretici. Ego possem sanguinem flere, adeo
 doleo: quis vult amplius in theologia studere, et
 55 magistris nostris exhibere condebitam reverentiam qui
 talia audit? Omnes credent quod doctor Reuchlin est
 profundior quam magistri nostri, quod est impossibile.
 Cum hoc etiam scribunt quod post tres menses debet
 venire finalis sententia contra magistros nostros; necnon
 60 quod papa mandabit sub pena latissimae censurae, quod
 fratres ordinis praedicatorum debent propter suam

³³ *guerram*: at Marignano (now Melegnano), near Milan, was fought, on Sept. 13, 1515, the sanguinary battle between the French army of Francis I., aided by German levies, and the Swiss. The struggle was fierce and protracted, and although it ended in the decisive defeat of the Swiss, the losses of the victors were very heavy. General Trivulzio "declared that the eighteen battles he had previously witnessed were but child's play to that of Marignano." Hug and Stead, *Switzerland*, p. 241.

³⁵ "I often wonder how men, and especially Christian men, can be so mad as to go fighting with one

another. . . . Who make up armies? Cut-throats, adulterers, gamblers, ravishers, mercenaries." Erasmus, *Ep.* 144.

⁴⁰ *de novo trans.*: Card. Grimani ordered the *Augenspiegel* to be newly translated into Latin, and on comparing the result with the transl. previously submitted by Hoogstraten it was found that the latter was grossly garbled.

⁴⁹ *non intell.* Reuchlin had pointed out, two years before, that Hoogstraten was a Netherlander and had but a poor acquaintance with High German. (*Reuch. Act. Judic.*, 1513.)

⁵⁰ *Combuss.*: Feb. 10, 1514.

protervitatem portare unum album brillum sive per-
 spicillum in sua nigra cappa in dorso ad perpetuam
 memoriam et scandalum, quod fecerunt iniuriam speculo
 oculari domini Ioannis Reuchlin, sicut iam etiam ⁶⁵
 dicuntur pati unum scandalum in celebratione missali
 propter intoxicationem alicuius imperatoris. Ego non
 spero quod papa erit tam stultus quod faciet: Si faciet,
 volumus per universum nostrum ordinem contra ipsum
 legere istum psalmum: "Deus, laudem." Ceterum ⁷⁰
 patres et magistri nostri nunc cogitant quomodo possunt
 obviare isto malo. Ipsi volunt a sede apostolica im-
 petrare latissimas indulgentias, et maximam pecuniam
 colligere in Germania et Gallia, per quam possunt
 resistere illi fautori Iudaeorum donec moriatur: quia ⁷⁵
 est senex. Et tunc volunt eum omnino damnare.
 Valet, et date consilium vestrum secundum vestrum
 posse, et promovete bonum ordinis.

XXXVI

¶ *EITELNARRABIANUS DE PESSENECK*
ordinis Wilhelmi cursor in Theologia Magistro
Ortvino Gratia Salu. dicit numerosissimam

"**A** NATURA sumus proclivi ad malum," ut legimus
 in autenticis. Ideo inter homines audimus semper ⁵
 plura mala quam bona. Ego disputavi nuper in
 Wormatia cum duobus Iudaeis et probavi quod ipsorum
 lex per Christum esset cassata, atque quod expectatio
 ipsorum de Messia esset una mera frasta et phantasia,
 ac super hoc allegavi dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn ¹⁰
 in Colonia. Illi vero riserunt dixeruntque: "Vester
 Ioannes Pfefferkorn in Colonia est unus pessimus

⁶² *brillum*: "spectacles." See Du Cange, s.v. *Berillus*.

⁶⁷ *intoxicationem*: referring to the alleged poisoning of the Emp. Henry VII. in 1313. See i. 22, n.

⁷⁰ *psalmum*: i.e. Psal. cix., containing the verse, "Let his days be few; and let another take his office;"

or, as quoted in Acts i. 20, "and his bishoprick let another take."

⁷⁶ *Senex*: Reuchlin was just sixty.

¹ This is one of the Epp. which have been attributed to Buschius.

⁵ *Autent.*: i.e. Peter Lombard's "Sentences."

⁹ *frasta*: *frasca*; see i. 16, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

trufator : nihil scit in hebraeo : ipse factus est christianus
 ut suam nequitiam occultaret. Quando fuit adhuc
 15 Iudaeus in Moravia, percussit unam mulierem in faciem
 quod non potuit videre in bancis, ubi mutantur floreni,
 et accepit plusquam .CC. florenos aufugiens. Et in alio
 loco propter suum furtum fuit sibi erectum patibulum,
 sed nescio quomodo fuit liberatus : nos vidimus pati-
 20 bulum, et multi Christiani viderunt, etiam aliqui
 nobilistae quos possumus vobis nominare : propterea
 non debetis mihi allegare istum furem." Tunc ego
 fui iratus et respondi : " Mentimini in collum vestrum,
 vos pessimi Iudaei : nisi haberetis privilegium, ego
 25 vellem vos crinicare, et in stercus proicere : vos dicitis
 talia ex odio in dominum Ioannem Pfefferkorn. Ipse
 est bonus et zelosus Christianus sicut est aliquis in
 Colonia : ego habeo ex experientia, quia multum con-
 fitetur ad praedicatores cum uxore sua ; audit libenter
 30 missas, et quando sacerdos elevat eucharistiam, tunc
 aspicit devotarie, et non videt in terram sicut sibi
 obiciunt sui invidi, nisi quando expuit ; sed hoc facit
 pro eo, quia est multum flegmaticus, et mane comedit
 medicinam pectoralem. Putatis quos magistri nostri in
 35 Colonia et burgimagistri sunt stulti, qui fecerunt eum
 hospitalarium maioris hospitalis, necnon mensuratorem
 salis ? quod certe nequaquam fecissent, nisi esset bonus
 catholicus. Dico vobis quod volo omnia talia sibi
 nunciare, quod potest defendere honorem suum, et vos
 40 realiter vexare scribendo de vestra confessione. Verum
 dicitis, quod ipse est gratiabilis apud magistros nostros
 et burgimagistros propter suam formosam uxorem.
 Hoc non est verum : nam burgimagistri habent met
 pulchras uxores, et magistri nostri non curant mulieres,
 45 et nunquam est auditum quod aliquis magister noster
 fuisset adulter. Ipsa vero est ita honesta matrona sicut
 est una in Colonia : vellet libentius unum oculum quam
 bonam famam perdere. Et ego saepe audiavi ab ea,

¹³ *nihil scit.* P. always indignantly denied this.

²⁴ *privil.*: *Judenschutz* ; in the XIIth Cent. the Jews had become "servi camerae," direct servants of the emperor, and as such enjoyed immunity from attacks. H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, iii. 365 (1892).

²⁵ *crinicare.* Not elsewhere found, except (sens. obsc.) in i. 41.

³⁶ *hospital.*: *Spitalmeister* of the Hospital of St. Revilien in the Stolk-gasse, Cologne.

³⁶ *mens. sal.*: *Salzmesser*.

quod audivit frequenter a sua matre quod viri praeputiati faciunt feminis maiorem voluptatem, quam non praeputiati: eam ob causam dicit, quando suus maritus moritur, et ipsa alium accipiet, ille debet etiam nullam cutem habere in membro: ergo non est credendum quod amat burgimagistros, quia burgimagistri non fuerunt Iudaei, nec sunt circumcisi sicut dominus Ioannes Pfefferkorn: propterea relinquit ipsum in pace: alias scribet contra vos unum tractatum quem intitulabit 'die sturmgiock,' ut fecit contra Reuchlin." Vos debetis istam litteram ostendere domino Ioanni Pfefferkorn, ut se defendat realiter contra tales Iudaeos, et Hermannum Buschium, quoniam ipse est amicus meus singularissimus, et mutuavit mihi .X. florenos quando fui promotus baccalarius formatus in theologia. Datum ex Verona Agrippina, ubi Buschius et eius socii comederunt pingui de gallina.

XXXVII

¶ *LUPOLDUS FEDERFUSIUS* *mox licentian-*
du *M. Ortvin* *Gratio tot salutis dicit quot*
cauae comedunt gramina

DOMINE magister Ortvine, est in Erphordia in quodlibetis mota una quaestio multum subtilis in duabus facultatibus, theologicali et physicali. Quidam dicunt quando Iudaeus fit Christianus, protunc renascitur sibi praeputium, quae est cutis praecisa de membro virili in nativitate per legem Iudaeorum. Et illi sunt de

⁴⁹ *praeputiati*: i.e. circumcised; not the reverse, as in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v. 9. "Praeputiare i. illam pellem praecidere." *Gemma Gemmarum*. (Sir W. Hamilton, *Edin. Rev.*, cv. p. 208, seems to have misunderstood this.)

⁵⁸ *sturmgiock*: publ. at the end of 1514.

⁵⁹ *ist. lit.*: "this letter of mine."

⁶⁴ *Ver. Ag.* Bonn, also known as Verona Rhenana.

⁶⁵ *ping. de gal.* A locality in Cologne is still named *Unter Fethenhennen*, but as Bonn is here meant the allusion is obscure.

¹ *Lupold.* See Burgaud des Marets and Rathery, *Oeuvres de Rabelais*, vol. i. p. 350.

⁵ *quodlib.*: originally subtle and elaborate theological arguments, they had degenerated into trifling, and often indecorous, discussions.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

10 via theologorum, et habent prae se magistrales rationes, de quibus est una quod alias Iudaei facti Christiani in extremo iudicio putarentur esse Iudaei, si essent nudi in ipsorum membro virili, et sic ipsis fieret iniuria. Sed deus nemini vult facere iniuriam: ergo etc. Alia
15 ratio tenet ex autoritate psalmistae qui dicit: "Et abscondit me in die malorum, et protexit me in abscondito:" dicit "in die malorum," id est in extremo iudicio in valle Iosephat, quando oportet reddere rationem omnium malorum. Alias rationes relinquo
20 propter brevitatem: ex quo in Erphordia sumus moderni, et moderni semper gaudent brevitate, ut scitis. Etiam pro eo quod ego habeo malam memoriam, non possum multa mentetenus scire allegando, prout faciunt domini iuristae. Sed alii volunt quod illa opinio non
25 potest subsistere, et habent pro se Plautum, qui dicit in sua poetria quod facta infecta fieri nequeunt. Ex hoc dicto probant, si aliquam partem corporis Iudaeus amisit in sua iudaitate, non recuperat illam in christiana religiositate. Et cū arguunt quod ipsorum argu-
30 menta non concludunt formaliter: alias ex prima ratione sequeretur quod illi Christiani qui perdiderunt propter suam luxuriam partem unam e suo membro, ut saepe contingit in saecularibus et spiritualibus personis, etiam crederentur in extremo iudicio esse Iudaei:
35 sed hoc asserere est haereticum, et magistri nostri haereticae pravitatis inquisitores nequaquam concedunt, quia ipsi aliquando etiam sunt defectuosi in ista parte; sed hoc non contingit ipsis ex meretricibus, sed quando in balneis se non praevident. Iccirco precor domina-
40 tionem vestram humiliter et devotarie quod velitis vestra descisione determinare rei veritatem, et interrogare uxorem d. Io. pfeff. ex quo cum ea bene statis, et illa non verecundatur dicere coram vobis quaecunque vultis propter illam amicabilem conversationem quam
45 habetis cum viro suo. Et ego etiam audio quod estis eius confessor; propterea potestis eam compellere sub pena sanctae obedientiae. Dicatis: "Domina mi, nolite verecundari, ego scio quod estis honesta persona, sicut est una in Colonia: non peto inhonestum a vobis,

¹⁵ *psal.*: xxvi. 5.

¹⁸ *Joseph.* See i. 30, n.

²⁵ *Plaut.*: *Amphitr.* iii. 2.

sed ut manifestetis mihi rei veritatem, utrum maritus 50
 vester habet praecputium vel non? dicatis audacter sine
 verecundia, amore dei, quid tacetis?" Verum ego nolo
 vos docere: vos melius scitis quomodo debetis vos
 habere cum mulieribus, quam ego. Datum raptim ex
 Erphurdia: ex Dracone. 55

XXXVIII

❧ *PADORMANNUS FORNACIFICIS licen-
 tiatus Magistro Ortvinio Gra. Salutem salutarissi-
 mam dicit*

NUPER scripsistis ad me de Colonia, et repre-
 hendistis me quod ego non scriberem ad vos, ex 5
 quo dixistis quod prae aliis libenter legitis meas litteras,
 quod habent bonum stilum, necnon procedunt recte
 secundum artem epistolandi, quam audiui a vestra
 praestantia in Colonia. Ego scriberem vobis: "non
 habeo semper inventionem et materiam ut nunc habeo." 10
 Vos debetis notare quod iam hic celebratur quodlibetum,
 et magistri doctoresque expediunt se artificialiter cum
 magna doctrina in determinandis, solvendis, proponendis
 quaestionibus, argumentis, probleumatibus in omni
 scibili. Et cum hoc poetae et oratores apparent valde 15
 artificiosi ac scientiosi; inter quos est unus notabilis et
 magistralis in illa arte prae ceteris, qui facit sibi mag-
 num titulum quando intimat lectiones suas. Et dicit
 quod est poeta poetarum, et quod praeter eum non est
 alius poeta. Ipse scripsit quendam tractatum metricae, 20
 quem notabiliter intitulavit, ego sum oblitus nomen,
 credo quod est de ira et cholericeis. In quo tractatu
 stimulat magistros multos, et alios poetas qui se im-
 pediverunt legere in universitate propter suam luxuri-
 osam artem: verum magistri dicunt sibi in faciem, quod 25
 non est tam bonus poeta sicut gloriatur, et tenent sibi

⁵⁵ *Draco*. There is still a Drachen-
 strasse in Erfurt, though the inn has
 disappeared.

¹ *Fornac*. The name Kachelofen,
 "stove," occurs in the register of

Wittenberg University in 1510.
 Först, *Alb.*, 34.

¹⁶ *unus not.* Apparently Sibutus.
 See i. 3, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- in multis oppositum, et probant per vos, videlicet quod estis multo profundior in arte poeticali; cum hoc etiam ostendunt quod non est bene fundatus in quantitate
- 30 syllabarum, prout determinat magister de Villa dei in tertia sui, quam iste videtur non sufficienter legisse; atque deducunt contra ipsum intentum suum multipliciter. Primo per nomen vestrum, et hoc dupliciter. Primo sic. "Ecce iste vult profundior esse poeta quam
- 35 magister Ortvinus, et tamen nomen suum non patitur. Profecto magister Ortvinus dicitur Gratius a supernali gratia, quae vocatur gratia gratis data, quia alias non poteritis scribere tam profunda dictamina poeticalia sine illa gratia gratis data vobis per spiritum sanctum,
- 40 qui ubi vult spirat; et vos eam impetrastis per humilitatem vestram: deus enim resistit superbis, et humilibus dat gratiam." Qui vestram poetriam legunt, et intelligunt negotium, fatentur in conscientia sua quod non habetis parem, et mirantur quod iste est sic insulsus
- 45 et inverecondus, quod vult esse super vos: quando unus puer posset intelligere quod illum excellitis sicut Laborintus Cornutum excellit. Ipsi volunt colligere dictamina vestra, et curare imprimere quae in variis tractatibus hincinde scripsistis, videlicet in tractatu
- 50 magistri nostri de Tungaris, summi regentis in bursa Laurentii, in tractatu de scandalosis propositionibus Ioannis Reuchlin, in Sentimento Parrhisiensi, in multis tractatibus domini Ioannis Pfefferkorn, qui fuit olim Iudaeus, et nunc est optimus Christianus. Ipsi timent
- 55 quod alias pereat vestra poetria, et dicunt quod esset unum maximum scandalum illius temporis et peccatum mortale, si periret per negligentiam, et non imprimeretur. Orant etiam domini magistri quod dignemini sibi mittere apologiam vestram contra Ioannem Reuchlin, in qua
- 60 realiter tribulatis illum praetensum doctorem, quod audet oppositum tenere contra quattuor universitates:

³⁵ *supernali*. Not elsewhere found.

⁴¹ *deus*: James iv. 6.

⁴⁷ *Laborintus*: the Labyrinth, a poem "de miseriis rectorum Scholarum," attributed to Ebrard de Béthune (Eberhardus Bethuniensis, XIIIth Cent., called *Graecista*), from its conclusion—

"Lector condolens Eberhardi carminis ullam

Si cariem videas. Vigilet correctio limae."

A MS. of this at Wolfenbüttel makes an author, "Laborintus," out of the title. See Polycarp Leyser, *Hist. Poet. et Poem. Med. Aev.*, Halle (on Saale), 1721.

volunt exscribere, et vobis remittere. De isto modo probandi sunt magister Ioannes Kirchberg, amicus meus singularissimus, mecum promotus, magister Ioannes Hungen, amicus meus affectualissimus, magister Iacobus de Nurmberga, magister Iodocus Wynssheim, et alii multi magistri, amici mei dignissimi et fautores vestri imperterriti. Verum enimvero ergo alii opponunt se et dicunt quod iste modus probandi est quidem subtilis, et concludit magistraliter, sed non sit de mente vestra, quia hoc sonaret multum superbe, si vos diceretis: “Ecce domini mei, ego vocor Gratius a supernali gratia, quam mihi dedit deus in poetria et in omni scibili.” Et hoc idem repugnaret humilitati vestrae, per quam habetis illam gratiam, et esset oppositum in adiecto. Nam gratia supernalis et superbia non patiuntur se in eodem subiecto: Porro gratia supernalis est virtus, et superbia vitium, quae se non compatiuntur propter hoc quod “unum contrariorum natum est expellere reliquum, ut caliditas expedit frigiditatem:” magister noster poeta secundum Petrum Hispanum in praedicamentis, qui disputat quod virtus contrariatur vitio. Ergo est alia ratio multo melior, propter quam vocatur Gratius videlicet a Graccis Romanis, deposita una littera propter malam sonantiam. De quibus legitur in historiis Romanorum quod fuerunt valde notabiles poetae et oratores. Isti Gracchi, et quod Roma illo tempore pares non habuit, qui fuerunt tam subtiles et profundi sicut illi in poesi et in Rhetorica. Et legitur, quod fuerunt de molli et suavi voce, non tubali et grossa, sed dulci sicut una fistula, ad quam fistulam ipsi etiam aliquando inceperunt rhetorizare in principio sui dictaminis: propterea populus audivit eos cum magna affectualitate, et dedit eis primam laudem praeceteris in illa arte. Ab istis igitur Gracchis nominatus est Gratius magister Ortvinus. Porro nemo est sibi par in poesi, et in dulcore vocis. Et illos omnes sic praecellit, sicut illi Gracchi Romanorum poetas omnes praecellebant. Ergo ideo igitur debet tacere,

⁶³ Kirchberg . . . Wynssheim: these four friends of K.'s have not been identified. (All are place-names.)

⁹¹ *fist.* Caius Gracchus used to

have the keynote sounded for him by a slave, “qui occulte eburnea fistula pronuntiationis ejus modos formabat.” *Val. Max.*, viii. 10, 1.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

100 et se humiliare ille poeta hic in Witenburga; alias
 est profundus, sed respectu vestri est unus puer.
 Illam viam probandi tenent amici mei cordialissimi
 Eobanus Hessus, magister Henricus Urbanus, Ritus
 Euritius, magister Georgius Spalatinus, Ulricus Hut-
 105 enus. Et in primis doctor Ludovicus Mistotheus,
 dominus et amicus meus, et defensor vester. Vos
 debetis mihi scribere qui sunt de via meliori, ac in-
 formare rei veritatem. Et volo unam missam pro vobis
 legere apud praedicatores, quod debetis vincere doctorem
 110 Reuchlin qui vocavit vos haereticum immerito, quod
 scripsistis in vestra poetria: "Flet Iovis alma parens."
 Valete in maxima valitudine. Ex Witenburgo, ex
 arce apud magistrum Spalatinum, qui vobis mittit tot
 salutes, quot cantantur Halleluia infra pascha et penthe-
 115 costes. Iterum valete et ridete semper.

¹⁰³ *Hessus* (1437-1540). A detailed account of his life, from his birth under a tree in a cornfield, will be found in the *Narratio de H. Eob. Hesso*, by Joach. Camerarius, Norimb., 1553. Melchior Adam (*Lib. de Vit. Phil. Germ.*) compares him to Homer, while Moreri drily remarks that he was neither so blind nor so great as H., but could drink the greatest toppers in Germany under the table. He was a facile writer of Latin verse, from translations of Homer and Theocritus, to a poem on the gout. See Martin Hertz, *H. E. Hesse*, Berlin, 1860.

¹⁰³ *Urbanus*: a member of the Erfurt circle, afterwards a Cistercian monk. He has been strangely confused with Euricius Cordus by Melchior Adam and many subsequent writers. (See A. Chalmers, *Gen. Biog. Diet.*, x. 253,

and Catalogues of Brit. Mus. and Bodl. Lib.)

¹⁰⁴ *Eurit.*: Euricius Cordus (1486-1535), poet and physician. Visited Italy in 1521; studied medicine at Ferrara, and afterwards resided at Marburg and Bremen. Besides poems, he wrote *Colloquium de Herbis*, and other botanical works. See Melchior Adam, *In Vit. Germ. Medic.*, and Moreri, *Diet. Hist.*, 1712, ii. 742.

¹⁰⁴ *Spalat.* (1484-1545): Georg Burkhardt, of Spalt, Bavaria. One of the humanists of the Erfurt circle; later, chaplain and adviser of the Elector Frederick the Wise, and close friend of Luther. Author of the *Annales Reformationis* and other historical works.

¹⁰⁵ *Mistoth.*: believed by Böcking to stand for "Martin Luther."

XXXIX

☞ *NICOLAUS LUMINATORIS d. Magistro
Ortvino tot salutes mittit, quot in uno anno nas-
cuntur culices et pulices*

SCIENTIFICE praeceptor magister Ortvine: ego
S significo vobis plures grates, quam habeo crines in 5
corpore meo, quod dedistis mihi consilium quod deberem
ambulare ad Coloniam pro studio ad bursam Laurentii:
pater meus fuit optime contentus, et dedit mihi .X.
florenos, et emit mihi unam magnam cappam cum
liripipio nigri coloris. In primo die quando veni ad 10
universitatem, et deposui beanium in praedicta bursa,
tunc didici unum notabile, quod non vellem carere pro
.X. albis. Quidam poeta Hermannus Buschius venit
ad istam bursam cum suo negotio ad unum regentem
collateralem. Tunc ille magister sibi manum suam, et 15
excepit eum reverentialiter dicens: "Unde mihi hoc
quod mater domini venit ad me?" Et Buschius re-
spondit: "Si dominus noster non habuit pulchriorem
matrem quam ego sum, certe ipsa non fuit multum
pulchra"; et non intellexit illam subtilem retoricalem 20
allegoriam, quam ille regens bursalis praetendit in suo
sermone.

☞ Ego spero quod volo adhuc multa in hac alma
universitate discere tam utilia sicut hoc notabile est.
Hodie emi processum bursae; cras debeo arguere in 25
disputatione bursali, de illa materia, utrum materia
prima sit ens in actu, vel potentia.

COLONIAE ex bursa Laurentii.

¹ *Lumin.*: "Ædituus"; but the earliest instance given by Du Cange is of 1537.

² *Lauren.* See i. 11, n.

¹¹ *deposui*: for the brutal horse-play accompanying the ceremony of "depositio," i.e. the admission of a freshman to the privileges of studentship,

see Rashdall, *Univ. of Europe*, ii. 628-32.

¹⁶ *unde*: the Magister clumsily alludes to Buschius's poem, *De saluberrimo fructuosissimoque divae virginis psalterio Hecatostichon*, &c. (Several edd. had appeared before 1516.)

²⁷ *ens*, &c. Cf. Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik*, iii. p. 112.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XL

¶ *HERBORDUS MISTLADERIUS Magistro
Ortvino incomparabili in doctrina praeceptorī suo
sulsissimo Salutem dicit quam nemo dinumerare
poterit*

5 **I**LLUMINATISSIME magister, quando discessi a
vestra dominatione ad Suollis ante duo annos, pro-
misistis mihi ad manum meam quod velitis mihi fre-
quenter scribere, et mihi modum dare dictandi in vestris
dictaminibus: ast non facitis, et mihi non scribitis sive
10 vivitis, sive non vivitis; sive vivitis sive non vivitis, non
tamen scribitis ut scio quid est, quomodo vel qualiter
est. Sancte deus, quomodo me sollicitatis: rogo vos
propter deum et sanctum Geogium, liberate me ex mea
cura, quia timeo quod caput vobis dolet, vel quod
15 habetis infirmitatem in ventre, et estis laxus, sicut olim
fuistis quando permerdastis caligas vestras in plateis et
non sensitis, donec una mulier dixit: "Domine magister,
ubi sedistis in merdis? ecce tunica et pantofoli vestri
sunt maculata": tunc ivistis in domum domini Ioannis
20 Pfefferkorn, et mulier eius dedit vobis alia vestimenta:
vos debetis comedere ova dura, et castaneas in fornace
assatas, necnon fabas coctas aspersas cum papavere, ut
fit in Westvalia patria vestra. Mihi somniavit de vobis
quod habetis gravem tussim, et multum de flegmate:
25 comedite zucarum, et pisas contusas mixtas cum
serpillo et alio contrito, ac ponite unum assatum caepe
ad umbilicum vestrum, et per sex dies debetis abstinere
a mulieribus; tegite caput et lumbos vestros bene, et
sanabitis. Vel sumite receptum quod uxor domini
30 Ioannis Pfefferkorn [saepe languentibus dederat,] quod
est probatum saepe. Ex Suollis.

This unsavoury Ep. gives peculiar point to one of the mythical books in the Library of St. Victor, viz. "Ars honeste petandi in societate, par M. Ortuinum." Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, ii. 7.

¹³ *Geog. Sic.* in [A].

²⁵ *serpillo.* The flowers of wild thyme (*T. serpyllum*) are used in medicine as a powerful stimulant.

³⁰ *saepe:* the words in brackets were added in [B].

¶ *VILIPATIUS DE ANTWERPIA BACCA-
LAURIUS M. Ortvinò Gra. amico suo singu-
larissimo Salutem dicit maximam*

VENIT ad me unus religiosus ordinis praedicatorum,
discipulus magistri nostri Iacobi de Hochstrat, 5
haereticae pravitatis exsistoris, et salutavit me. Et
statim interrogavi: "Quid facit amicus meus singular-
issimus magister Ortvinus Gratius, a quo multa didici
in logica et poesi?" Et respondit quod estis infirmis:
tunc cecidi in terram ante pedes eius prae terrore. Ipse 10
me perfudit cum aqua frigida, et crinisavit me apud
pudenda, et vix suscitavit: tunc dixi: "O quam me
terruistis! quae est eius infirmitas?" et ait, quod dextra
vestra mamilla est inflata, ac dolorosa infirmitate vos
vexat et impedit a studio. Sic cepi iterum mentem 15
dicens: "Ha! non est aliud: ego possum bene sanare
istam infirmitatem: habeo artem per experientiam.
Verum, domine magister, audite, primum, unde venit
ista infirmitas?" Tunc subiungavi remedium: Quando
mulieres male pudorosa vident unum pulchrum virum 20
sicut vos estis, videlicet qui habet gilvos crines, brunellos
oculos vel grauos, os rubeum, magnum nasum, et est
bene corporatus, tunc volunt eum habere. Sed quando
ille est bene moratus, qualificatusque in mente sicut
vos, et non curat ipsarum levitates et fallacias, tunc 25
fugiunt ad artes magicas, et in nocte sedent super unam
scobem, equitantes super istam scobem ad pulchrum
illum virum quem amant, facientes negotium suum cum
eo quando dormit, et nihil sentit nisi somnium. Aliquae
fiunt cattae vel aves, et sugunt sanguinem eius per 30
mamillas, et faciunt suum amicum aliquando sic in-
firmum quod vix valet cum baculo ambulare. Ego

²² *granos*: Ger. *grau*; not elsewhere found.

²⁷ *scobem*: a broom. See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, 1835, p. 589.

³⁰ *cattae*. For an account of a

solemn "cat-whipping" by twelve priests, to expel the witch, see S. H. (i.e. Samuel Harsuet, Abbp. of York), *A Declaration of Popish Im-postures*, 1603.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

credo quod diabolus docuit ipsas illam artem : verum-
 enimvero sic debemus ipsis obviare sicut legi in
 35 libraria magistrorum in Rostochio in antiquissimo libro,
 et postea probavi, et est verum. In die dominico
 debemus sumere sal benedictum, et cum eo super
 linguam facere unam crucem, et comedere ex mandato
 scripturae : “ Vos estis sal terrae,” id est comeditis ;
 40 postea facere unam crucem in pectore, et unam in
 dorso ; similiter ponere in utramque aurem semper cum
 cruce, cavendo ne cadat exinde. Ac postea orare talem
 orationem devotam :

Domine Iesu Christe, et vos quattuor evangelistae,
 45 custodite me a malis meretricibus, et ab ipsis incantatricibus,
 ne exsugant meum cruorem, et faciant gravem dolorem
 in meis mammillis ; quaeso resistite illis :
 dabo vobis offertorium, unum pulchrum aspersorium :

et eritis liberatus. Si iterum veniunt, tunc exsugunt
 50 suum sanguinem et fiunt met infirmæ. Ceterum
 quomodo stat res cum doctore Reuchlin ? magistri
 dicunt hic quod vos vicit ; ego non credo quod posset
 vincere magistros nostros. Et multo magis miror quod
 non scribitis unum dictamen contra ipsum. Valet
 55 superaeternaliter. Et salutate dominum Ioannem
 Pfefferkorn cum sua uxore : dicatis quod ego opto sibi
 plures bonas noctes, quam Astronomi habent minutas.

EX FRANCKFURDIA APUD ODERAM.

³⁵ *Rostoch.* : the library in which
 the mythical “ Combibulations ” rest.
 See i. 31.

³⁷ *sal.* See Grimm, *Deutsche*
Mythol., l. c. and p. xc, n. 570.

³⁹ *Scrip.* : Matt. v. 13.

⁴² *ne cadat.* That ill-luck attends
 the spilling of salt is still a common
 superstition.

⁴⁸ *offert.* Here, merely an oblation.

⁴⁸ *aspers.* Here, an instrument for
 sprinkling holy water ; an aspergill.

⁵⁴ *non scrib.* : ignoring O.’s *Prænotu-*
menta (1514).

⁵⁷ *minutas.* The subdivisions of
 the arc are probably meant ; seconds
 of arc were called “ partes minutæ
 secundæ.” A minute of time is
minutum.

NOTE.

Epp. XLII.–XLVIII. appeared for the first time in [C]—
 the third edition of the first series.

APPENDEX EPISTOLARUM

XLII

¶ *ANTONIUS N. Medicinae quasi doctor, id est Licentiatuſ, ſtatim autem promotuſ Spectabili viro Magiſtro Ortviuo Gra. praeceptori ſuo multum venerando S. dicit*

PRAECEPTOR ſingulariſſime, ſecundum quod ſcripſiſtiſ mihi nuper quod debeam vobis ſcribere novalia, ſciatiſ quod ego nuperrime veni ex Heydelberga ad Strassburg volens emere quaedam materialia quibus utimur in noſtris medicinalibus, ut ſciſtiſ credo: quia etiam eſt conſuetudo apud veſtroſ medicos, ut ſi non habent in ſuiſ apotecis, tunc ſolent pergere in aliam civitatem ut poſſint emere ad practicationem ſuam: ſed ſtent illa. Cum itaque veniſſem illuc, venit ad me unus bonus amicus qui eſt mihi multum favorabilis, et quem voſ bene cognoviſtiſ, quia fuit diu etiam Coloniae ſub virga veſtra; ille mihi dixit tunc de uno qui erat dictuſ Erasmuſ Roterdamuſ, mihi priuſ incognituſ, qui eſſet homo valde doctuſ in omni ſcibili omnique doctrinarum genere; et dixit quod eſſet iam in Strassburg: ego nolui credere et adhuc non credo, quia videtur mihi impoſſibile quod unus homo parvuſ, ut ipſe eſt, tam multa deberet ſcire. Rogavi ergo illum qui mihi talia dixit valde plurimuſ, ut vellet me tamen ducere ad eum ut poſſem eum videre. Habui etiam mecum tunc unum Rapiarium quod intitulaſi “Vade mecum in medicina,” ut ſoleo ſemper habere, quando ambulo tranſcampiſ ad viſitandos patienteſ vel ad materialia emenda: in hoc habeo etiam variſ quaeſtioneſ quae ſunt valde ſubtileſ in arte medicinali[.] ex illo rapiario enucleavi mihi unam quaeſtionem cum ſuiſ notabilibuſ et argumentiſ pro et contra, cum quibuſ volui armatuſ venire contra illum quem dicebant tam ſcientioſuſ, ut poſſem tamen experientiam facere an

¹² *practic.* Not elsewhere found.

¹⁹ *iam.* Erasmuſ paſſed through Straburg on hiſ way to Baſle in 1514.

²¹ *parvuſ.* Erasmuſ, in a letter to Jacobuſ, Vic. Cameraceniſ Epico., ſpeakſ of hiſſelf aſ “homuncio.” Ep. liv., *Ludg. Batav.*, 1706, col. 48.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

etiam aliquid sciat in medicina vel non. Cum igitur
 35 dixissem hoc amico meo, instituit collationem optimam
 et invitavit Theologos speculativos, Iuristas splendidi-
 dissimos. Et me quasi unum ex medicinarum practi-
 catoribus, licet indignus. Nempe cum sedissent, tunc
 40 prae pudore[:] tunc ego stimulavi meum proximum
 consessorem, quod mihi ad salvos deos ex abrupto
 occurrit in memoria,

Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant ;

quem verum adhuc habeo in recenti consideratione,
 45 quia vos cum exposuistis nobis Virgilium in Aeneidis
 tunc pinxi ad illum versum, ut facerem mihi locationem
 in libro meo secundum quod iussistis nos, unum virum
 qui habet claustrum in ore sic ergo iam optime venit ad
 propositum, cum ille scientificus etiam sit poeta ut ipsi
 50 dicunt. Quippe cum sic taceremus invicem, ipsemet
 incepit magno praeludio sermonisare: ego vero non
 intellexi, vel non sum ex legitimo thoro natus, unicum
 verbum, quia habet tam parvam vocem: puto autem
 quod fuit ex theologia: et hoc fecit ut possit attrahere
 55 illum magistrum nostrum, virum maxime profundum in
 theologia, qui nobiscum sedebat in collatione. Quinimo
 cum finivisset illud praeludium, tunc incepit magister
 noster disputare subtilissime de ente et essencia, quod
 non opus est iam repetere, quia bene pertractastis illam
 60 materiam. Illo finito ipse respondit paucis verbis; tunc
 iterum omnes tacuerunt. Tunc ergo hospes noster qui
 est bonus humanista, incepit quaedam dicere ex poetria,
 ubi laudavit valde Caesarem Iulium in suis scriptis et
 etiam factis. Profecto cum hoc audivissem, erat mihi
 65 bene adjuvatum, quia multa legi et audiavi in poesi a
 vobis dum fui in Colonia, et dixi: "Quoniamquidem
 igitur incepistis loqui de poetria, non potui me longius
 occultare, et dico simpliciter, quod non credo Caesarem
 scripsisse illa commentaria, et volo dictum meum
 70 roborare hoc argumento, quod sic sonat: 'Quicunque

⁴³ *Contic.*: Æn. ii. 1.

⁵³ *vocem*: "But they have learned,
 I wotte never of whom, that the entrie
 and beginnyng of an oracion must be
 caulmly uttered without any lowde

voyce or exclamacion. So therfore
 beginne theyr preambles so stilly as
 scarce they can here theyr own
 voyces." Erasmus, *Encom. Moriae*
 (Challoner's Transl.).

habet negocium in armis et continuis laboribus, ille non potest latinum discere. Sed sic est quod Caesar semper fuit in bellis et maximis laboribus: ergo non potuit esse doctus vel latinum discere. Revera puto igitur non aliter quam quod Suetonius scripsit illa commentaria, 75 quia nunquam vidi aliquem, qui magis haberet consiliorem stilum Caesari quam Suetonius.'” Postquam ita dixissem et multa alia verba quae hic causa brevitatatis omitto, quia ut scitis ex antiquo dicerio: “Gaudent brevitate moderni,” tunc risit Erasmus et nihil respondit, quia eum tam subtili argumentatione 80 superavi. Et sic inposuimus finem collationi et nolui quaestionem meam in medicina proponere, quia scivi quod ipse non sciret, cum non sciret mihi solvere illud argumentum in poesi, et ipse tamen esset poeta et dico 85 per deum quod non est tam multum ut dicunt de eo: non scit plus quam etiam alius homo; in poesi bene concedo quod scit pulchrum latinum dicere. Sed quid est [?] in anno multa possumus talia discere: sed in speculativis scientiis, ut est theologia et medicina, 90 multo aliter faciendum est si quis velit eas discere quamvis ipse etiam vult esse theologus. Sed, bone praeceptor, qualis theologus? nempe simplex, quia laborat tantum circa verba, et non gustat res ipsas interiores. Sicuti (volo facere optimam comparisonem) si aliquis 95 velit comedere nucem et comederet superiorem partem, et nucleum nunquam attingeret: sic etiam est cum illis secundum meum obtusum intellectum. Sed multo aliter intelligitis quam ego, quia audio quod iam etiam vultis accipere ornamenta doctoralia in theologia: ad 100 quod deus et sancta dei genitrix velint vos promovere. Sed tamen hoc dico pro me, ne fiam longior quam proposui, quod velim plus acquirere mea arte (si saltem deus concederet mihi, ut haberem multos aegrotos) in una septimana quam Erasmus vel alius poeta in uno anno. 105 Et hoc sufficiat pro nunc, et habeant sibi hoc: quia per deum iam maxime fui iratus: alia vice volo vobis plura novalia scribere. Vivite et valete quam diu unus fenix vivere potest: quod dent vobis omnes sancti dei, et me diligite sicut adhuc semper fecistis. 110

Datum in HEYDELBERGA.

¶ *GALLUS LINTEXTORIS GUNDEL-
FINGENSIS Cantor inter bonos socios S. D.
M. Ortvino Gratio praeceptori suo plurifariam
dilecto*

5 **R**EVERENDE domine magister. Quia scripsistis
mihi ad Eberburck valde solaciosam lřam, in qua
consolastis me quia audivistis me esse infirmum: prop-
terea habeo vobis grates sempiternas. Sed in illa
10 epistola scripsistis vobis fuisse mirum quare fuisset
factus infirmus, cum non habeam magnos labores, ut
etiam nec alii habent qui dicuntur sine labore, id est
dominorum servi. Ha ha ha! oportet me ridere, vel
sim spurius, quod quaeritis ex tam simplici mente: non
scitis quod hoc est in dei voluntate quod potest unum
15 facere infirmum quando vult, et iterum sanare quando
sibi placet: si semper debet venire infirmitas ex labore,
tunc mihi non esset bonum: licet vos dicatis me non
multum laborare. Quippe cum fui nuper in Heydel-
berga apud bonos socios, tunc maxime semper cogebar
20 laborare cum collo, bibendo scilicet vinum, quod non
mirum fuisset quod traxissem collum meum ab inde:
et vos non putatis esse illum laborem? Sed sufficiat
haec responsio ad illam partem: postea sequitur in
vestra lřa quod debeam vobis disponere unum libellum
25 in quo stet aliquid pulchrum pro iuvenibus quod
possitis resumere. Cum igitur fuistis mihi semper
amabilis propter disciplinas vestras varias quas scitis
mentetenus, non potui me servare ut non mitterem
vobis: vnā epistolam ex pulchro libello qui inscriptus
30 est "Epistolare magistrorum lipsensium," quem dicta-
verunt magistri dispositissimi in alma universitate
lipsensi; et hoc propterea feci, si placet vobis illa
prima lřa, tunc volo mittere totum librum, quia non

¹ *Gundel.*: in Bavaria.

¹¹ *sine lab.*: J. Hartlieb, *De Fide Meretricum* (1643), p. 495. "Sine labore, ein Pfüffenknecht."

²¹ *trax.*: the meaning is doubtful.

libenter permitto a me: est ergo ista epistola talis in principio :

35

“*MAGISTER CURIO Regens veterrimus in bursa Henrici lipsig S. D. Matthiae Falckenbergensi ex antiqua familia Nobilistae ante Quinquaginta annos et adhuc suo socio indivisibili*

40

“Quoniamquidem cum sit iam longum tempus et non fuimus simul apud invicem, bonum esse puto vobis semel velle scribere, ut antiqua amicitia non destruat: quia audiui a multis vos adhuc vivere et vos bene habere, atque sitis adhuc in bona possibilitate sicut fuistis adhuc iuvenis: quod ego per deum sanctum cum maxima hilaritate audiui: sed parcat mihi bonus deus quod tam robuste iuravi. Utinam deus et sancta Maria semel velint permittere ut huc possitis equitare, quia audio vos iam non sic libenter equitare sicut fecistis quando fuistis mecum in Erphordia et in ceteris partibus Saxoniae; quando ego saepius admiratus sum vestram hilaritatem, cum equitastis in equo. Ego valde timui quando audiui Wormacienses habere litigium cum quodam nobilista, ne vos etiam essetis cum illo, quia una antiqua familia, sicut vos estis, est libenter apud aliam; semper in iuventute cum illis libenter fuistis zecchando et equitando, in quo ego vos saepe taxavi. Sed tamen cum adhuc omnia bona sunt, volumus referre Deo Iesu meritas grates quod tam diu mansimus sani. Miror valde quod mihi nunquam scripsistis, cum tamen habetis multos nuncios ad lipsig, et bene scivistis quod hic semper habitavi. Ego non possum esse tam piger ut vos estis, quare etiam scribo vobis, et semper scribo libenter, et scio quod in illis annis, quibus nos simul invicem non vidimus, scripsi plus quam viginti lras ad

³⁶ *Curio*: a herald; but here the equivalent of Hofmann.

³⁷ *Henrici*. See *Conr. Wimpina* . . . *Lipsiae Descriptio Poet.*, 1802, p. 29.

⁵⁵ *Worm.*: Franz von Sickingen warred with Worms from 1515 to 1518.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

70 doctos viros meos aequales. Sed transeat ille
error cum ceteris. Domine nobilista, ego velim
quod nuper fuissetis hic, quando Serenissimus
princeps Saxoniae habuit suas nuptias cum pul-
cherrima corisatione, ubi fuerunt multi nobilistae.
75 Ego fui in illis nuptiis missus cum Rectore nostro
lipsensi: ut solet fieri: ubi propinavimus magnam
Crateram et multos florenos intra, et mansimus
ibi per duos dies, et fuimus valde laeti et hilariter
nos refecimus comedendo et bibendo. Ego habui
80 mecum unum famulum qui habuit duas ollas, et
ille bene scivit ubi ego sederem in mensa, et posuit
illas ollas infra scamnum meum: tunc habuimus
vinum de meliori: scitis bene quod est illud: est
enim dulcissime dulce, quod ego tam libenter bibo
85 ut mihi fiat rotundum caput inde, et post prandium
soleo tunc chorisare: tunc accepi et implevi de
meliori, et iterum posui infra mensam: hoc autem
feci quod aliquid haberemus bibere in via: postea
inter alia multa fercula habuimus bonum Galrinum
90 cum multis gallinis et bonis rebus: tunc accepi
aliam ollam et implevi cum tota gallina: etiam
hoc feci ut magnificus dominus Rector et ego
haberemus aliquid comedere in via: illo sic habito
dixi ad unum nobilistam: ‘domine nobilista, vocate
95 mihi servum meum, habeo sibi aliquid dicere:’
cum ille fecisset et servus venit, dixi: ‘famule,
veni, leva mihi cultellum quod cecidit mihi infra
mensam’ (sed tamen ego libenter misi cadere), et
sic repsit infra mensam et accepit cultellum et
100 ollas infra vestem, et sic distillavit quod nullus
unquam vidit. O sancta Dorothea, si tunc affuis-
setis nobiscum in via, quando perreximus ad lipsig
iterum, quam iucunditer voluissemus vitam ha-
buisse: ego comedi etiam ad duos dies postea de
105 illis reliquis, quia non potuimus totum comedere
in via: propterea autem vobis hoc scripsi, quia scio
quod vos etiam libenter distillatis per viltrū et per

⁷³ *nuptias*. The wedding of Henry, Duke of Saxony, with Catherine of Mecklenburg took place at Freiberg on July 6, 1512, and a deputation from Leipsic was present. Vogel,

Leipzigisches Geschichtsbuch, 1714, p. 83.

⁸⁹ *Galrinum*. Not elsewhere found, and of uncertain meaning.

¹⁰⁷ *vilt.*: i.e. *filtrum*.

saccum : tunc enim fecistis cum fuistis adhuc
mecum, ubi ego didici a vobis : et est in bona fide
optima ars : ego non vellem carere centum aureis. 110
Dixit mihi nuperrime unus quod habetis pulchrum
hortum in vestra patria, in quo habetis multos
fructus, et piras et pomas et botros ; et cum estis
in hospicio vestro, quia non habetis propriam
mensam in domo, tunc habetis magnum Carnirum, 115
in quem distillatis et simellas et assatas aves et
carnes, et ita pulchre facitis distillationem, ut nemo
vidit, quod ego miror : sed credo hoc habetis ex
longo usu : usus enim facit artem, ut dicit philo-
sophus nono phisicorum. Audio etiam quod 120
habetis vobiscum unam amasiam quae non vidit
bene cum uno oculo : ego miror profecto quod
adhuc potestis esse in nocte unus vir et estis tam
senex : et quod mihi maxime mirum est, audiui
quod res vestra stetit una statione ad sex hebdo- 125
madas, quod non potuistis flectere, et vos dixistis
quod esset ex infirmitate. O dio, si etiam haberem
talem infirmitatem, quam bonus socius tunc velim
esse. Sed credite mihi, non possum amplius sicut
scivi in iuventute ; et percussi extra domum meam 130
cocam ante quattuor hebdomadas, tam diu est
quod nihil magis potui. Est adhuc unum quod
volo vos petere antequam faciam occlusionē si
habetis aliquem puerum vel consanguinem, vel si
scitis bonum amicum qui habet, et si debet studens 135
fieri, tunc mittite huc ad Lipsig ad me : nos habemus
multos doctos magistros apud nos, et habemus
bonum comedere in bursa nostra et cotidie septem
fercula bis, mane et sero, scilicet Primum dicitur
‘Semper,’ id est teutonice grutz, Secundum ‘Con- 140
tinue,’ id est sop, Tertium ‘Cottidie,’ id est muss,
Quartum ‘Frequenter,’ id est magerfleisch, Quintum
‘Raro,’ id est gebrottes, Sextum ‘Nunquam,’
id est kesse, Septimum ‘Aliquando,’ aepffel und
birn. Et cum hoc habemus bonam potationem 145
quae dicitur Conventum. Ecce videte, non est
satis : illum ordinem semper servamus per totum
annum, et laudatur ab omnibus. Sed tamen in

¹⁴⁶ *Conventum* : *Kofent* is still used to denote small-beer.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

habitationibus nostris extraordinarie non habemus
 150 multa comedere, quod etiam non esset bonum,
 alias enim suppositi nostri non studerent quare
 ego scripsi ad habitationes omnium illos duos
 versus :

Regula bursalis est omni tempore talis :
 155 Prandia fer tecum, si vis comedere mecum.

“Sed hoc sit satis, videtis quod etiam sum
 poeta, ne videar superfluous. Datum raptim ex
 Lipsig, sub blauio caelo, et valete cum amasia
 vestra laetius quam apis in thymo vel piscis in
 160 undis. Valete adhuc semel.”

Nunc videte, domine Magister Ortvine, si placet
 vobis illa epistola, tunc volo vobis mittere totum
 librum plenum, quia sunt valde bonae secundum meum
 debile ingenium : alias nihil magis possum vobis iam
 165 scribere. Valete in eo qui cuncta creavit. Datum in
 Eberburck, ubi velim quod essetis mecum, vel diabolus
 confundat me. Sexta feria infra pasche et penthecoste.

XLV

¶ *ARNOLDUS DE THUNGARIS* magister
 noster in sacra pagina S. D. Magistro Ortvino
Gratio

VENERABILIS domine magister. Ego vexor iam
 5 supra vexationem : nunc intelligo illud dicterium
 poetarum esse verum : “Nullum damnum solum,” et
 hoc volo sic probare. Ego iam sum infirmus, et supra
 illam infirmitatem venit mihi alia vexatio maxima,
 quae est talis. Currunt cotidie ad me homines et
 10 etiam scribunt ad me ex diversis provinciis, ut notus
 sum in omnibus regionibus propter libellum, quem

¹⁵⁹ *apis* : “Tu letius vale quam
 apis in thymo, quam piscis in undis.”
Epistole Kuroli, Cologne ; Quentell,
 1498.

² *sac. pag.* : Theology.

⁵ *dicter.* : “Es kommt kein Unglück
 allein.”

¹¹ *libellum* : “Articuli sive pro-
 positiones de iudaico favore nimis

feci contra defensorium Iohannis Reuchlin, ut scitis.
 Illi homines dicunt et scribunt eos mirari quod per-
 mittimus Io. Pfefferkorn, tinctum Iudaeum, accipere
 nostrorum causa laborem scribendi, ut defendat se et 15
 nos omnes contra Reuchlin, et defendat fidem nostram :
 sic quod ipse habeat nomen et nos tamen scripta omnia
 fecerimus quae emisit suo nomine, ut tunc verum est :
 in confessione hoc dixi. Dixerunt etiam quod iam
 compilasset novum librum quem intitulavit in latino 20
 "Defensorium Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra Iohannem
 Reuchlin," in quo enarrat totum factum a principio
 usque ad finem; quem libellum theutonisavit etiam.
 Cum ego hoc audivissem, dixi quod non esset verum,
 simpliciter quia ego nihil scirem de hac re; et si fecit, 25
 tunc per deum scandalum est, quod me non fecit
 certum, et tamen prius semper me consultavit. Credo
 quod ipse iam non recordatur mei, cum sum infirmus :
 si me interrogasset, tunc dixissem uno modo satis-
 fuisse, quia scio quod scribendo nihil acquiremus : nam 30
 Reuchlin semper restimulat quod habet diabolum. Si
 ergo ita est, tunc peto diligenter, ut non faciat, quia
 vos potestis impedire tanquam corrector suorum lib-
 rorum. Secundo audiavi etiam, quod non tam vehe-
 menter dolui, vos lardasse ancillam : cum honestate dico : 35
 Quentels impressoris et fecisse sibi unum puerum :
 atque ut verum sit : tunc ipse dedit sibi veniam et
 non vult pati amplius in domo, et iam est in propria
 domo, et facit antiquas tunicas novas. Peto vos
 propter maximam charitatem quam habuimus semper 40
 alternatim, ut velitis mihi hoc scribere an sit vel non,
 quia ego libenter vellem eam diu supposuisse; sed
 tamen non volui facere, quia timebam quod esset adhuc
 virgo. Si autem ita sit, quod vos fecistis, tunc si
 potestis pati, volumus ad unam dicam lardare, ego 45
 hodie et vos cras, quia digniora sunt priora, ego doctor
 et vos magister : dico tamen hoc sine contemptione :
 sicque volumus hoc in secreto servare atque eam nutrire
 cum puero expensis mutuis : et scio quod ipsa libenter

suspecte ex libello theutonico Dñi.
 Ioannis Reuchlin . . . extracte. Cum
 annotationibus . . . Arnoldi de
 Tungeri . . ." Cologne, Aug. 12,
 1512.

¹² *defens.* : the *Augenspiegel*.

²¹ *Defens.* : Pfefferkorn's *Defensio*.

³⁶ *Quentels* : Germ. gen.

⁴⁵ *dicam* : a tally, or account. See
 Du Cange, s.v.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

50 erit contenta: atque etiam scio si diu lardassem eam, non esset mihi infirmitas illa: spero tamen quod volo renes purgare, ut fiam sanus. Et cum hoc valete; si non fuisset debilis transicionis, tunc met ivissem ad vos et non scripsissem: sed tamen vos debetis mihi re-
55 scribere. Datum raptim ex bursa nostra Montis.

XLVI

¶ *IOANNIS CURRIFICIS AMBACHENSIS*
Ortino Gratio Daventriensi Salutis Plurimum

QUONIAMQUIDEM mihi nuper scripsistis quo-
modo mihi succederet in Heidelbergam et quod
5 etiam vobis rescriberem quomodo placerent mihi hic Doctores et magistri. Sciatis ergo primo quod quam-
primum veni ad Heidelbergam, fiebam cocus in bursa, ubi habeo mensam gratis et etiam aliquas pecunias pro
mercede, et possum proficere et complere ad gradum
10 magisterii. Sic etiam fecit pauper Henricus qui non habuit libros neque papirum, sed omnia scripsit ad pellicium suum. Ita etiam nutrit se Plautus qui
portavit saccos ad molendinam sicut asinus, et tamen
postea evasit in doctissimum autorem, quia postea scripsit
15 metra et prosas. Praeterea ut sciatis qui sunt hic viri docti, volo vobis prius recitare de dignioribus, et deinde successive de aliis, quia, ut dicit philosophus primo
phisicorum: "Oportet ex universalibus ad singularia
procedere." Et Porphyrius etiam descendit a genere
20 generalissimo ad speciem specialissimam, ubi iubet Plato quiescere. Et a dignioribus debet fieri denominatio, ut dicit gentilis magister in secundo de anima. Inter

⁵³ *deb. trans.*: a physiological application of a grammatical term. A verb "*deb. transicionis*" was one followed by a case other than the accusative.

¹ *Io.*: for *Ioannes*.

¹ *Currficis*. *Currifex* was the usual Latin rendering of Wagner.

¹ *Ambach*. *Ambach* is non-existent.

¹⁰ *Henricus*: H. Septimellensis, or Samariensis, who in the XIIIth Cent.

related the vicissitudes of his own lot in a poem, "*De diversitate fortunae et philosophiae consolatione*." See also Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.*, tom. 204.

¹² *Plaut.* See Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, iii. 3.

¹⁹ *Porphir.*: *Porphyrii Isagoge*, c. 2, § 35.

²² *gent. mag.*: i.e. Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 4.

omnes doctores Theologiae est unus hic qui est praedicator nobiscum, et habet tubalem vocem, licet parvus sit : illum audiunt homines libenter praedicare et tenent aliquid de eo, quia per deum ipse est doctus, et doctus in superlativo, dico vobis, et multi homines intrant eius praedicationes, quia ipse est delectabilis et lacerat bonos possos in ambone sive cancellis. Ego audiui semel ab eo ex libris Posteriorum de quaestione, quia est quid est, si est, et propter quid est, et omnis scivit in theutonice dicere. Praeterea semel praedicavit de virginitate, et dicit quod virgines qui amiserunt suam virginitatem, solent dicere quod sit eis per vim factum. Tunc ipse dixit : “ Bene veneritis, per vim Ego quaero, si unus haberet nudum gladium in una manu et vaginam in alia, et ipse semper moveret vaginam, nonne est ita quod ipse non posset gladium intra stimulare : sic etiam est in virginibus.” Praeterea semel in novo anno quando unicuique statu dedit novum annum, tunc dedit studentibus in Tribus Bursis (quia hic sunt moderni et antiqui), modernis dedit Saturnum, et ita exposuit : “ Saturnus est frigidus planeta, et ille bene convenit modernis, quia ipsi sunt frigidi artistae, quia non servant Sanctum Thomam et Copulata et Reparationes secundum processum bursae montis in Colonia.” Sed Thomistis dedit pro novo anno unum puerum qui dormivit apud Iovem et vocatur Ganimedes. Ille quadrat realistis, quia Ganimedes propinat Iovi vinum et cerevisiam et dulcem potum de lacaritio, quam historiam pulcherrime interpretavit Torrentinus in primo libro Aeneidos. Sic etiam reales infundunt eis artes et scientias, et multa arguitur. Et multa alia delectabilia, ut unus posset mirare. Ego credo quod iacuit multas noctes, et non dormivit quando illa ita subtiliter et pulcherrime speculavit. Sed sunt multi qui dicunt quod sit frascaria quod ipse praedicat, et vocant eum “ Quacculator ” et “ Ioannes

³⁰ ex lib. *Post.* : Arist., *Analy. Posteriora*, ii. 1.

³⁴ per vinum : Saücho Panza's judgment may be recalled. *Don Quirote*, Part II., chap. xlv.

⁴² mod. et ant. : nominalists and realists.

⁵¹ lacaritio : “ licorice,” for nectar.

⁵² Torrent. : Hermann van Beek, of Zwoll, one of the Brethren of the Common Life ; a Commentator on Virgil — but not on the *Aeneid* ; neither is Ganymede referred to in his *Elucidarium Poeticum*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

cum destructo capite" et "auca caput," ex illa ratione,
 60 quia ipse stetit semel male in disputatione; tunc expediverunt eum ita realiter sicut unus in centum annis expeditus est. Et unus expectavit eum ante lectorium et detraxit suum baretum ab inde (sed non propter honorem, sed sicut fecerunt Iudaei quando coronaverunt Christum et flectebant genua) et dixit: "Domine doctor, cum supportatione, Deus benedicat vobis balneum." Tunc ipse dixit: "Deo gratias, Domine Baccalaurie," et non dixit amplius et abiit: unus dixit mihi, quod oculi eius steterunt sibi plenum aqua, et
 70 credidit quod ploravit postea. Et quando ego audivi tales vexationes, tunc doluit mihi in ventre, et si ego scivissem quis ille leccator fuisset, ego percussissem me cum eo, et si deberent mihi caput cum una dila abinde trusisse. Sed ipse habet adhuc unum discipulum, ille
 75 est mihi unus doctus vir, et quasi plus quam doctus, et etiam quasi plus doctus quam suus praeceptor, nisi quod ipse est simplex baccalaureus in biblia: ipse iam pauculis, immo paucissimis temporibus praeteritis intimavit bene viginti quaestiones et sophismata, et
 80 semper contra modernos, videlicet U. deus sit in praedicamento, U. essentia et existentia sint distinctae, U. rollationes a suo fundamento sint distinctae et U. decem praedicamenta sint realiter distincta. Hui quot respondentes! ego non vidi in vita mea plus respondentes
 85 in lectorio, et ipse etiam defendit sua dicta et imposuit honorem, quia unus simplex magister haberet cum uno sufficientiam: ego miravi quare Decanus admisit, ego credo quod fuit insanus propter Caniculares, quia est contra statuta. Et quando disputatio fuit, ex tunc ego
 90 in laudem ipsius metrificavi illa carmina ex tempore, quia ego pro parte sum humanista:

Hic est unus doctus magister,
 Qui intimavit bis vel ter,
 An esse essentiae
 95 Distinguatur ab esse existentiae;

⁷³ *dila.* Not elsewhere found.

⁸² *rollationes*: a burlesque word of uncertain origin. Cf. Rabelais, *Pant.*, ii. 7, "Tarraballationes doctorum Coloniensium adversus Reuchlin."

⁸³ *praedic.*: the ten Aristotelian

Categories; οὐσία, ποσὸν, ποῖον, πρὸς τι, ποιεῖν, πάσχειν, ποῦ, πότε, κείσθαι, ἔχειν.

⁸⁹ *cont. stat.*: "Lectiones aliquae pro gradu in canicularibus ad tempus debent suspendi." Zarncke, *Die Statutenbücher der Univ. Lpz.*, p. 446.

Et de Rollationibus,
 Et de praedicamentorum distinctionibus,
 Et utrum deus in firmamento
 Sit in aliquo praedicamento :
 Quod nemo fecit ante eum
 Per omnia saecula saeculorum.

100

Sed de hoc sufficienter nunc de poetis Volo aliquid dicere vel scribere, et sic: Est hic unus qui facit Valerium Maximum, sed ipse non placet mihi in media parte tam bene sicut vos mihi placuistis quando vos fecistis Coloniae Valerium Maximum, quia ille hic procedit simpliciter, vos autem quando legistis ibi de neglecta religione, de Somniis, et de Auspitiis, tunc allegastis sacram scripturam, videlicet Cathenam auream quae vocatur Continuum beati Thomae, Durandum et alios sublimatos in Theologia, et iussistis quod bene notaremus illa puncta ex sacra pagina et pingeremus ibi unam manum et disceremus mentetenus. Sciatis etiam quod hic non intrant tam multa supposita sicut Coloniae, quia Coloniae studentes possunt esse sicut hic sunt scutones, et ibi aliqui studentes scutant etiam parthecas, quod non volunt hic concedere, quia oportet hic quod omnes habeant mensam in bursa et sint in matricula universitatis. Sed quamvis hic sunt pauci, tamen sunt audaces et bene tam audaces sicut illi multi in Coloniae, quia ipsi scalaverunt nuperrime unum regentem in bursa, qui stetit ante cameram et audivit quod luserunt interius: tunc unus voluit exire et invenit eum ibi et proiecit eum per gradus. Praeterea etiam sunt audaces, quia percutiunt se hic cum reuteris sicut faciunt Coloniae cum Doleatoribus, et incedunt more reuterorum cum productis gladiis et Chordis et Spadis, etiam cum plumbatis, ubi habent cordulam, ut possunt iactare et iterum ad se trahere nuper semel reuteri secaverunt hic unum Domicellum per scabiem quod cecidit ad terram; sed cito surrexit et defendit se realiter et percussit et secavit eos omnes quod habuerunt Sanctum Valentinum, et omnes currebant fugens.

105

110

115

120

125

130

¹⁰⁹ *Cat. Aur.* In his dedication to Urban IV. the author called his work "Expositio continua"; the name Catena was not applied to it till after his death. Early edd. have *Glossa Continua*, or *Continuum*. See Pref.,

by J. H. Newman, to *Catena Aurea*, Oxford, 1842.

¹¹⁰ *Durand.*: ii. 52, n.

¹¹³ *Sanct. Val.*: said of one subject to epilepsy.

¹³³ *fugens*: used as an adverb.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUN

Adhuc unum est quod debetis scire. Vos debetis in-
 135 terrogare Doctorem Arnoldum de Tungari, qui non est
 minimus in Theologia, An etiam sit peccatum ludere
 in taxilis pro indulgentiis. Ego scio aliquos praetensos
 socios qui sunt ribaldi, qui perluserunt omnes indul-
 gentias quas dedit eis Iacobus de alta platea, quando
 140 ipse terminavit causam Reuchlins in Mag. quia tres
 fuerunt ibi, et etiam dixerunt quod illae indulgentiae
 non essent hominibus proficuae. Si est peccatum sicut
 credo, et non est possibile quod non sit peccatum, tunc
 ego nosco bene, tunc ego volo hoc praedicatoribus
 145 dicere, qui erunt eos recte confundere, et ego etiam
 volo eis met in propria persona, ego sum bene tam
 audax, ad panem eorum ponere. Nihil est iam amplius
 ad scribendum, nisi salutate mihi ancillam Quentels
 quae iam est in puerperio, et Valetate Pancratice, Athle-
 150 tice, Pugilice, Basilice, belle et magnifice, prout dicit
 Erasmus in parabolis. Datum heidelber.

XLVII

¶ *WENDELINUS PANNITONSORIS* *bacca-*
laureus et Cautor in Strassbergk Magistro Ortuio
Gratio S. P.

VOS culpastis me in superiori littera quod atra-
 5 mentum esset mihi balsamus et calamus bissinus
 et papyrus aurea eo quod ego vobis ita raro scriberem.
 Ego volo nunc deinceps semper vobis scribere, et
 maxime quia vos fuistis praeceptor meus in Daventria
 in quinto loco, et quia etiam estis vittrinus meus, quare
 10 ego tencor vobis scribere. Sed quia iam nullas novi-
 tates habeo, volo vobis alia scribere: sed ego scio quod
 illa non delectabunt vos, quia vos estis bonus super
 latere praedicatorum. Nuper semel sedimus in simposio.

¹⁴⁰ *Mag.*: Magnutia.

¹⁴⁹ *panerat.*, &c. All these adverbs occur in the *Bacchides* and *Epidicus* of Plautus.

¹⁵¹ *heidl.*: Heidelberg.

² *Strassbergk*: "o" for "u" is used throughout this Ep.

² *Ort.* *Sic*, in [C].

⁵ *biss.*: the silky filaments (byssus) secreted by certain molluscs: in the (Mediterranean) *Pinna nobilis* so long as to be readily woven. Highly valued by the ancients. Byssus cloth is still sold at Taranto.

⁹ *vittr.*: for *patrinus*, "god-father"; cf. *vitricus*, "step-father."

Tunc sedit ibi unus qui loquebatur tam mirabile latinum, quod ego non omnia verba intellexi, sed aliqua bene, et inter cetera dixit, quod vellet unum tractatum componere qui deberet exire ad proximam missam Franckfurdensem, qui deberet intitulari "Cathalogus praevaricatorum, hoc est praedicatorum:" quia vellet scribere omnes eorum nequitias quas fecerunt, quia iam essent inter omnes ordines nequitiosissimi. In primis quomodo contigisset in Berna quod prior et superiores introduxerunt meretrices ad claustrum, et quomodo fecerunt novum Sanctum Franciscum, et quomodo Beata virgo et ceterae Sanctae apparuissent illi Nollardo, et etiam quomodo monachi voluerunt postea illi Nollardo venenum dare in Corpore Christi; et quod haec omnia essent nequitiae et fantasiae quod ipsi monachi fecerunt, et quomodo deinde essent combusti. Deinde voluit componere quomodo semel unus praedicator supposuit Maguntiae in ecclesia ante altare unam meretricem, et quando deinde aliae meretrices fuerunt iratae super illam, tunc nuncupabant eam "monachus meretrix," "ecclesia meretrix," et "altare meretrix": et hoc audierunt homines, et cognoscunt etiam adhuc illam meretricem. Et vult etiam componere quomodo unus praedicator voluit uno modo Maguntiae in hospitio ad Coronam ancillam lardare, quando praedicatores de Augspurg habuerunt suas indulgentias ibi, quia iacuerunt in illo hospitio, et ancilla voluit lectum facere, et unus monachus vidit eam et currit ei postea et proiecit eam ad terram et voluit ante: tunc ancilla clamavit, et homines venerunt ei in auxilium; alias oportuisset quod illa ancilla servasset ei unum ex. Et voluit componere quomodo hic in Strassberg in claustro praedicatorum fuissent monachi qui duxissent mulieres ad cellas eorum per ripam quae fluit apud claustrum eorum, et raserunt eis crines abinde, et illae mulieres iverunt longe pro monachis, et iverunt ad forum et emebant pisces a viris suis qui erant piscatores, et postea fuerunt traditae: et taliter praedicatores fecerunt semel nequitiam bachantibus: et quando semel unus praedi-

²⁵ *Noll.*: for Lohardus, i.e. Jetzer.
See i. 22, n.

⁵² *bachant.* For an account of the
bacchanten, or begging students, see

*The Autobiography of Thomas Platter,
a schoolmaster of the XVth Cent.*
Transl. from the German (by E. A.
M'Caul), London, 1839.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

cator ivit spaciatum cum monacha, tunc iverunt apud Scholas, et scolares trahebant illos duos monachos ad
55 scholam et correxerunt eos audacter, et quando monacham correxerunt, viderunt quod habuit vulvam: tunc omnes riserunt et dimiserunt eos in pace, et tota civitas fiebat deinde plena de illa re. Tunc ego fui per deum valde iratus quando talia dixit, et dixi ad eum: “vos
60 non deberetis talia dicere; posito casu quod essent vera, tamen adhuc non deberetis dicere, quia posset bene contingere quod omnes occiderentur in una hora sicut Templarii, si homines illas nequitias omnes scirent.” Tunc dixit: “ego scio adhuc tot quod non possem ad viginti
65 arcus papiri scribere.” Tunc ego dixi: “quare vultis de omnibus praedicatoribus scribere: nō tamen fecerunt oīnes. Si illi in Maguntia et in Augspurgk et in Strassberg sunt nequitiosi, tunc alii sunt forte probi.” Tunc ille dixit: “quomodo confundis me? ego credo quod
70 tu sis filius praedicatoris, vel fuisti met praedicator; nuncupa mihi unum claustrum, ubi sunt probi praedicatores.” Tunc ego dixi: “quid fecerunt illi in Franckfurdia?” Tunc dixi ille: “nescis hoc? illi habent principalem apud eos qui vocatur Wigandus: ille est
75 caput omnium nequitiarum, et ipse incepit illam haerese in Berna, et fecit unum libellum de Wesalio, et illum postea in Heydelberga revocavit, cassavit, extirpavit et annullavit et fecit etiam deinde unum alium librum qui vocatur ‘Die sturmglöck,’ et ipse non fuit
80 ita audax quod scriberet suum nomē Sed misit Iohan. Pfefferkorn suum nomen scribere, ut daret sibi medium lucrum, tunc velit esse contentus, quia bene scivit quod Io. Pfefferkorn esset talis homo qui neminem curaret, etiam suam famam non curaret, quando nisi lucraret
85 pecunias, sicut faciunt omnes Iudaei.” Et quando ego vidi quod eorum erant plus quam meorum, tunc ego abivi; sed fui valde iratus quod ipse non fuit solus: si fuisset ego et ipse solus, ego vellem diabolium posuisse.

⁶² *Templ.* Jacques de Molay and the residue of the Templars were seven years in prison before they met their fate (1314). See H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., 1888.

⁷⁶ *Wesalio*: Johann Ruchrath of Oberwesel, near Bingen, accused by

the Dominicans of suspicious intercourse with the Jews, and, through their influence, unjustly condemned at Mainz for heresy in 1479 by the Cologne inquisitor. Sometimes confused with the much more famous Johann Wessel of Groningen.

Valete. Datum ex Strassberg Feria quarta post festum
Sancti Bernhardi. Anno Millesimo quingentesimo ⁹⁰
decimosexto.

XLVIII

¶ *IACOBUS DE ALTAPLATEA septenarum
et liberalium necnon ingeniarum artium et Sacra-
tissimae Theologiae professor humillimus necnon
in aliquibus partibus in Germania haereticorum
magister id est corrector Ortuno Gra. Daven- ⁵
triensi in Colonia vitam trahens Salutem in domino
nostro Iesu Christo*

NUNQUAM fuit tam grata ruriculis dulcissima
pluvia tempore longae siccitatis, neque sol post
longas nebulas, quam mihi fuit lra vestra quam ad me ¹⁰
huc ad Romam misistis. Quando ego eam legi, tunc
fui ita gaudibundus quod libenter flevissem, quia mihi
videbatur quod iam essem in Colonia in domo vestra,
quando bibimus semper unam vel duas quartas vinum
vel cerevisiae, et lusimus in assere, ita laetus fui. Sed ¹⁵
vos vultis quod ego iterum ita faciam sicut vos, hoc est
quod ego etiam scriberem quid faciam hic in Roma tam
longe, et quomodo mihi succedat: quod volo liben-
tissime facere. Sciatis ergo quod ego adhuc sum sanus
divina spiratione. Sed tamen quamvis sum sanus, ²⁰
adhuc tamen non sum libenter hic, quia illa causa,
propter quam ego sum hic, est mihi nunc adversa:
ego vellem quod nunquam incepissem eam: omnes
derident me et vexant me, et noscunt hic Reuchlin
melius quam in Almania, et multi Cardinales et epis- ²⁵
copi et praelati et Curtisani amant eum. Si non
incepissem, tunc essem adhuc in Colonia, et comederem
et biberem bene; ego habeo hic aliquando vix siccum
panem. Ego credo etiam quod male iam procedat in
Almania, quia ego sum absens; omnes iam scribunt ³⁰
libros in theologia secundum suum libitum. Ipsi dicunt
quod Erasmus Roterdamus composuit multos tractatus
in theologia: ego non credo quod faciat omnia recte.

⁸⁹ Datum: i.e. Aug. 25, 1516.

⁶ trahens: for trahenti (?).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Ipse etiam prius in uno parvo tractatu vexavit theolo-
 35 logos, et iam scribit thelogice est mihi mirum. Si ego
 venio ad Almaniam et lego suos codiculos, et invenio
 unum parvissimum punctum ubi erravit vel ubi ego
 non intelligo, ipse debet videre quod ego volo
 super cutem. Ipse scripsit etiam graece, quod non
 40 deberet facere: quia nos sumus latini et non graeci.
 Si vult scribere quod nemo intelligat, quare non scribit
 etiam Italicum et Bohemicum et Hungaricum et sic
 nemo intelligeret eum: faciat se conformem nobis
 Theologis in nomine centum diabolorum, et scribat
 45 per Utrum et Contra, et Arguitur, et Replica, et per
 Conclusiones, sicut fecerunt omnes Theologi, sic etiam
 nos legeremus. Ego non possum vobis iam omnia
 scribere, neque meam paupertatem quam hic habeo
 dicere. Illi Curtisani quando vident me, tunc nun-
 50 cupant me Apostata et dicunt quod ego cucurri ex
 ordine; et sic etiam faciunt Doctori Petro Meyer
 Plebano in Franckfurdia, quia vexant eum ita bene
 sicut me, quia ipse favet mihi. Sed tamen ipse habet
 melius quam ego, quia ipse habet bonum officium, quia
 55 est Capellanus super dei agro, quod est per deum bonum
 officium, licet Curtisani dicunt quod sit vilissimum inter
 omnia officia quae in Roma possunt esse. Sed hoc nihil
 nocet, ipsi dicunt hoc ex invidia Ipse tamen habet panem
 suum de hoc et nutrit se taliter qualiter, donec ipse
 60 suam causam contra Francfurdienses ad finem ducat.
 Omni die quasi ivimus ipse et ego spatiatum in Campo
 florum, et expectamus Teutonicos: ita libenter videmus
 Teutonicos. Tunc veniunt illi Curtisani et monstrant
 cum digitis super nos, et rident et dicunt: "vidi, ibi
 65 vadunt duo qui volunt Reuchlin comedere! Comedunt
 ipsi eum, tunc etiam merdunt eum iterum," et habemus
 tantas vexationes quod debet lapidem commovere.
 Tunc dicit plebanus: "Sancta Maria, quid nocet? nos
 volumus hoc propter deum pati, quia deus multa passus
 70 est pro nobis, et nos etiam sumus Theologi, qui debent
 esse humiles et spreti in hoc mundo:" Et ita facit me
 iterum lactae mentis, et cogito: "dicant quid volunt,
 ipsi tamen non habent omnia quae volunt." Si essemus

⁵⁵ *dei agr.*: "God's acre."

⁶¹ *Campo.* See ii. 26, n.

⁶⁷ *deb.*: for *deberet*.

in patria et unus faceret nobis ita, tunc sciremus etiam
 ei aliquid dicere vel facere: quia ego vellem levem ⁷⁵
 causam quaerere contra ipsum. Nuperrime etiam
 ivimus uno modo spaciatum, tunc duo vel tres iverunt
 ante nos et nos post eos, tunc ego inveni unam
 cedulam: ego credo quod unus eorum misit eam
 libenter cadere, ut nos inveniremus, et illa continet ⁸⁰
 illa metra:—

EPITHAPHIA HOCHSTRATI

Ira, furor, rabies, dolus, inclementia, livor,
 Dum cadit Hochstratus, non cecidere simul:
 Haec ille insipido posuit plantaria vulgo, ⁸⁵
 Ingenii dotes et monumenta sui.

Aliud.

Crescite ab hoc, taxi, crescant aconita sepulchro:
 Ausus erat sub eo qui iacet omne nephas.

Aliud.

Flete, mali, gaudete, boni, mors una duorum ⁹⁰
 In medium veniens abstulit his, dedit his.

Aliud.

Hic iacet Hochstratus, viventem ferre patique
 Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni: ⁹⁵
 Ipse quoque excedens vita indignatus ab illa,
 Maestus ob hoc, quod non plus nocuisset, erat.

Ego et Plebanus quando invenimus illam cedulam,
 tunc ivimus ad domum et iacuimus plus quam octo
 aut quattuordecim dies supra, et non potuimus in- ¹⁰⁰
 telligere: mihi videtur quod me attingant illa metra,
 quia stat Hochstratus interius; sed ego etiam cogito
 quod non attingant me ante, quia ego non vocor ita
 in latino, sed vocor Iacobus de altaplatea vel in
 teutonice Iacobus Hochstraten. Quare ego mitto ¹⁰⁵
 illam litteram ad vos, quod vos velitis eam interpretare
 an velit me vel alium. Si vult me (quod ego non
 credo, quia ego adhuc non sum mortuus), tunc volo

⁷⁹ *cedula*: for *schedula*.⁸⁸ *aconita*: not only as beingpoisonous, but in Low Germ. *Mon-
nikskapen*—our “monkshood.”

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

inquisitionem facere, et quando ego habeo eum, tunc volo
 110 sibi unum balneum praeparare, quod non debet ridere :
 ego bene possum. Ego habeo hic unum bonum fau-
 torem, qui est lansmannus meus, et ille est Stafirus
 Cardinalis Sancti Eusebii : ille debet bene praeparare
 quod veniat ad carcerem, et quod ibi comedat panem
 115 et aquam, et habere pestilentiam. Quare facite dili-
 gentiam et scribite mihi mentem vestram, ut sim
 certioratus. Ego etiam audiui quod Ioannes Pfeffer-
 korn esset iterum Iudaeus, quod ego non credo, quia
 etiam dixerunt ante duos vel tres annos, quod esset
 120 combustus a margravio in Hallis ; sed etiam non fuit
 verum de eo, sed de alio qui etiam sic vocabatur fuit
 bene verum. Ego non credo quod fiat mammaluca,
 quia ipse scribit contra Iudaeos : et esset etiam omnibus
 Doctoribus Theologiae in Colonia et omnibus praedica-
 125 toribus dedecus, quia ipse fuit cum eis bene ante :
 dicant quicquid velint, ego per deum non credo. Et
 sic valete. Datum Romae in hospitio ad Campanam
 in Campo florum Vicesima prima Augusti.

[The succeeding Ep XLIX. was first added to the Edn. of 1556.
 It is quite unworthy of being included in the E. O. V., and is accord-
 ingly here neither annotated nor translated. All errors in the text
 of 1556 are reproduced.]

XLIX

¶ *Epistola cuiusdam devoti et imperterriti fratris
 sancti et impolluti ordinis, hoc est, divi Augustini,
 de malis novitatibus nuper in Colmaria factis,
 divina ira super nos, proh bone Deus*

5 *Humilis frater IOANNIS TOLLETANUS reverendo patri,
 fratri Rihardo Kalberstatensi, domino vere devoto
 S. P. D.*

NON possum tibi non sine magno cruciatus animo meo dolore,
 clam habere, charissime frater, de his quae nobis et nostris
 10 sancti ordinis hic in civitate noviter successerunt, et asteterunt.

¹¹² *stafirus* : a groom ; Ital. *staffiere*.

¹²² *mammaluca* : Arab. *mamlūk*, a slave ; here, an apostate.

Quia est apud nos in Convento unus frater, quem tu met novisti, spectabilis vir, utilis Monasterio et toto ordini honorabilis, quia habet tubalem vocem in choro, et scit bene ludere in organis. Ipse nuper loquebatur et peroravit unam bonam fautricem ordinis formosam, olim quando fuit, sed nunc apostetavit a nobis et facta 15 est mala bestia. Et dixit tam multum, quod ipsa ad noctem venit ad illum ad Monasterium, et ad tres noctes ibi mansit. Et venerunt ad eam duo vel tres fratres, et fuerunt omnes lete mente, et leviter sensati cum ea, et fecerunt omnes, ut in festo Codri, fortiter viriliter rem, ita quod bene contenta fuit. Et 20 quando dies factus, quod ipsa debuit ad domum ire, tunc ipse dixit: "veni, ego volo te exterius mittere, iam videt te nemo." Ipsa dixit: "Da mihi antea meum solarium pro te et alios omnes." Et dixit ipse: "ego non possum pro alios dare." Et fuit hoc die plenum officium in choro, et ipse fuit officiator, tunc oportuit 25 eum ad chorum ire, ad incipiendum et concludendum horas, et statim ad eam revenit in dalmatica et in albis, et fuit ei amicabile in pectore inter mamillas, et in gremio egregie luit, et ita quod se nihil mali ad illam providit. Tunc custos pulsavit ad chorum, et ipse cucurrit in albis sine bracha ad interessendum 30 divinis. Et quando revenit, tunc illa mala bestia foras vias iverat, et portavit secum bonum superindusiam tunicam cum cucullo de bono nigro panno. Et quando ad domum venit, tunc statim perscidit in partes, et non timuit incurrere penam excommunicationis, quod vestimentum consecratum destruxit. Vere ibi 35 impletum est illud: "Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea." Et sunt quidam zelosi fratres, qui dicunt, quod illa mala bestia debet invenisse in lyripipolo cucullo quatuordecim coronatos, quod (heu proch dolor) semper damnosum esset, sed unus credit, et secundus non credit. Tunc quando ille bonus frater vidit, quod iniuriatus 40 et damnificatus fuit, ivit ad pedellum cursorem civitatis (novi Latinistae vocant viatorem) et dixit ad eum: "chare, vade ad illam, et dic quod det mihi meam cucullam." Pedellus dixit: "ego nolo ire, quando tu dicis, sed quando Magistratus dicit, ego volo ire." Tunc frater, non bene consideratus, ex bono zelo, quem 45 habuit, quod magistratus esset fautor ordinis, ivit ad magistratum, et fecit suam querelam. Tunc magistratus fecit actionem, et misit pro ea: et quando venit, magistratus interrogavit eam: "quare huic suam cucullam deportasti?" Tunc ipsa stetit et sine verecundia omnia manifeste dixit, et quomodo ad tres noctes 50 in monasterio fuit, et quomodo secum viriliter fecerunt, et non dederunt sibi solarium. Tunc magistratus noluit boni fratri facere suam cucullam rehabere, sed dixit ad eum: "Vos multa incipitis, certe non semper vobis sic pertransibit, vade tu in nomine centorum diabolorum, et mane in tuo Monasterio," et 55 dedit ei refutatorios, et sic bonus frater verecundatus et confusus fuit. Et illudebant ei, et postquam illusissent ei, imposuerunt nobis crucem magnam, quod sub magna pena non debemus exterius Monasterium ire super plateas. Sed reverendus pater frater

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

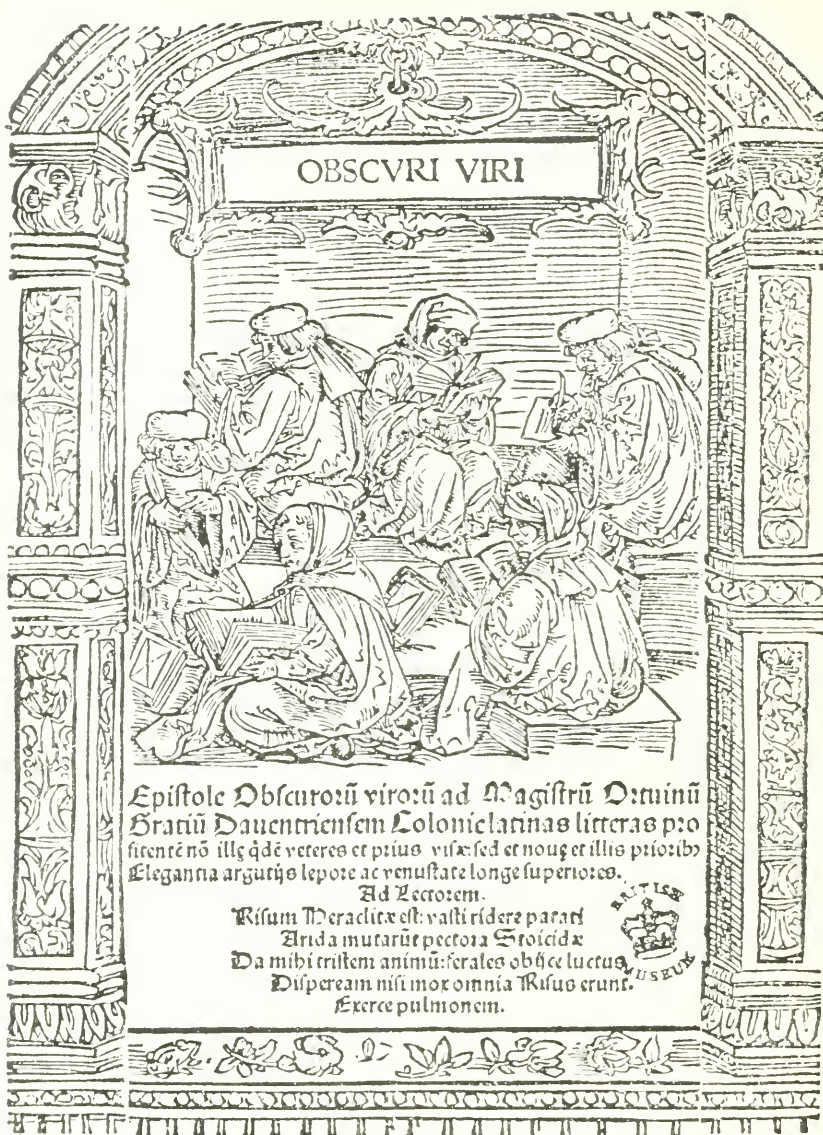
60 Prior non fuit domi, quando haec pertransierunt : sed quando de
via revenit, ipse misit omnem rem pertingere ad reverendum patrem
Provincialem gratiosum dominum nostrum (ipse ille doctus vir
illuminatus, lux mundi, qui super duas disputationes strenue se
habuit contra haereticos, et superdisputavit eos omnes, sed
65 noluerunt ei credere ipsi infideles). Tunc reverendus pater Pro-
vincialis statim venit in civitatem, et certe fuit, ipse et Prior male
contentus super illum fratrem, quod sic inconsiderate ivit ad
magistratum, melius fuisset quod sibi emissemus novam cucullam
de optimo panno, sed fecit ex bono zelo. Et statim Pro-
70 vincialis ivit ad magistratum et senatores, et rogavit eos, ut nobis
iterum licentiam darent, ut possumus de monasterio ire super
plateas, sed nihil potuit impetrare, quia dixerunt omnes, totus
consulatus : " hoc parvum est, quod non debemus amplius exire :
ipsi volunt nobis ad hoc unum factorem dare (ipsi vocaverunt
75 curatorem), qui debet monasterio omnia percipere et exponere, et
nobis solummodo necessaria dare." Certe si hoc esse erit, tunc
habet finem circa libertatem ecclesiasticam, nihil est amplius,
diabolus maneat in monasterio, (o frater mi) vivi pervenimus illuc.
Quis hunc aliquando potuit sperare dolorem, quod nostri optimi
80 fautores nobis sic derecedunt. Et certe reverendus pater frater
prior este valde contristatus, et fuit aliquibus diebus prae tristitia
infirmus, sed hodie est octava, quod de mane post tertiam diges-
tionem, unum malum sudorem habuit, et postmodum surrexit, et
ivit ad opus naturae, et cacavit valde male nimis, non spisse sed
85 tenuiter, et factum est melius circa illum. Sed habet bonam
expectantiam ab una faultrice ordinis, quae bene scit illi coquere
bona iuscula, et moniales crepitus, et huiusmodi. charissime
frater, si laici nostri domini erunt, omnes nos deridebunt : quia
iam fecerunt unum proverbium de nobis, et acceperunt illi de
90 uno antiquo, quod dicitur de uno plebano, qui libenter comedit
bonum caseum, et quando in sancta nocte fuit in ludo pascali,
tunc sua bona faultrix sibi bonum caseum furavit, et quando
revenit de ludo, et non invenit caseum, clamavit : " per deos
sanctos, meretrix furavit caseum." Sic iam quando nos de muris
95 expicimus ad plateas, salatiij gratia, ipsi convertunt proverbium,
non simpliciter, sed per contrapositionem, et clamant : " Audite
per deos sanctos, meretrix furavit cucullam." Pie frater, sic
oportet nos habere multas et magnas vexationes et tribulationes
sub istis laicis, propter ordinem nostrum. Et vere iam in nobis
100 implentur illae scripturae : " Servi dominati sunt nostri, non fuit
qui redimeret de manu eorum. Senes defecerunt de portis,
iuvenes de choro psallentium, defecit gaudium cordis nostri,
versus est in-luctum chorus noster." Charissime frater, ora pro
nobis deum, ut liberet nos a malis laicis. Sed quicquid feceris,
105 bone Frater, vide, & hanc literam illi mali ribaldi poetae saecula-
res non sciant, et non intelligant, quia alias erunt scripturi de
nobis. Vale pangratice, charissime, pie Frater. Datum monasterio
nostro, in octava mensis Maius, in anno 1537.

Si quis vult hoc epistolium cum elegantius meliorare, ille bene potest: sed debet textum historiae mittere integrum manere, quia 110 est veritas, en non potest aliquis tam mala scribere, multum peius nobis transivit.

Haec litera missa fuit ex Brabantia, uno devoto Fratri in Moguntia, de aliquibus malis, et inchristianis novitatibus scripta.

EPISTOLARUM OBSCURORUM
VIRO RUM

VOLUMEN ALTERUM



TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE SECOND PART

I

¶ IOHANNES LABIA *dei gratia Prothonotarius apostolicus Venerabili viro M. Ortvinio Gratio Daventriensi ut fratri charissimo Salutis centum milia sestertia secundum novam Grammaticam*

A CCEPERIM nudiustertius, honorande vir, unum ⁵
 librum quem dominatio vestra miserit mihi ex
 Colonia. Et fuit vel est talis liber intitulatus "Epistolae
 Obscurorum Virorum." Sancte deus, quomodo laetatus
 sum in corde meo, quando vidi illum librum, quia habet
 multa pulchra in se, metrice vel prosaice compilata. ¹⁰
 Et fuit mihi magnum gaudium in dulci iubilo, quod vidi
 quod habetis multos socios Poetas et Rethoricos et
 Theologos, qui scribunt vobis et sunt Amici vestri
 contra Iohannem Reuchlin. Habuimus heri collationem,
 et fuerunt mecum aliqui Curtisani periti et habentes ¹⁵
 bonam practicam, et ego posui illum librum ad mensam.
 Et postquam legerunt hincinde, tunc movi unum
 dubium dicens: "Domini mei, quid videtur vobis?
 Quare tamen M. Ortvinus intitulavit istum librum
 Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum? appellans amicos ²⁰
 suos et cohaerentes Obscuros viros?" Tunc respondit
 unus Sacerdos qui est Monasteriensis et est bonus
 Iurista, quod obscuritas multipliciter capitur, ut in l.
 Ita fidei .ff. de Iur. Fisti, rñ. i. in fine. Et dixit quod
 potest esse nomen proprium alicuius progeniei. Quia ²⁵
 scribitū quod Diocletianus et alii quidam reges fuerunt
 nati obscuris parentibus. Tunc ego tetigi eum et dixi:
 "Cum licentia, domine, Nihil ad propositum." Et
 consequenter interrogavi unum Theologum notabilem,
 qui bibit nobiscum. Ipse est de ordine Carmelitarum, ³⁰

¹¹ *in dul. jub.* Cf. the Volkslied, "In dulci iubilo, nun singet und seid froh." W. Scherer, *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, 1886, i. 248.

²⁴ *Fisti*: for *Fisci*.

²⁴ *rñ*: for *responso*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

et natus ex Brabantia, et dixit cum magna gravitate:
 "Eximie vir dñs Prothonotarie, Quoniam, ut dicit
 Aristo., de singulis dubitare non est inutile: ergo
 Eximietas vestra assignavit mihi unam quaestionem:
 35 quare Magister Ortvinus faciens imprimere novum
 Epistolare, intitulavit illud "Epistolae Obscurorum
 Virorum." Cum venia istorum Dominorum, dico
 opinionem meam, Quod Magister Ortvinus, qui est
 vir valde profundus et speculativus, mystice appellavit
 40 Amicos suos Obscuros Viros: quia semel legi unam
 auctoritatem, quod veritas latet in Obscureis. Et ergo
 dixit Iob: "Qui revelat profunda de tenebris." Item
 Mecheae septimo legitur: "Cum sedero in tenebris,
 Dominus lux mea est." Et iterum Iob. xxviii.:
 45 "Trahitū autem Sapientia de Occultis." Quapropter
 Virgilius dixit: "Obscureis vera in obscureis," sicut ego
 audiui ab aliis. Et datur intelligi, quod Magister
 Ortvinus, et sui amici sunt tales, quod inquirunt secreta
 scripturarum, et veritatem et iusticiam [et] Sapientiam,
 50 quae non potest intelligi ab omnibus nisi ab his, qui
 sunt illuminati a domino. Unde Re. cxxxviii.: "Quia
 tenebrae non obscurabuntur a te, et nox sicut dies
 illuminabitur. Sicut tenebrae eius, ita et lumen eius."
 Postquam talia dixit praedictus religiosus, omnes res-
 55 pexerunt me si essem contentus. Ego autem cogitavi
 desuper. Tunc fuit ibi Bernhardus Gelff, Magister
 Parisiensis, qui est Iuvenis, sed audio quod habet
 bonum ingenium, et valde studet, et bene proficit in
 artibus, et etiam in Theologia habet bonum funda-
 60 mentum. Ipse more solito movens caput hincinde, et
 videns austeriter dixit: "Scitote, domini mei, quod est
 magna et rationabilis causa, quod Magister Ortvinus
 appellat amicos suos Obscuros Viros: facit enim propter
 humilitatem. Quoniam sicut potestis scire, quamvis
 65 etiam non potestis scire, sed praesumendum est, quod
 scitis, quomodo ante tres annos Iohannes Reuchlin
 faciens Imprimere Epistolare Amicorum suorum, intitu-

³² *prothon.*: one of a college of twelve ecclesiastics appointed to register pontifical acts, records of canonisations, and the like. See Addis and Arnold, *Cath. Dict.*, 1903.

⁴² *Iob.*: xii. 22.

⁴³ *Mech.*: Micah vii. 8.

⁴⁴ *Iob* xxviii.: 18.

⁴⁵ *Virg.*: *Aen.* vi. 100. "Obscureis vera involvens."

⁵¹ *Regum*: Psal. cxxxviii. 12.

lavit illud 'Epistolae Clarorum Virorum.' Quod considerans Magister Ortvinus, et multum desuper pensitans, dixit ad semetipsum: 'Ecce Reuchlin credit 70 quod nemo habet Amicos nisi ipse: Quid vult facere, si ego ostendo quod habeo etiam amicos, et bene digniores quam ipse, et scientes facere Carminā et dictaminas meliore quam sui Amici?' Et ergo in despectum ipsius dedit ad imprimendum istas Epistolas, 75 intitulando eas: 'Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum': Sicut dicit Psalmista: 'Misit tenebras et obscuravit.' Sed ipse fecit hoc humiliter, minorando et humiliando Se, ut queat dicere cum Psalmista: 'Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei.' 80 Igitur dominus deus videns humilitatem suam, olim dabit ei gratiam, quod faciet magna opera, et etiam intitulavit ea cum magnis titulis. Unde Iob: 'Et rursum post tenebras spero lucem.' Non intelligendo, quod istud Epistolare Amicorum Magistri Ortvini non 85 est artificialiter compositum, quia amici Iohannis Reuchlin in vita sua nunquam componerent melius, etiam si deberent perdere capita sua; Sed propterea dixi, quia adhuc tamen excellentiora habent post se. Et favente deo spero quod videbimus magnalia. Quia 90 Magister Ortvinus non curat de pomposis titulis, Et ergo sic dicit: 'Dominus illuminatio mea est, et salus mea, quem timebo.' Quia scit quod minorando se, maiorabitur olim. Nam dicit scriptura: 'Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur.' Et legitur Ecclesiastici .xx.: 95 'Est propter gloriam minoratio, et est qui ab humilitate levabit caput.' Haec prophetizata sunt per Prophetam Naim dicentem 'et inimicos eius persequentur tenebrae.' Tunc ego non volens quod deberent fieri inimici, vel quod unus eorum deberet mihi irasci, si dicerem 'tu vel tu 100 subtilior es,' allegavi Horatium in uno passu qui dicit: 'Et adhuc sub iudice lis est.' 'Scribens enim scribam Magistro Ortvino, quod dicat mihi rationem. Et ergo

⁶⁸ *Epp. Clar. Vir.*: publ. March 1514.

⁷³ *Carm. et dict.* Errors of this kind are foreign to the E. O. V.

⁷⁷ *Psal.*: civ. 28.

⁷⁹ *Psal.*: cxxx. 1.

⁸³ *Job*: xvii. 12.

⁹² *Dom., &c.*: *Psal.* xxvi. 1.

⁹⁴ *Scrip.*: Matt. xxiii. 12. "Qui autem se exaltaverit," &c. *Vulg.*

⁹⁵ *Ecdl.*: xx. 11.

⁹⁸ *Naim*: Nahum i. 8.

¹⁰¹ *Hor.*: *Ars Poet.*, 78.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

parcatis mihi, quod feci vobis molestiam.' Et sic non
 105 contenderunt amplius, quamvis Magister Bernhardus
 diceret, quod vellet disputare ad ignem, quod haec est
 opinio vestra. Ergo, domine Ortvine, rogo vos ami-
 caliter, quatinus velitis mihi respondere, quid tamen
 habuistis ante vos intitulando illud Epistolare 'Epistolae
 110 Obscurorum Virorum'? Et sic valeatis sane et cum
 honore.

Datum in CURIA ROMANA.

II

❧ IOHANNES GRAPP *Magistro Ortvino*

SALUTEM Cordialem cum multa dilectione optat
 semper, et commendat se tanquam humilem
 servitorē frater et preceptor dilecte, Quia nuper scrip-
 5 sistis mihi, quod debeo vobis semel unum dictamen seu
 Epistolam vel Carmen metricum scribere, quod potestis
 videre quid didici a vobis Coloniae et Daventriae,
 in despectum Iohannis Reuchlin, et Reuchlinistarum,
 qui sunt inimici vestri. Sciatis quod feci diligentiam.
 10 Et mitto vobis hic unam Epistolam Carminalem seu
 metrosam, sicut sunt Epistolae Ovidii, quia scio quod
 libenter legitis metra quam prosaica. Sed debetis
 emendare: Quia non est discipulos super Magistrum.
 Et debetis scandere, Quia non sum adhuc bene usitatus
 15 in tali arte.

EPISTOLA IOHANNIS GRAPP *novelli poetae Carminalis*
ad preceptorem suum M. ORTVINUM GRA.

Mittit Epistolio salutem Grappus in isto,
 Necnon servitium Magistro Ortvino benignum,
 20 Sicut decet iuvenem, qui amat suum praeceptorem;
 Ergo, Ortvine, meos velitis haud spernere versus.

¹ *Grapp*: called *Crapp* in ii. 40. It is probably merely a coincidence that Melancthon's wife was the daughter of Burgomaster Crapp.

¹³ *discip.*: for *discipulus*.

¹⁶ *Epist.* In all Edd., from 1556

to 1830 inclusive, the ensuing lines occur in so confused an order as to be almost unintelligible.

¹⁶ *Carmin.* Du Cange gives "*Carminalia instrumenta*," but only in the sense of "means of incantation."

Si non bene sonant, veluti vestra quoque tonant
 Carmina scripta quidem, quia non omnes valent idem,
 Nec sumus omnes pares magistri sive scholares :
 Unus novit logicam, alius didicit poetriam, 25
 Alius est Phisicus, alius medicusque peritus,
 Aliter habet gratiam in cunctis rebus mirandam,
 Sicut vos etiam, qui vix habebitis parem
 In Colonia tota, et hic quoque Roma in rota,
 Ubi Curtisani vexant se sicut Beani 30
 Unus alium citantes, pro beneficiis litigantes,
 Sicut nuper aliquis, cum quo est mihi magna lis
 Pro una vicaria, nec potest fieri concordia.
 Sed vos in studiis, caretis illis fantasiis,
 In sacra scriptura, ubi est vobis magna cura, 35
 Ne isti scl'ares, qui sunt vestri tribulatores,
 Reuchlin cum auxilio, necnon populo isto maligno,
 Scilicet Poetis, et legifluis Iuristis,
 Qui ita vos tentant, sua nec dictamina probant,
 Contra vos faciant, et haeretica carmina scribant, 40
 Ut facit et Tungarus et christicola Pepercornus,
 Et schola Francorum, que combussit illum librum
 Speculum oculare dictum, et per vos fortiter victum.
 Sed volo dimittere ista scandala in sacra fide
 Vobis et Hochstrato, qui est bene maior quam Plato, 45
 Doctior philosophis, in subtilitatibus istis.
 Ergo vos valete, necnon bonam noctem habete.
 Deo Gratias.
 Parcatis mihi si sint vicia in istis Carminibus, quia
 humanum est errare secundum Philosophum, et debetis 50
 etiam aliquid novum ad me scribere.
 Datam in urbe Roma, ubi sunt mirabilia poma,
 Quae rustici ibi vendunt, et per libram bene pendunt,
 Sicut ego vidi, et per experientiam didici.
 Amen. 55

²⁹ *rota* : a tribunal, of twelve members, instituted in 1326 as the supreme court of justice and universal court of appeal for the Church. Wetzler and Welt, *Dict. Cath.*, s.v. "Curia Romana."

³⁰ *beani* : freshmen ; "bec jaune," a callow bird. See "Bejan," N. E. D.

³⁸ *legifluis*. Not found elsewhere.

⁴² *schola* : i.e. the University of Paris. See Introd.

⁵⁰ *Philos.* "Cujusvis hominis est errare." Cicero, *Phil.*, xii. 2-5.

⁶² *poma* : perhaps oranges or citrons.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

LI

¶ M. STEPHANUS ROMEDELANTIS

M. Ortvino Gratio Salutem

¶ CELERITER non facto praeambulo habeat domi-
 natio vestra scire, quomodo noviter venit huc unus
 5 doctor Theologiae, qui vocatur Thomas Murner: ipse
 est de ordine sancti Francisci, Et est superiorista, et
 praesupponit ita multa quod non creditis. Dicunt
 quod facit Cartas, et qui ludunt in illis cartis, discunt
 grammaticam et logicam. Et composuit unum ludum
 10 scaci, in quo trahuntur Quantitates Syllabarum. Et
 praetendit scire hebraicum, et componit versus in
 Teutonico. Et dixit mihi unus quod talis doctor in
 omnibus artibus scit aliquid. Tunc ego audiens dixi:
 "In omnibus aliquid, in toto nihil." Et steterunt ibi
 15 aliqui qui riserunt. Est autem ille doctor magnus
 amicus Iohannis Reuchlin. Diabolus confundat eum.
 Ego timeo quod faciet hic cum Canonicis et aliis
 Clericis, quod erunt pro Reuchlin. Dixit nuper multis
 audientibus, quod unus puer potest cognoscere stultitiam
 20 et fantasias et malitias Theologorum Coloniensium, et
 suorum Cohaerentium. Et iuravit ad sancta Sanctorum,
 quod nisi papa habet advertentiam et corrigit eos, de
 illa perversitate, quod erit schisma in Ecclesia et fide

⁵ Murner: Thos. M., Franciscan (1475-1537); born near Strasburg; he led the life of a wandering scholar in France, Germany, Bohemia, and Poland—studying theology at Paris and law at Freiburg. In 1505 he received a poet's crown from Maximilian. Though later the bitter opponent of Luther, none attacked the abuses of the Church more violently than M. He is best known by his rhymed sermons, the *Narrenbeschwörung* ("Exorcism of Fools") and the *Schebuenzunft* ("Rogues' Guild"), 1512, and his satire, *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren*, 1522, against the Reformation. M. resembles Brant, but his works are somewhat more poetical in form, and he attacks

knaves rather than fools. Cf. W. Scherer, *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, i. 257, and *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, i. 675.

⁶ superiorista: i.e. from the Oberland, or provinces of the Upper Rhine.

⁸ Cartas. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of *Logica Memorativa. Charitulum logice; sive totius dialectice memoria*, &c., by Murner, Stras., 1509. The woodcuts of cards are extremely curious. See also W. A. Chatto, *Hist. and Or. of Playing Cards*, 1848, p. 102.

¹⁰ scaci. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of Murner's *Ludus studentum Friburgensium*, Frankfurt, 1511, with curious diagrams of backgammon boards, &c., and the "Scaeus quantitatis syllabarum."

Christiana. Quia si papa permittit illos facere talia,
 nemo postea studebit et Nemo cogitabit fieri doctus. 25
 Et super hoc dixit quod Reuchlin uno die plus potest
 prodesse Eccl'iae dei quam isti inimici eius in centum
 annis. Et dixit: "si sunt boni aut recti viri, vel habent
 iustam causam contra Reuchlin, quare non agunt per
 se? Quare per baptizatum Iudaeū volunt expedire 30
 negocia sua? Et faciunt libros scandalizativos, contra
 illum bonum doctorem, et ascribunt eos huic trufatori?
 Si esset peior et maledictior homo per totam Almaniam,
 ipsi etiam sociassent sibi eum. Sed non est mirum. Quia
 schlim schlem quaerit sibi similem." Tunc ego non 35
 potui amplius tacere, sed dixi: "Domine doctor, parcatis
 mihi, Iohannes Pfefferkorn est vir honestus, et est fidelis
 sollicitator Caesariae Maiestatis, et est natus de tribu
 Neptalim. Et scitis quod est una antiqua progenies.
 Et ipse posset gloriari quod est nobilis, quamvis non 40
 facit propter humilitatem." Tunc respondit Doctor
 ille: "Accipiat is coclear et gustate quid dixistis."
 Tunc dixi: "Creditis quod non etiam vidi homines.
 Ego sum Magister Parhisiensis, et Coloniae studui in
 Theologia bene duos annos: domine doctor, non sitis sic 45
 superbus antequam cognoscitis homines." Respondit
 doctor Murner: Quod non scivit quod fui Magister, et
 dixit: "de honestate Iohannis Pfefferkorn non multum
 audiui, sed quod de eo audiui, bene possum dicere,
 quod nisi Iudaei voluissent eum mortificare propter 50
 maleficia sua, Ipse nunquam fuisset factus Christianus."
 Et dixit quod quidam Iudaeus dixit sibi "Ecce illud
 quod non valet apud Iudaeos, bonum est apud
 Christianos, Nos volumus ad mortem iudicare istum
 malefactorem, Vos Christiani habetis eum in honore 55
 quasi esset homo probus et doctus, cum tamen videtis
 propter quid est factus Christianus." Ibi ego respondi:
 "Domine doctor, audiatis modicum. Iudaei faciunt
 iniuriam Iohanni Pfefferkorn, quia nunquam furavit
 aliquid, neque malefecit etiam quando fuit Iudaeus, 60
 sicut est pie credendum. Et quod hoc sit verum,
 debetis scire, quomodo duo Iudaei semel voluerunt ei
 Imponere infamiam furti, sed ex Invidia duntaxat et

³⁵ *schlim*, &c. : perhaps from *schelm*, *sive speculum fatuorum* (*Turba lxxvii.*,
 a rogue. Cf. J. Geiler, *Navicula* *Aa*), Strasburg, 1510.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- execrabili malicia, tunc ipse citavit eos ad Cameram
65 imperialem, et dederunt sibi .xxx. florenos pro expensis,
quod fuit contentus. Etiam Iohannes Pfefferkorn
natus est bona progenie, Sed quando fuit Iudaeus, fuit
sicut alii Iudaei. Quia, ut communiter dicitur. ‘Qui
est inter lupos, oportet ululare cum lupis.’ Nunc
70 autem comedit carnes de porca, et facit sicut bonus
Christianus.” Tunc respondit doctor Murner; “Come-
dit Pfefferkorn etiam farcimina?” Respondit ego:
“Non vidi eum comedere, Sed praesupponitur, si comedit
porcas, quod etiam comedit illa quae fiunt de porcis.”
75 Dixit ipse: “Bene excusastis Iohannem Pfefferkorn,”
et interrogavit, si etiam adhuc habet ambas aures.
Respondi quod quando ego adhuc fui Coloniae, habuit,
et credo quod etiam iam habet et habebit in aeternum.
Tunc dixit: “quid tenetis de Iohanne Reuchlin.”
80 Dixi quod non novi eum, sed scio bene quod Theologi
et Ecclesia communiter habent eum pro haeretico, quia
criminavit Iohannem Pfefferkorn et alios praestantis-
simos viros, nullis eorum praecedentibus demeritis.
Tunc risit et dixit: “Per deum, vos bene facitis, Quia
85 defenditis Iohannem Pfefferkorn et alios praestantissimos
viros.” Tunc dixi: “Audiatis adhuc plus: Ille Pfeffer-
korn est valde utilis in Ecclesia dei, quia obtulit deo .xii.
Animas, ut ipsemet ingenue fatetur.” Respondit
doctor Murner: “Ubi obtulit deo illas animas? In
90 silva Bohemica? quia fortasse ibi cum aliis latronibus
interfecit homines, quorum animae pervenerunt ad
deum.” Respondi: “Nullo modo, sed convertendo eos
ad fidem Christianam.” Tunc ipse dixit: “Quomodo
tunc scitis quod tales animae pervenerunt ad deum?”
95 Respondi, quod pie praesumendum est. Respondit
Murner: “Quid ergo nunc facit Pfefferkorn?” Dixi
quod fortasse vadit ad Ecclesiam audiendo missas et
sermones Et defendendo se contra Iohannem Reuchlin
expectat diem extremi iudicii. Respondit ille: “Erit
100 tunc Pfefferkorn ita diu in vita?” Tunc dixi, quod sic
quoad animam, sed non quoad corpus. Dixit doctor
Murner: “Bene est: Pfefferkorn dignus est habere
talem defensorem,” et dimisit me: et omnes qui fuerunt

⁶⁵ *dederunt.* See i. 36, n.

⁸⁷ *vii.* P. in his *Defensio* boasted

of having converted fourteen of his
brother Jews.

ibi, riserunt dicentes : “ Per deum, domine Stephane, vos audacter respondistis ei.” Tunc dixi : “ Ego volo omnia verba scribere Magistro Ortveno,” sicut videtis quod nunc facio ; et rescribite etiam. Ego sum vobis ad mandata. 105

Datum TREVERIS.

IV

❧ *MAGISTER IOHANNES PILEATORIS*
Salutem dicit Magistro Ortveno Gratia

QUA scriptum est in evangelio : “ qua mensura mensuraveritis, eadem mensurabitur et vobis.” Igitur ego similiter non deberem vobis scribere, sicut et vos non scribitis mihi. Et tamen scio quod magnam importantiam habetis, quod scribam vobis novalia ex urbe Roma, videlicet quomodo stat in Causa Magistri nostri Iacobi de Hochstraten, viri proculdubio Zelosi : qui defendit fidem Catholicam contra illos iuristas et poetas saeculares, qui non habent deum prae oculis suis, sicut Theologi in Colonia et Parrhisia, qui combusserunt Speculum Oculare Iohannis Reuchlin ; sed ego deberem vobis facere sicut facitis mihi, et non deberem vobis scribere unam guttam : sed tamen non faciam, et adhuc semel volo indulgere vobis, ita tamen quod scribatis mihi statim. Et debetis scire qualiter isti iuristae et adversarii cum adiutorio Diaboli, qui est hostis fidei Christianae, per suas blandicias, sicut pie creditur, acquisiverunt multos fautores, et praecipue Curtisanos qui sunt de partibus superioribus, et non habent bonam Conscientiam ; et inferunt magnas iniurias praedicto Magistro nostro, vexantes eum sicut beanum, et dicentes quod ipsemet est haereticus, et quod Theologi in Colonia sunt Bufones. Sancte deus, quid debemus dicere ? Non est magnum miraculum quod sacra Theologia debet ita scandalizari, et haberi pro una frascaria, et Theologi qui sunt sicut apostoli 15 20 25

¹ *Joh. Pileat.*: the writer also of ii. 16. There was a contemporary named Huter at Erfurt.

³ *Evang.*: Matt. vii. 2 ; Mark iv. 24.

¹⁵ *scribere.* Sic, in D.

¹⁵ *guttam.* See i. 5, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

dei, debent sperni quasi essent stulti. Credatis mihi
30 firmiter, quod fides Catholica habebit magnum malum
exinde, et ego timeo, quod erit una confusio in ecclesia
dei. Etiam dicunt, quod dominus apostolicus est pro
parte Iohannis Reuchlin, quia ipse etiam est poeta et
favet iuristis. Sed tamen spero quod sua Sanctissi-
35 mitas illuminabitur per gratiam Spiritussancti, et non
dabit malam sententiam,

quod velit dominus deus qui regnat in terris et
per caelos
et sua mater virgo Maria, quae liberet nos ab
40 ista poetria.
Datum ROMÆ.

V

❧ *FRATER IOHANNES DE WERDEA*
M. Ortino Gratio

HUMILES et devotes Orationes cum numerosa
salute. Venerabilis vir, vos scribitis mihi quod
5 audivistis quod Causa vestra male stat et Iohannes
Reuchlin acquisivit unam inhibitionem apostolicam.
Et scribitis mihi quod timetis valde, ne habebit vic-
toriam contra Theologos et Sanctissimum ordinem
nostrum, et postea scandalizabitur ecclesia dei. O
10 modicae fidei vultis esse ita perterritus, quod vultis
statim desperare? Tamen olim quando fui vobiscum
in Daventria, non fuistis ita timax, sed habuistis
magnam audaciam. Quia scio adhuc bene, quomodo
semel percussistis illos duos beanos, venientes ad vos
15 cum longis cultris, et vos non habuistis unum armum
seu defendiculum. Et tamen percussistis eos cum
adiutorio dei realiter cum effectu, ita quod unus prae
timore perminxit se. Et viderunt multi homines et

³⁴ *Sanct.* See ii. 32 for the only other instance.

¹ *I. de W.* Believed by Böcking to stand for "Johannes Fabri, alias Obermayr de Werdea," Rector of Leipsic Univ. in 1486. Werdau is in Saxony, near Zwickau.

⁶ *inhibit. apost.* Jan. 19, 1515. (Maius, *Vit. Reuch.*, p. 467.)

¹² *timax.* Occurs also in ii. 58.

¹⁵ *armum.* Evidently a sing. from *arma*.

dixerunt: "Per deum, iste Ortvinus habet magnum cor." Vos debetis scire quod hic in Curia Romana non est sicut alibi; et sicut vos putatis. Sed una vice lucratur et alia vice perdit. Et licet aliquis habet aliquando duas vel tres sententias pro se, tamen adhuc potest perdere litem. Sed potestis dicere: "Papa permisit quod Speculum Oculare debet vendi, legi, et imprimi." Quid tunc est? Si permisit, ergo non potest iterum prohibere? Non sequitur. Quia sanctissimus habet potestatem ligandi et solvendi, et non debet corrigi. Quia habet plenariam potestatem, hic et ubique, sicut scitis ex evangelio: Quia mirabiliter estis solidatus in sacra scriptura. Sed ego volo allegare Ius canonicum. Primo quod Papa obtinet principatum totius Orbis, ix. q. III. c. "Cuncta per mundum." Et potest deponere Imperatorem solus, etiam sine Concilio, ut dicit glosa in Cap. "Ad Apostolicæ." De Sña et re Iud. Et habetur. II. q. VI. "De cetero." Et Papa non est sub lege, sed ipse est lex animata in terris, ut habetur in glosa super capitu. .XI. de off. Iud. del. Et si Papa est lex, potest facere quid vult et neminem respicere. Et quamvis semel dixit "ita," tamen postea potest dicere "non." Et debetis habere bonam Confidētiā. Quia nuper audiui hic ex uno auditore Rotæ; qui est vir notabilis, et habet magnam experientiam, quod non est possibile, quod Papa potest Sententiam dare contra vos. Quia habetis optimam causam, et est causa fidei. Ergo estote fortes in bello: quia licet isti fantastæ dicunt vobis de illa inhibitione, nihil debetis dare supra: quia non habet effectum. Sed ego spero quod statim Volo vobis scribere bonas novitates. Quia dominus Magister noster iacobus de Hochstraten facit magnam diligentiam. Et nuper habuit convivium et invitavit multos Curtisanos antiquos bene experimentales, et unum scriptorem Apostolicum, qui est bene visus apud Sanctissimum, et aliquos auditores Rotæ. Et dedit eis comedere perdices, et fasianos et lepores et

³³ *Cuncta*. Can. 17, Causa iv., qu. 3.

³⁵ *ad Apost.*: c. 2 in VI^o de sent. et re jud., ii. 14. "Papa Imperatorem deponere potest ex causis legitimis."

³⁶ *de cet.* This is irrelevant.

³⁷ *lex anim.*: gl. ad c. 11, in VI^o, *De Off.*, &c., i. 14.

⁴³ *aud. Rotæ*: one of the twelve members of the Rota.

⁴⁷ *fantast.* Not elsewhere found.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

pisces recentes, et optimum vinum Cursicum neenon
 graecum, et dixerunt omnes quod tractavit eos cum
 summa reverentia, et dixerunt: "Per deum, iste est
 60 notabilis Theologus. Volumus esse pro parte ipsius."
 Et sic habet bonam sperantiam. Sed oportet con-
 cludere, quia nuncius non vult expectare. Valeatis
 et salutetis mihi omnes Magistros Nostros et Magis-
 tros et iohannem Pfefferkorn.

65 Datum ROMAE

VI

¶ M. CORNELIUS STORATI M. Ortuino
Salutem Plu.

SECUNDUM postulata vestra quae misistis mihi
 S in urbem, quando adhuc fui Curiae Romanae, quod
 5 debeo vobis articulariter significare, quomodo stat ne-
 gocium in causa fidei, inter vos et alios Theologos
 et Ioannem Reuchlin. Advertatis Rogo. Ego ita cele-
 riter abivi quod non potuit scribere unum verbum.
 Et proposui mihi, quod ego volo vobis scribere ex
 10 poetria, et ego nunc facio. Ergo sciatis quod quando
 ego fui Romae, tunc non bene stetit, valde doleo.
 Nam Magister noster Iacobus de hochstraten est in
 magna paupertate. Non habetis verecundiam vos
 Theologi, quod non mittitis ei pecuniam? Vos vultis
 15 expedire magnalia, et non vultis exponere pecuniam.
 Creditis quod sic est faciendum? Quando ille magister
 noster intravit Roman cum duobus vel tribus Equis,
 habens pecuniam in banco, et dans propinas, tunc Cur-
 tisani valde honoraverunt ipsum. Et dixit unus ad
 20 alium: "Quis est iste?" Respondit alius: "Ipse est
 unus Doctor de Almania, ita notabilis sicut est possi-
 bile, et est speculativus et argumentifex singularis. quod
 non habet similem. Ipse habet hic Causam fidei contra
 unum Iuristam saecularem." Tunc Curtisani lauda-
 25 verunt eum et saepe dixerunt mihi: "Domine Corneli,

⁵⁷ *Cursicum*: for *Corsicanum*. Cf. *Hutt.*, Febrii i. § 2, "Italiam clamaus, et Cursicum invocans."

⁶ *artic.*: peculiar to E. O. V., Pt. II.

¹⁰ *poet.* Böcking suggests "patria."

¹⁷ *equis.* See i. 12 and ii. 53.

¹⁸ *propinas.* See i. 12.

²² *argum.*: a nonce-word.

commendate me huic notabili Theologo." Protunc habuit fautores, et Causa sua bene stetit. Nunc autem derelinquitis eum non mittentes ei satis de pecunia. Ego semel fui in Camera ipsius, tunc vidi ibi iacere cappam suam, et vidi quod fuit plena pediculorum. Et ipse videns quod ego vidi, allegavit scripturam dicens: "Animalia tua habitabunt in ea: parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi, deus." Et iterum dixit "Tabescere me fecit zelus meus." Ego autem ex commiseratione flevi. Debetis ergo esse pro eo, quod tamen fratres praedicatores mittant ei pecuniam. Si dicunt quod non habent, tunc dicatis quod accipiant de illa, quam collegerunt ex indulgentiis: quia est causa fidei, et quae impetrantur in illa causa, impetrantur pro fide Christiana. Valete.

Datum AUGUSTAE.

40

VII

❧ *FRATER ALBERTUS ACUFICIS**M. Ortvino Gratio Salutem*

HONORABILIS vir, nuper venit huc una littera, a dominatione vestra mihi destinata. Et cum laetitia aperui, quia cognovi sigillum vestrum, et legi et intelligo quod D. vestra cupit scire quomodo tamen homines loquuntur hic de causa fidei inter vos Theologos et Iohannem Reuchlin. Volo vobis scribere, sed non debetis mihi habere pro malo, quia non sunt pro parte vestra. Omnes dicunt quod Theologi faciunt Reuchlin sicut scribae et pharisaei fecerunt Christo, et quod ipse semper fuit probus vir, et fuit in Concilio duorum Imperatorum. Et sua iuristria iuvavit multas civitates et Principes. Et omnes invenerunt eum probum et fidelem. Et quod Theologi invident gloriae ipsius, et voluerunt eum declarare haereticum per devia et nullitates. Quando talia audio, tunc teneo oppositum: Sed scitis bene quod multi canes superlatrant

³¹ *script.*: Psal. lxxvii. 11.³³ *Tabesc.*: Psal. cxix. 139.¹ *Acu.*: needlemaker.⁶ *D.*: Dominatio.¹³ *duor. Imp.* Friedrich III. in 1492 made a grant of arms to R. "imperialis consistorii comiti," and Maximilian frequently speaks of him as "consiliarium nostrum."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

unum. Dixerunt nuper duo Magistri venientes ex
 20 Colonia, et unus ex eis est nobilitaris, quod omnes qui
 agunt contra Reuchlin, sunt communiter Spurii, vel
 Infames, vel Bufones. Quod fuit mihi magna vere-
 cundia. Sed ipsorum unus audacter dixit quod omnes
 25 circumstantes audierunt: "Domini, ut intelligatis qualis
 sit ista causa contra Iohannem Reuchlin. Illa causa
 habuit principium a Iohanne Pfefferkorn, qui est similis
 re et nomine et omnibus modis huic Iohanni Pfeffer-
 korn qui fuit hic cum forcipibus calidis laceratus. Quia
 etiam est Iudaeus baptizatus, et etiam propter nequitias
 30 quas facit, dereliquit fidem suam. Et si deberet hic
 sedere in turri, et spiculator deleret eum interrogare
 quid fecit, ipse deberet non minus confiteri quod ille
 alius. Ipse instigavit Theologos Coloniae, et ipse etiam
 instigaverunt eum, et voluerunt libros Iudaeorum per
 35 totam Almaniam cōburrere. Et hoc fecerunt prop-
 terea quod Iudaei deberent venire ad Theologos et
 praefatum Pfefferkorn cum magna pecunia occulte,
 dicētes. 'Permittatis mihi libros meos: ecce hic
 habetis quadraginta aureos.' Et aliqui Iudaei dedissent
 40 libenter centum, aliqui mille. Tunc venit Reuchlin et
 impedivit illud propositum, et irati sunt super eum, et
 scribunt libros et scandalizare volunt eum, et dicunt
 quod est haereticus. Etiam scribunt aliquos libros in
 latino, et intitulant eos nomine Iohānes Pfefferkorn,
 45 cum tamen ipse non scit alphabetum in latino. Sed
 igitur faciunt, quia sciunt quod nemo Rñdebit ei. Quia
 nemo cum isto malefactore vult se permaculare. Ergo
 videtis, quod si essent veri Theologi, aut probi viri,
 ipsemet facerent facta sua, et non velarent et ocularent
 50 se cum isto trufatore. Fecerunt etiam alios libros,
 quorum aliqui sunt intitulati nomine Arnoldi de Tun-
 gari, qui inventus est falsarius, Ita quod nunquam
 potest negare et nunquam potest se excusare, quod
 non est falsarius, quia manifestum est per totam Alma-
 55 niam, quomodo falsificavit scripta Iohannis Reuchlin.
 Alius scriptor Theologorum est magister Ortvinus, qui

²⁶ *Pfeff.* See i. 23, n.

³¹ *spic.* By an error, the Vulg.
 (Mark vi. 27) rendered σπεκουλάτορα
 (a guard) as "spiculatorem," to which

the meaning "executioner" was after-
 wards attributed.

³¹ *deletet.* Sic [D], for *deberet*.

³² *quod:* for *quam*.

³⁵ *cōb.*: for *comburrere*.

est filius presbiteri, qui etiam est concubinarium, et deprehensus in adulterio. Deinde habet alium, de quo bene audivistis, doctorem Vigandum wirt ordinis praedicatorum, qui similiter est infamis. Ipse composuit ⁶⁰ librum, quod beata virgo est concepta in peccato Originali, et fecerat magnam seditionem cum praedicationibus suis. Et ergo fuit Coactus revocare verba et scripta sua publice Heydelbergae, quod ego met audiui et vidi. Sic potestis scire quales sunt inimici Iohā. ⁶⁵ Reuchlin." Quando audiui talia, tunc dixi: "Domine mi, non debetis talia dicere coram populo, Etiā si essent vera. Quia scandalisatur per hoc totus Ordo, et homines accipiunt malum exemplum." Respondit ille: "Etiam vos non debetis ista fecisse contra Reuchlin, quem ⁷⁰ etiam voluistis scandalisare. Ergo ipse nunc non potest se purgare sine vestro scandalo." Per deum, Magister Ortvine, ego vellem quod haberet finem ista Causa, quia est nobis multum incommodosa: homines amplius non volunt nobis elemosinam dare; ego ivi ⁷⁵ septimana proxima pro Caseis, et per .x. dies non plures quam .xv. collegi. Quia dicunt omnes: "Vade ad I. R., et dic quod det tibi caseos." Dominus deus tribuat bonum finem. Et sic valeatis in domino.

Datum HALLIS IN SAXONIA.

80

VIII

¶ MATHAEUS FINCK BACULARIUS

M. Ortvine G.

INENARRABILES salutes et amores ineffabiles. Honorabilis vir, quoniamquidem sufficienter scitis quomodo sto hic in Urbe Roma, et sum in Copistria ⁵ et de gratia dei habeo bonum servitium: ergo non est necesse quod scribo vobis de eo, quia etiam non libenter legitis productas lras. Sed secundum hoc quod promisi vobis scribere novitates ex urbe Roma, ad minus semel in mense, et quandocumque irent Cur- ¹⁰

⁵⁹ wirt. See i. 47, n.¹ Finck. See ii. 54, n.⁵ copistria. Not elsewhere found.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sores vel postae, tunc vellem certificare vos quomodo stat hic in bellis et in aliis et de rege Franciae et de imperatore, propterea potestis cogitare: "ecce iste est superbus, quia habet bonam stantiam Romae, et
 15 propterea non curat mihi scribere, et est oblitus quod fui praeceptor suus, et docui eum in poesi et artibus et cum hoc etiam in graecismo, ita quod pro parte est bonus graecus." Dico quod non, Et diabolus auferat me si non habeo vos in memoria et etiam in
 20 orationibus meis erga deum. Quia dicit Grego. quod ingratitude est radix omnium vitiorum: Ergo qui peccat in Ingratitude, peccat in omnibus peccatis. Sed si ego non scriberem vobis per superbiam, tunc essem vobis ingratus, qui fecistis mihi talia bona. Sed
 25 habeo rationabiles causas, quod non direxi literas ad Do. vřm. Quia pro magna parte fui infirmus, et nescio quid fuit mihi. Medicus dicit quod habeo aliquid in stomacho et non scio bene digerere. Etiam nudius-tertius sumpsi unam purgationem, Et salva reverentia
 30 coram dominatione vestra, ego merdavi unam merdam ita tenuem, quod aliquis posset sorbere cum cocleari. Et cum hoc exivit de me una petia alba bene ita magna sicut pirum. Et dixit Medicus: "illa est materia indigesta et causat febrem." Sed pro nunc scio iterum
 35 bene comedere, quia habeo bonum appetitum, laudetur deus. Et si maneo sanus, tunc semper volo scribere vobis. Et pro ista vice debetis scire, quod Sanctissimus adhuc est Florentiae, et Curtisani hic maledicunt ei quod non venit, quia non possunt expedire negocia
 40 sua. Sed ego dico quod debent habere patientiam, et non debent ei maledicere, alias sunt excommunicati. Et allego eis Iura supra hoc, quia vado hic ad Sapientiam et studeo iā feci magnum profectum in utroque Iure, in uno ita bene sicut in alio. Sed dicunt aliqui
 45 quod oculi dolent Sanctissimo, ergo non potest ambu-

¹¹ *postae*: mounted post-men as opposed to "runners"; *posta* being the place where horses are changed.

¹⁴ *stantiam*. Not elsewhere found.

²⁰ *Grego*. Allusion unknown.

³² *petia*. See Du Cange, s.v.

³⁷ *Sanct*. For an account of Leo's magnificent reception at Florence, see W. Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.* (1876), vol. ii. pp. 33 ff.

⁴² *Sapient*. See ii. 32, n.

⁴⁵ *oculi*. "His eyes were large, round, and prominent, even to a defect; inasmuch that he could not discern distant objects without the aid of a glass, by the assistance of which it was observed that in hunting . . . he saw to a greater distance than any of his attendants." Roscoe, *ut sup.*, p. 377.

lare per aerem. Debetis etiam scire quod Rex Franciae revertit in Franciam et vult portare magis populum ad bellandum contra Imperatorem. Et Hispani volunt auxiliare imperatori, et habetis scire quod erit magna guerra. Quapropter debemus dicere in Orationibus nostris: "Da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris." Quia non est bonum quod est guerra in istis locis, pro Curtisanis. Si esset pax, tunc semel deberetis mihi scribere de Vacantia unius beneficii, sive est curatum sive non curatum, sive de iure patronatus sive aliter. Quia ego pronunc habeo bonam Experientiam, et vellem bene impetrare aliquid. Et si habetis unam litem, tunc ego volo sollicitare vobis hic. Etiam de causa cum Iohanne Reuchlin debetis scire quod Magister Noster Iacobus de Hochstraten collegit adhuc alios articulos in speculo oculari: et sunt ita bene haereticales sicut alii. Et ipse iam est florētia cum Curta, et diligenter sollicitat. Non debetis dubitare quod non habebitis victoriam. Scribatis mihi similiter nova et Valeatis cum gloria.

Datum ROMAЕ.

65

IX

¶ *MAGISTER PHILIPPUS SCHLAURAFF*
M. Ortino Gratio

SALUTEM sesquipedalem. Venerabilis Magister, sciatis quod accepi litteram vestram valde poeticaliter scriptam, sicut est Consuetudo vestra. Et scripsistis:

"Datum in Colonia, quando habuimus bona convivia:
 et viximus in hilaritate, et non curavimus de gravitate."

Et sic consideravi quod fuistis bene vinificatus, id est vino repletus, dicendo poeticaliter. Et credo quod fuistis ebrius quando scripsistis illud dictamen. Et scribitis mihi quod debeo vobis mittere illud Carmen quod compilavi de ambulatione mea hinc inde per Almaniam

⁵⁴ *curatum*: i.e. "a cure of souls," as opposed to a benefice involving no parochial duties.

⁶² *curta*: for *curia*. See Du Cange, s.v. *cortis*.

⁹ *vinif*: A nonce-word.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

quando visitavi universitates, habens mandatum a
 15 Theologis quod debui seminare favorem eorum contra
 Iohannem Reuchlin, et quomodo fui ibi tribulatus a
 poetis qui sunt hincinde. Faciam utique, sed vos[:]
 iterum debetis mihi aliquid mittere de vestris operibus.
 Et dedi huic nuncio quod portaret vobis. Etiam sciatis
 20 quod composui rithmice non attendens quantitates et
 pedes : quia videtur mihi quod sonat melius sic. Etiam
 ego non didici illam poetriam, nec curo. Valete ex
 Bruneck in Flandria.

¶ *Carmen Rithmicale magistri PHILIPPI
 25 SCHLAURAFF quod compilavit et comporta-
 vit, quando fuit Cursor in Theologia et ambulavit
 per totam Almania superiore :*

Christe deus omnipotens, in quem sperat omne Ens,
 Qui es deus deorum per omnia saecula saeculorum,
 30 Tu velis mihi esse propitius, quando tribulat me
 inimicus.

Mitte unum diabolum, qui ducat ad patibulum
 Poetas et iuristas, qui dederunt mihi vexas,
 Praesertim in Saxonia, ubi fui studens in loyca,
 35 Quam docuit me Sibutus, qui est in medicina inbutus,
 Et habet antiquam vetulam, quae vendit bonam
 Cerevisiam.

Tunc est ibi unus poeta, qui vocatur Balthasar de
 Facha,

40 Qui me tribulavit, quod mihi valde doloravit.
 Tunc Philippus Engentinus, qui non est vexator minus,
 Incepit unam guerram ; tunc quaesivi aliam terram,
 Et cogitavi bonam rem, ut ad Rostock irem,
 Ubi Hermannus Buschius mortificavit unum Car-
 45 minibus.

Tunc audiui in via, quod viget ibi pestilentia.
 Et ivi ad Gripswaldiam, quae habet modicam Com-
 paniam.

²³ *Brun.* : possibly Bruges. Cf. line 166.

³⁹ *Facha* : a friend of Luther, Melanchthon, and Spalatinus.

⁴¹ *Eugent.* : Philipp Engelbrecht von Engen, author of *Divi Lamberti*

Episcopi Traiectensis . . . Vita, Basle, 1519.

⁴⁷ *Gripsw.* : Greifswald, memorable to Ulr. v. Hutten for his ill-treatment by the Lötzes, recorded in his *Quereleu*.

Et sic abivi mox, quamvis fuit statim Nox.
 Et veni ad Francfurdiam, quae iacet apud Oderam : 50
 Ibi Hermannus Trebellius cum suis poematibus
 Multum me infamavit, et audacter blasphemavit ;
 Necnon duo Osthenii, qui sunt illius discipuli,
 Qui multis cognominibus vexabant me in Civibus :
 Do hiess mich die gantz statt “ das Colnisch Copulat,” 55
 Ita quod ambulavi in Austriam, ad meam malam
 fortunam :
 Quia Collimitius (veniat ei sanctus Anthonius)
 Fuit ibi Rector, et meus inimicator,
 Vocans me traditorem, et volens ponere ad Carcerem, 60
 Nisi fecisset Heckman. Sed Ioachim Vadian,
 Novum infortunium, porpter Pepercornum
 Mecum ibi incepit, quia eum vilipendit
 In sua defensione, quamvis cum magna ratione.
 Tunc dixi quod sum innocens, et rogavi eum flens, 65
 Quod vellet me dimittere ; tunc dixit ei tacite
 Rector bursae lilii, quod retineret me cum vi.
 Et dixit Cuspinianus, quem amat rex Maximilianus,
 Quod magistri in artibus sunt doctores in peccatis
 mortalibus. 70
 Tunc incepti inde transire, et ad Ingolstadt venire.
 Hic Philomusus habitat, et contra Theologos metri-
 ficat.
 Tunc timens eius furiam transivi ad Nurmbergam,
 Ubi quidam Pircckheymer, qui non est Magister, 75
 Fecit mihi instantiam : sed audiivi ibi clam,
 Quod cum multis sociis in partibus diversis
 Magna in Coniuratione vellet stare pro Capnione,
 Et contra nos Theologos facere multos libros.
 Et fuit mihi dictum, quod noviter unum librum 80
 Scripsit de usura, quam admittit Theologia,
 Sicut Bononiae est disputatum et per Magistros nos-
 tros probatum.
 Sic ivi post unum mensem ad universitatem Lipsensem :
 Ubi Richardus Crocus, qui dicitur esse Anglicus, 85
 Vidit me per viam, et dixit “ illam bestiam

⁵¹ *Treb.*: tutor of Ulrich von Hutten.

⁵³ *Osth.*: Joannes and Alexander von der Osthen, to whom Hutten dedicated his *Ars Versificatoria*.

⁵⁸ *S. Ant.*: i.e. S. Anthony's fire—erysipelas.

⁶² *porp.* *Sic*, in [D].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- Ego novi Coloniae." Respondi "noli dicere,
 Quia ego non sum." Tunc dixit ad suum socium
 "Iste pro Theologis est proditor Capnionis,
 90 Et est magnus pultronus." Quod dixi magistris in
 Artibus,
 Qui iuraverunt invicem accipere ei lectionem
 Ita quod in posterum non amplius haberet stipendium.
 Venit Mosellanus, dicens: "ille Beanus
 95 Deberet ad patibulum suspendi per suum collum."
 Et sic fui licentiatus et ad Erfordiam intentionatus,
 Ubi Aperbachius me incepit tribulare,
 Et Eobanus Hessus, qui nunquam fuit fessus
 Quaerere in plateis, ut percuterent me cum pugnīs;
 100 Et multum terribiliter vexavit me bis vel ter,
 Et dixit ad studentes: "frangatis ei dentes,
 Quia Theologicus et Reuchlin est inimicus."
 Tunc dixit Crotus Rubianus: "unde venit iste Beanus?
 Qui non est nobis notus." Dixi quod sum promotus.
 105 Respondit: "eatis utique." Tunc volui revertere
 Statim ad Coloniam, vadens per Buchoniam:
 Sed dixit quidam socius, quod Mutianus Ruffus
 Esset in itinere, et posset me percutere.
 Tunc ivi per Campaniam, et veni iterum in Misniam.
 110 Quod fuit ibi subito dictum Aesticampiano,
 Qui misit suos discipulos, qui traxerunt me cum
 crinibus.
 Et dixit Spalatinus, qui est eius vicinus,
 Quod etiam ex parte sua darent mihi verbera.
 115 Ergo satis percussus veni ad quodam Nemus,
 Ibi quidam diabolus, vel certe malus Angelus
 Sturnum ad me portavit, qui ubi cognovit,
 Dedit mihi alapani: tunc ivi ad Franconiam
 Ubi est fluvius Menus. Ibi Ulirichus Huttenus
 120 Iuravit levatis digitis, quod vellet me percutere virgis,
 Si vellem ibi stare: tunc cogitavi meum salutare,
 Vadens hinc in Sueviam, ad civitatem Augustam:
 Ibi Conradus Beutinger, cui non placet Brulifer,
 Noluit me permittere, quod possem hic quiescere.
 125 Tunc praeterivi Studgardiam, quia habet ibi stantiam
 Reuchlin ille haereticus, qui fuit mihi suspectus.
 Tunc ad Tubingam abii: hic sedent multi socii

¹¹⁵ quo.: for quoddam.

¹¹⁵ Nemus: the Erzgebirge.

Qui novos libros faciunt et Theologos vilipendunt :
 Quorum est vilissimus Philippus Melanchthonius,
 Sicut ego cognovi ; et igitur deo vovi, 130
 Si viderem illum mortuum, quod irem ad sanctum
 Iacobum.

Fuit et Bebelius, et Iohannes Brassicanus,
 Et Paulus Vereander, die schworen alle mit ein ander,
 Quod vellent me percutere, si non vellem recedere. 135

Sed quidam hic Theologus, cum nomine Franciscus,
 Sua cavisatione portavit me ex illa regione.
 Tunc cogitavi ire, et ab istis poetis venire,
 Et ivi ad unam patriam, quam dicunt Argentinam.
 Ibi in media via facta est una rebaldria, 140

Quia Nicolaus Gerbellius cum suis disputationibus
 Confudit me in populo, quod steti in magno scandalo.
 Venit Sebastianus Brant, der nam mich bei der hant,
 Dicens " mihi sequere : nos volumus navigare
 Ab hinc in Narragoniam propter tuam stulticiam." 145
 Et fuit ibi Schurerius, qui est pinguis socius ;
 Ipse me derisit, et dixit " herr, ir mussent mit
 Biss ins Schlauraffen landt : do seynt ir vast voll
 bekandt."

Collegi meam tunicam, et cepi inde fugam 150
 Pergens ad Sletstadium : cum vidi Wimphelingum,
 Qui habet unum pellicium, quod est bene impingu-
 atum,

Necnon Iacobum Spigel, qui dixit : " wo her, du
 daubengigel ? " 155

Respondi quod ex Suevia : tunc dixit quod sum bestia.
 Et ego fui Iratus : tunc dixit mihi Kirherus,
 Quod irem ad Athenas, et discerem graecas litteras.
 Et fuit etiam Sapidus cum multis suis scholaribus,
 Dans mihi disciplinam : tunc invocavi caelorum regi- 160
 nam.

Tunc exclamavit Storckius : " volvamus hunc de gradi-
 bus."

Respondit ei Phrygio : " parcamus sacerdotio."
 Venit Beatus Rhenanus, quaerens an sum Almanus. 165

¹³⁴ Vereander : i.e. Paulus Gere-
 ander, of Salzburg, to whom Melanch-
 thon dedicated his ed. of Terence.

¹³⁶ Francis : F. Stadianus, the
 friend and teacher of Melanchthon.

¹⁵⁷ Kirher. : Johann Kierher, Canon
 of Spire, a friend of Erasmus.

¹⁶⁴ Phryg. : Paulus Seidensticker, of
 Schlettstadt.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRO- RUM

Respondi "sum ex Flandria"; tunc statim duo verbera
Accepi super capite, quod vix potui audire.

Et ivi hinc ad Haganaw: do wurden mir die augen
blaw

170 Per te, Wolffgange Angst, Gott gib das du hangst,
Quia me cum baculo percusseras in oculo.

Accurrit autem Setzerius, qui est vix Baclarius,
Cum uno magno volumine percutiens me in latere,
Quod non habui spiritum: tunc oravi illum socium,

175 Quod facerem confessionem, quia haberem Contri-
tionem;

Sed ego in noctis medio surrexi de cubiculo
Et ivi ad Friburgiam, quaerens misericordiam:

Sed ibi multi nobiles, armati et horribiles,

180 Reuchlin defenderunt, et mihi mortem minaverunt;

Necnon unus vetulus, qui vocatur Zasius,
Ille antiquus iurista, quaesivit an sum Scotista?

Respondi "doctor sanctus est mihi autor summus":

Tunc fecit me risibilem, quod habui pudorem.

185 Et statim quidam Amorbach spricht "Ich wyl eyn
anders machen,

Und langent mir die brietschen her, so wil ich in eyn
newes lern."

Sic fui hinc fugatus, quia sum ad miseriam natus,

190 Et veni Basileam, ubi vidi quendam

Qui Erasmus dicitur, et multum honoratur.

Tum dixi "cum licentia, dicat vestra excellentia,

Si estis Magister nostrandus, vel statim qualificandus."

Respondit ipse "utique": tunc sivi eum stare.

195 Sed in domo Frobenii sunt multi pravi haeretici,

Necnon Glarianus, qui imposuit mihi manus

Percutiens in dorsum, et proiciens deorsum.

Et dixi "per tuam lauream: Fac mecum misericor-
diam."

200 Tunc ivi ad Naviculam abiens Wormaciam,

Ubi in hospicio cum Theobaldo medico

Fuit mihi lis, quia de Theologis

Dicebat multa scandala: tunc dixi cum modestia

¹⁷⁰ *Angst*: corrector of the press at the printing-office of Th. Aushelm, at Hagenau.

¹⁷² *Setzer*: Johann S., printer, of Hagenau.

¹⁹⁵ *Froben*: "Frequens eruditorum sodalitas quae tum versabatur in aedibus Frobenii." Erasmus, *Spongia*.

²⁰¹ *Theo*: the T. Fettingh of ii. 12.

"Vos estis homo stolidus": Et statim unus Caseus
 Stetit mihi in capite; et sic recessi cum vulnere 205
 Usque ad Moguntiam, ubi mihi gratiam
 Fecit praedicator Bartholomaeus decimator,
 Dans mihi hospitium et iurans per deum vivum,
 Si ivissem ad Coronam, quod acceperis vexationem
 bonam, 210
 Quia ibi commensales sunt valde nequitiales,
 Nicolaus Carbachius qui legens pro scholaribus
 Exponit Titum Livium: tunc reperi Huttichium,
 Qui ex antiquo odio percussit me cum scamno,
 Quod feci unum bombum: tunc dedit mihi pugnum 215
 Doctor Conrat Weydmann: ich sprach "wie sal ich das
 vorstan?"
 Tunc trusit me Io. konigsteyn, quod cecidi de gradi-
 bus.
 Et sic post hoc periculum contuli me ad Rhenum, 220
 Ubi cum ambulavi, visus est mihi in navi
 Doctor Thomas Murner, ordinis minorum Frater,
 Qui dixit "nisi parcerem propter meam dignitatem,
 Statim coram omnibus iaceres hic in fluctibus."
 Respondi "quare hoc?" Tunc dixit "Schweyg, du 225
 holtzbock:
 Es leygt mir noch im sin, quod fecisti Doctor Reuch-
 lin."
 Sic ivi ad Coloniam, et inveni bonam companiam,
 Quamvis mihi Buschius cum suis auditoribus 230
 Et Iohannes Caesarius, qui legit ibi Plinius,
 Facerent instantias: quia non curavi has,
 Sed steti cum Theologis, et vixi in laetitiis,
 Und gab nit ein har auff den grafen von newen Ar,
 Quamvis sit poeticus: quia Pepercornus 235
 In suis dictaminibus dicit de nobilibus,
 Quod quamvis sunt clari, non possunt excusari,
 Et debent sibi solvere pro sua Obscuritate.
 Et sic est finis: propter honorem Universitatis.

[The majority of the personal names in ii. 9 occur in other Epp., and are there referred to in the notes. It has not been thought necessary to give cross-references for these, but the Index may be consulted.]

²⁰⁴ *Caseus*: i.e. his head swelled to the size of a cheese.

²¹⁸ *Konigs*: unknown.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

X

❧ M. NOSTER BARTHOLOMAEUS KUCKUK, M. O.

- S**ALUTES innumerabiles cum summa veneratione a parte ante. Venerabilis Magister, non facto prae-
 5 ambulo, aut multo circuitu verborum habetis scire sicut nuper scripsistis mihi quod deberem vobis notificare qualiter negocium in causa fidei stat hic. Sciatis quod bene stat, sed nūdū exivit Sententia diffinitiva. Et est hic unus Iurista qui vocatur Martinus Gronigen, Doctor
 10 Senensis, ut ipse dicit, satis praetensus et superbus. Ipse debet latinisare Speculum oculare, et est valde praesumptuosus, quia cupit videri. Aliqui laudant eum, et quaesivi nuper ex eis: "Quid plus scit quam alius?" Tunc dixerunt, quod habet bonam notitiam in graeco.
 15 Et sic videtis quod non est curandum de eo, Quia graecum non est de essentia Sacrae scripturae. Et credo quod non scit unum punctum in libris Sententiarum. Nec ipse posset mihi formare unum Syllogismum in Baroco aut Celarent, quia non est logicus.
 20 Ipse nuper vocavit me asinum: et dixi ei: "si es ita audax, tunc disputa mecum": et tibiavi eum audacter. Et tacuit. Tunc ulterius vexando eum dixi "Ego arguo quod tu sis asinus: Primo sic: Quicquid portat onera, est asinus: tu portas onera: ergo es asinus."
 25 Minorem probo, quia tu portas istum librum. Et fuit verum, quia ipse portavit unum librum quem dedit Iacobus de Questenberg ad studendum intus contra M. N: Iacobum de Hochstraten. Tunc non fuit ita prudens quod negaret mihi Maiorem, quia non potuissem

⁹ Gronigen: Martin Gröning, a native of Bremen, and Doctor of Laws of Sinigaglia, translated the *Augenspiegel* into Latin, on behalf of Reuchlin, and proved the version presented by Hoogstraten to the Curia false in many passages. See, Caesarius to Erasmus, Cologne, July 30, 1517. [Ep. MDCXX.]

²⁵ librum. S. Athanasius in librum Psalmorum nuper a Ioanne Reuchlin

integre translatus, Tübingen, 1515, was dedicated to Questenberg, and is probably the book alluded to.

²⁷ Quest.: Jacob Aurelius von Q., a native of Freiburg, in Saxony, the Pope's private secretary, had been Reuchlin's firm friend ever since they had made acquaintance in Italy in 1492. See F. Gueldner, *Jakob Questenberg, ein deutscher Humanist in Rom.*, Wernigoroode, 1905. See also ii. 28, n.

probare : sed bene scivi quod nihil scit in logica. Dixi 30
 ergo ad eum "Domine doctor, Vos vultis vos intro-
 mittere in negotio Theologorum, quod non est in
 facultate vestra : Ego suaderem vobis quod dimitteretis,
 quia vos non intelligitis materiam istam : alias potestis
 venire ad damnum, Quia Theologi non volunt quod 35
 Iuristae debent tractare causas fidei." Et statim ille
 iratus dixit "Ego non solum intelligo istam materiam,
 Sed etiam video quod tu es una maledicta bestia."
 Tunc fui etiam commotus et surrexi : et fuit inter nos
 magna rixa in die illa. Dixitque mihi M. N. Petrus 40
 Meyer plebanus Franckfordiensis "Eamus ad hospitium
 pro comedere, quia est tempus ad prandium ; permittatis
 stare istum bonum virum, quia non intelligit fetā sua :
 ipse adhuc deberet ire ad scholas desuper" : sed debetis
 scire, M. Ortvine, quod volumus pulcherrime vindicare 45
 istam iniuriam : ipse est studens Colo. et stetit in bursa
 montis, quod ego pro certo scio : ergo faciat quod
 universitas citat eum : tunc volumus eum declarare
 periurum, quia est in matriculat⁹ in matricula univer-
 sitatis et fecit iuramentum quod vult procurare bonum 50
 universitatis. Sed nunc stat cum I. R. contra universi-
 tatem. Et rogo quod velitis hoc statim facere, et
 mittatis mihi librum I. P. qui intitulatur "Defensio
 I. P. contra famosas." Ego vidi nuper unum socium
 portare huc, et vellem ita libenter habere quod cor dolet 55
 mihi inde, quia talis liber habet multas propositiones
 subtiles. Dominus deus [noster in aeterna gloria] det
 vobis salutem et pacem. Amen.

XI

❧ IODOCUS SARTORIS M. Ortvino Gratia

SALUTEM sempiternam et novum annum cum
 bona fortuna sicut est in mundo, et plus si est
 possibile, opto vestrae dominationi, quae debet scire

⁴¹ Meyer. See i. 48.

⁴¹ hospitium; the "Bell" Inn, in the Campo dei Fiori, frequented by Germans.

⁵⁷ Words in brackets are omitted in D.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

5 quod adhuc bene succedit mihi de gratia dei, qui tribuit
mihi misericordiam suam, et sicut dicit Psalmista,
“Exaudivit dominus deprecationem meā dñs orationem
meam suscepit.” Quia oro cotidie pro peccatis meis,
et peto quod dominus noster Iesus Christus velit mihi
10 custodire animam et corpus. Sed tamen magis animam
Quia corpus est pulvis: et sicut dicit sacra scriptura,
“Pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris”: etiā spero quod
non male succedit vobis Quia quando unus habet istam
gratiam a deo quod semper paenitet de peccatis suis, et
15 orat devote orationes suas, etiam si non saepe ieiunat,
tunc dominus deus non vult quod male succedit ei.
Ego scio quod habet is bonam Conscientiam, et semper
estis in studio volens procurare bonum ecclesiae. Quia
scio bene quomodo nuper scripsistis unum librum contra
20 quendam haeticum I. Reuchlin et fuit ita magistraliter
compilatus quod habui admirationem exinde. Et dixi
ad unum cursorem de ordine praedicatorum qui circum-
portavit talem librum: “Ego credo quod iste homo
habet duo capita, quod potest ita scientifice praticare
25 unam rem.” Sed intellexi etiam ab illo Cursore,
quod scribitis commentum super librum Magistri nostri
Arnoldi de Tungari quem articulatim composuit de pro-
positionibus haetricalibus Speculi Ocularis. Mittatis
mihi quando est perfectum tale Commentum. Quia
30 scio quod proculdubio erit mirabile, exponens omnia
argumenta, et notabilia et propositiones Et Cōclusiōes
et corolaria, quae pauci bene intelligunt, quia ille
Magister noster est nimis subtilis in scriptis suis, sicut
communiter Albertistae in via sua. Sed non debetis
35 mihi pro malo habere quod laudo Albertistas, cum vos
estis Thomista, quia non est magna differentia, Et
multum concordant in aliquibus. Sed doctor sanctus
est profundior, et hoc habet ex speciali inspiratione
Spiritussancti: quapropter etiam dicitur Doctor sanctus,
40 quamvis Reuchlin non vocat eum sic in suis scripturis,
et propterea est haeticus et maneat in nomine diaboli.

⁶ *Psal.*: vi. 10.

¹¹ *script.*: Gen. iii. 19.

¹⁹ *librum*: i.e. the book, publ. in 1514, s. l., usually known as the *Praenotamenta Ortwini Gratii*, directed against the *Augenspiegel*.

²⁷ *Arnoldi*: the *Articuli sive Propositiones . . . ex libello . . . Joannis Reuchlin . . . extractae. Cum annotationibus . . . Arnoldi de Tungari . . .* Aug. 28, 1512, s. l.

³⁴ *Albert.*: i. 13, n.

Ego nuper fui iratus super unum Iuristam qui defendit eum, Et scripsi unum carmen metricum contra eum. Etenim soleo poeticare etiam, quando sum solus, ex Arte metrificandi Bebelii quae est multum subtilis. 45
Est autem hoc Carmen.

Astripotenti dei Mater venerabilis Christi,
Da precibus famuli aures benignas tui :
Qui te orat, Maria, pro sancta Theologia,
Contra quam scribit Reuchlin Iurista malus, 50
Non clarificatus nec desuper illuminatus,
Qualiter esse debet qui vult placere tibi.
Ergo tuum natum memento habere rogatum,
Ut subvenire velit huic faculatati suae.

Et est Elegiacum et scanditur sicut primum metrum in 55
Boetio Incipiēs, “Carmina qui quondam [studio, etc.]”
Sed nuncius non dixit mihi quod vult ita cito recedere,
alias volui vobis misisse plura metra : q̄ scripsi pro
defensione ecclesiae et fidei. Ergo cogitate quod mit-
tatis mihi tale commentum a vobis practicatum. Tunc 60
iterum volo aliquid novi mittere. Valet raptim
faustim zelose Datum Olmuntz in Moravia.

XII

☞ *MAGISTER WILHELMUS LAMP artium*
Magister M. Ortvino Gratio Salutem

REVERENDE Vir, secundum quod dixistis et
Romam, debeo vobis scribere quomodo transivit mihi 5

⁴⁵ *Bebel.*: Heinrich Bebel, 1472–1516, humanist. Laureated by Maximilian in 1501. Author of *Ars versificandi, Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum . . . contra Epistolandi modos Pontii, Triumphus Veneris, &c.* See G. W. Zapf, *Heinrich Bebel nach seinem Leben und Schriften*, Augsburg, 1802, and W. Scherer, *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, i. 268 (1886).

⁵⁶ *Boetio. De Consol. Philosophiae*:—

“Carmina qui quondam studio flo-
rente peregi,
Flebilis, heu, maestos cogor inire
modos.”

⁵⁸ D. omits words in brackets.

⁵⁹ *cogitate*: “mind.”

⁶² *Olmuntz*: Olmütz, on the March, ceased to be the capital of Moravia in 1640.

¹ *Mag.*: L. was “Magister” par excellence, i.e. in theology, as well as M.A. Ep. ii. 35 is also his.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

in via per omnia et quomodo sto quoad sanitatem corporis Sciatis quod de gratia dei adhuc sum sanus, et vellem etiam de vobis libenter audire quod estis sanus. Sed spero, si vult dominus deus, quod estis
10 sanus. Et facio vobis notum qualiter statim quando veni ad Maguntiam in hospitium Coronae, tunc inveni ibi quosdam viros qui loquebantur de Causa fidei, et erant pro Doctore Reuchlin, et quando viderunt quod ego sum Coloniensis, adhuc magis loquebantur et
15 fecerunt mihi in despectum. Et laudaverunt Iohannem Reuchlin et parvipenderunt Magistros nostros in Colonia et dixerunt quod essent vespertilioes qui nihil habent agere in luce, sed volant in tenebris, et tractant Obscuritates. Tunc ego dixi "Audiatur pars altera," et
20 alligavi Flores legum. Et ipsi inceperunt me irritare multis malis verbis, quod dixi: "Quod mihi cum Reuchlin? Permittatis me comedere pro pecunia mea." Et potestis dicere "domine Wilhelme, vos debuissetis perseverasse et audacter respondisse ipsis." Sciatis
25 quod non est faciendum in isto loco. Et audiavi quod nuper unus in isto hospitio fuit percussus cum uno scamno, quod defendit M. nostrum Iacobum de Hochstraten. Quia isti socii qui vadunt ibi ad mensam, sunt valde terribiles, et habent gladios et spados: et
30 unus ex eis est Comes et est longus vir et habet albos Crines. Ipsi dicunt quod accipit cum manibus suis unum virum armatum et iactat eum ad terram. Et habet gladium ita longum sicut gigas. Quando vidi eum, tunc tacui et permisi eos loqui. Sed cogitavi
35 quod vellem vobis scribere, sed protunc non statim habui nuncium. Sed quando veni ad Wormatiam, intravimus ad unum hospitium, ubi sunt multi doctores, qui sunt assessores in Iudicio Camerae. Ibi dicebant

²⁰ *Flor. leg.*: Flores legum aut Congeries auctoritatum juris civilis secundum ordinem Alphabeti . . . Argen. Anno MCCCXCVI.

²⁷ *scamno*. Cf. ii. 9.

²⁹ *spados*: broad-swords; Lat. *spatha*; Gk. *σπάθη*; cogn. with "spade."

³⁰ *Comes*. This gigantic and white-haired count has not been identified.

³⁸ *Camerae*. The *Reichskammergericht*, or Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of a president and sixteen assessors, was first set up in 1495, on the proposal of Berthold, Abbp. of Mainz; it soon ceased to meet, but was revived at the Diet of Constance, 1507, and after many wanderings finally settled down at Wetzlar. See also J. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 1904, p. 361.

mirabilia contra Theologos. Et audiui quod citaverunt Iohannem Pfefferkorn propter Storniglock. Et dixit unus: "vos videbitis quod adhuc in paucis annis auferuntur isti Magistri nostri et non erunt amplius." Tunc dixi: "Quis tunc praedicabit vobis et docebit in fide Catholica?" Respondit ille: "Hoc faciunt docti Theologi, qui intelligunt scripturas, sicut Erasmus Roterodamus, Paulus Ricius, Iohannes Reuchlin et alii." Tunc tacit et cogitavi mecum "Stultus stulta loquitur." Et sedit unus in mensa nomine Theobaldus Fettich, qui pronunc est Doctor Medicinae, et cognovi eum, quia olim stetit Coloniae in bursa montis: ipse multo plura dixit quam alii. Et dixi ei: "Vos debetis recordare quod fecistis Iuramentum Rectori et Universitati Coloniensi." Respondit quod merdaret super nos omnes. Sed transeant illa. Postea quando exivimus Wormaciam, venerunt quidam viri terribiles in equis, habentes balista cum telis et volentes nos sagittare. Tunc socius meus clamavit "Iesus, Iesus." Et ego habens bonum cor dixi quod non debet ita clamare, et dixi ad illos viros "Domini gratiosi, nolite sagittare nos, quia non sumus induti cum armis, et non sumus inimici vestri, sed sumus clerici, et tendimus Romam pro beneficiis." Tunc unus dixit: "Quid ego curo beneficia? Detis mihi pecuniam et sociis meis quod habemus bibalia, vel diabolus debet vos confundere." Tunc si volumus venire de ipsis, oportet quod dedimus ipsis .II. florenos. Et ego dixi occulte: "Bibite quod diabolus benedicat vobis." Et postea socius meus dixit: "Quis vobis videtur, volumus illos citare ad Curiam Romanam?" tunc dixi quod non est possibile, quia non scimus nomina ipsorum. Deinde per multam merdam Iuim⁷ ad Augustam, et valde

⁴⁰ *Storniglock*. See Intro.

⁴⁶ *Ricius*: Paulus Ricius, a converted Jew. He was acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Erasmus eulogises his learning, zeal, and modest bearing (Erasm., *Epp. L. B.*, 1706, col. 191). R. was appointed physician to the Emperor Maximilian in 1518; lectured on philosophy at Pavia, and translated a work on the Cabbala (*The Gates of Light*) into Latin: to this work

Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin were indebted. See Gesner, *Biblioth. Univ.*, f. 539; and Wolfius, *Biblioth. Hebr.*, ii. p. 1058.

⁴⁹ *Fettich*. Cf. *Theobaldus medicus*, ii. 9.

⁵⁵ *virii terr.*: Franz von Sickingen's men; his "war" with Worms lasted from 1515 to 1518.

⁶⁴ *bibalia*: for "bibilia," *trink-gelt*.

⁷¹ *Augusta*: A. Vindellicorum (Augsburg).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

pluit. Et etiā ita ninxit quod non potuimus aperire oculos nostros. Tunc dixit socius meus "o diabole, quomodo friget me. Si essem adhuc Coloniae, ego non vellem ire ad Curiam Romanam." Et ego risi. In hospitio autem erat una pulchra virgo; et de nocte fecerunt choream, et socius meus chorisavit etiam: Et dixi ei quod non deberet facere: Quia iam est Magister, et non deberet exercere istas levitates. Sed ipse non curavit. Et dixit mihi: "Si illa virgo vellet mecum dormire per unam noctem Ego vellem de merda eius comedere unam libram." Et non potui amplius audire, sed allegavi Ecclesiastes .I.: "Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas," et ivi dormitum. De mane venimus ad Lanszpergk, ubi socius meus supposuit ancillam hospitis per noctem. Et de mane quando exivimus hospitium, tunc equus suus claudicavit, et dixi: "supponatis amplius ancillas;" sed unus faber iuvavit ei. Et postea venimus ad Schangaw, ubi emimus pulchra specula. Deinde ivimus versus Ispruck. Tunc fuit ita mala via quod Equi non potuerunt ire; et fuit ita profunda merda quod transivit Equis ad ventres superius. Et sic post multas tribulationes venimus Isprucken, ubi fuit dominus Imperator et eius vasalli et Curiales et satrapae et milites et armigeri, habentes vestes sericas et catenas aureas in collibus suis. Et aliqui fuerunt terribiles cum barbis et birretis scissis militariter. Et timui comedere in hospitio, quia audivi unum dicentem: Si esset Imperator, ipse vellet suspendere omnes Curtisanos, quia vadunt Romam et discunt nequitias. "Ibi etiam decipiunt se invicem pro beneficiis, et vexant alios beneficiatos in Almaniam, et faciunt quod pecunia venit ad Romam de Almaniam:" Et sic vidi quod isti Curiales non curant deum neque homines: et ergo

⁷² *ninxit*: Hutten's journey to Rome, 1515, took place late in the autumn.

⁸⁵ *Lans.*: Landsberg, on the Lech.

⁸⁷ *claudic.*: "sie hat ein Hufeisen verloren"—"she has cast a shoe"—is still said of a girl who has lost her honour.

⁸⁹ *Schang.*: Schongau, on the Lech.

⁹⁴ *Isp.*: where stands, in the Hof-

kirche, the splendid cenotaph of Maximilian.

⁹⁵ *satrap.* Cf. :—

"Cum simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos Ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas."

Milton, *In Proditionem Bombardicam*.

⁹⁶ *collibus*: for *collis*.

¹⁰³ *pecunia*. Cf. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 53.

peribunt sicut pulvis a facie venti. Postea transivimus 105
per unum montem qui fuit plenus nive et est ita altus,
quod credo quod transit ad medium Caeli. Et fuit ita
magnum frigus super illum montem, quod putavi
habere febrem, et cogitavi de stufa mea Coloniae.
Dixit autem socius meus: "O si haberem pellicium 110
meum." Tunc dixit ei: "Vos semper queritis de
frigiditate quando estis in Campo; Et quando venitis
ad hospitium, [tunc] vultis supponere. Non scitis quod
coitus etiam infrigidat?" Respondit ipse quod non
videtur sibi quod Infrigidat, sed calefacit. Et debetis 115
scire, Magister Ortvine, quod in vita mea non vidi
unum hominem Ita luxuriosum: Semper quando intra-
vimus unum hospitium, tunc primum verbum fuit ad
famulum hospitis: "O famule, non habemus aliquid
pro genibus? [Datulus meus stat michi ita dure; ego 120
scio quod vellem cum eo nuces supra percutere.]"
Deinde venimus ad Tridentum. Et parcat mihi
dominus, et vos etiam non habeatis mihi pro malo,
quod scribo vobis veritatem. Quia ibi etiam semel
purgavi renes vadens occulte ad prostibulum. Sed 125
postea de nocte oravi horas de beata virgine pro
peccato illo. Fuerunt ibi multae gentes, volentes ire
ad Veronam, et facere ibi mirabilia. Et dicebantur
nobis grandia, quomodo Imperator velit captivare
Venetiam. Et vidimus bombardas et alia multa qualia 130
non vidi in diebus vitae meae. Et una Sabbatorum
venimus ad Veronam. Illa est pulchra Civitas habens
muros, castra et fortalitia. Et vidimus ibi domum
Ditheri de Bern, ubi ipse habitavit. Et ibi superavit
et mortificavit multos gigantes qui bellaverunt cum 135
ipso. Postea volentes procedere, diu non potuimus
propter metum Venetianorum, quia dicebatur quod
essent in campo. Et fuit verum. Quia postea apud
Mantuum audivimus eos bombardare, quia iacebant
ante Brixiam. Et dixit socius meus: "Hic natus fuit 140

¹⁰⁶ *montem*: the Brenner Pass.

¹²² *Trid.*: Trient (Trent).

¹³⁴ *Dith.*: Dietrich von Bern, *i.e.* Theoderic the Great, King of the Goths, as represented in German legend: *von Bern* = "of Verona." The amphitheatre at V. has been ascribed to him. He enters, mythi-

cally, into many Middle High German poems, including the *Nibelungenlied*. See H. Bradley, *The Goths*, 1887, chaps. xv.-xix.

¹⁴⁰ *Brixiam*: Brescia.

¹⁴⁰ *hic*: *i.e.* at Andes, near Mantua, B.C. 70.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Virgilius." Respondi: "Quid curo illum paganum? Nos volumus ire ad Carmilitas et videre Bapstita Matuanū qui in duplo est melior quam Virgilius, sicut ego audivi bene decies ab Ortino." Et dixi ei, Quomodo
145 semel reprehendistis Donatum, quando dicit: "Doctissimus poetarum fuit Virgilius vel optimus plebis." Et dixistis "Sed esset Donatus hic, ego vellem ei in faciem dicere quod mentitur: quia Baptista Mantuanus est super Virgilium." Et quando venimus ad claustrum
150 Carmelitarum, dicebatur nobis quod Baptista Mantuanus est mortuus. Tunc dixi "Requiescat in pace." Deinde venimus ad Bononiam, ubi fuit Sanctissimus et etiam rex Franciae. Ibi audivimus missam Papalem, et accepimus multas indulgentias pro omnibus peccatis,
155 tam venialibus quam mortalibus, et fecimus confessionem. Tunc fuit ibi Reverendus pater frater Iacobus de Hochstraten Magister noster et inquisitor haereticae pravitatis. Et ego videns eum dixi: "O pater reverende, quid excellentia vestra facit hic? Ego putavi quod
160 estis Romae." Tunc dedi ei lras vestras et lras Magistri nostri Arnoldi de Tungari: Tunc respondit mihi quod vult impetrare per regem Franciae, quod Reuchlin debet declarari haeticus: Et speculum Oculare debet comburi. Interrogavi autem eum: "Intelligit tunc etiam Rex istam materiam?" Respondit:
165 "Licet ipse non intelligit per se, tamen Theologi in Parrisia instruxerunt eum. Et confessor suus Wilhelmus Parvi, qui est vir zelosus, dixit ei in confessione quod non vult eum absolvere nisi vult facere
170 cum Papa quod Reuchlin declarabitur haeticus." Et gavisus sum valde et dixi "det dominus deus quod fiat secundum verba vestra." Et inveni ibi multos Curtisanos mihi notos, et invitavi eos ad hospitium.

¹⁴² *Baptistam Mantuanum*: Ioannes Baptista Hispaniolus (Spagnoli), 1488-1516, a native of Mantua; at an early age he joined the Order of Carmelites, and rose to be the head of that body. Baptista, who is said to have left 55,000 verses, is extravagantly eulogised by Trithemius (*Ser. Eccl.*, p. 387): "Vir in divinis scripturis eruditissimus et in secularium literarum scientia nulli secundus . . .

philosophus insignis, poeta et orator celeberrimus . . . Latinae linguae decus, et Graecae clarus interpres, metro excellens et prosa." His works were published at Paris in 1513.

¹⁵² *Bononiam*: Bologna.

¹⁵² *Sanct. et rex*. This meeting of Leo X. and François I. took place, however, in Dec. 1515, and before the death of Bapt. Mant.

¹⁶⁷ *Willh. Parc.*: i. 35, n.

Deinde ivimus ad Florentiam, q̄ est ita pulchra Civitas
 sicut est in mundo. Et postea Senam, ubi est uni- 175
 versitas, sed sunt pauci Theologi. Postea sunt parvae
 Civitates, et una vocatur Monteflascon: Ibi bibimus
 optimum vinum, quale non bibi in vita mea: et inter-
 rogavi hospitem quomodo vocatur illud vinum? Re-
 spondit quod est lachryma Christi. Tunc dixit socius 180
 meus: "utinam Christus vellet etiam flere in patria
 nostra." Et sic bibimus bonam positionem. Et post
 duos dies intravimus Romam. Laudetur deus qui
 liberavit nos de multis tribulationibus quae sunt in
 tota via, necnon in mala Scarparia. Sed nunc in Curia 185
 non intellexi aliqua nova, nisi quod vidi hic unum
 Animal bene ita magnum sicut quatuor equi, et habet
 rostrum ita longum sicut ego, et est mirabilis cteatura:
 Quādo vidi, tunc dixi: "Mirabilis deus in operibus
 suis." Ego vellem dare unum florenum quod videre 190
 deberetis illam bestiam. Sed credo per deum quod
 satis bene expedivi me scribendo. Vos similiter faciatis,
 Alias nunquam vobis scribam. Et valete saniter.
 Datum raptim Romanae Curiae.

XIII

¶ THOMAS KLORBIUS *humilis Theologiae*
doctor M. Ortvino Salutem

QUA scriptum est "vexatio dat intellectum":
 Ergo non debetis mihi habere pro malo quod modi-
 cum teneo vobis oppositum, cum Ego facio in bonam 5
 partem. Vos nuper scripsistis in uno dictamine de
 uno Magistro nostro, quod est valde doctus, et est

¹⁷⁷ *Monteflasc.* Montefiascone, how-
 ever, produces Muscat wine, and not
 Lac. Christ., which is a product of
 the slopes of Vesuvius.

¹⁸² *posit.*: for *Ger. Satz*; not an
 error for *potiouem*.

¹⁸⁷ *Animal*: ii. 48, n. For a full
 account of this famous elephant, see
 L. Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. vii.
 p. 75 (1908).

¹⁸⁸ *ctea.*: for *creatura*.

¹ *Klorbius.* Allusion unknown.

¹ *Theol. doct.* An unusual title,
 only met with here and in Ep. ii. 18.

³ *vexatio.* The Vulgate has "et
 tantummodo sola vexatio intellectum
 dabit auditui," rendered in the Douay
 version, "vexation alone shall make
 you understand what you hear." Is.
 xxviii. 19. Cf. A. V.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Doctor multorum annorum, et est profundus Scotista, et est valde cursivus in libris Sententiarum. Etiam scit
 10 mentetenus totum librum Doctoris sancti de Ente et Essentia. Et Fortalitium fidei est ei sicut Pater noster; et per artem memorativam Impressit sibi formalitates Scoti sicut ceram. Et ultimo scribitis quod est membrum decem universitatum. Parcat
 15 mihi, vos estis incongruus. Quia unum membrum non potest habere plura corpora: sed per contrarium unum corpus bene habet plura membra. Quia corpus humanum habet Caput, pedes, manus, brachia, ventrem, priapum, vel vulvam si est mulier. Et pes
 20 est membrum hominis, et caput est membrum hominis etc. Et totum Corpus hominis habet sub se illa membra, et illa membra subsunt huic Corpori, sicut species suo generi. Sed nullum istorum membrorum habet sub se plura Corpora.

25 Sed si velitis dicere quod talis Magister noster est Corpus decem universitatum, iterum ego vellem reprehendere vos. Quia ibi putaret aliquis, quod decem Universitates essent membra illius magistri nostri, et quod ipse constaret ex decem universitatibus; quo
 30 posito fuerit scandalum illis X universitatibus et ipse minorarentur exinde: cum unus homo (quia etiam magistri nostri, sicut scitis, sunt homines) diceretur esse dignior tot universitatibus: quod est Casus impossibilis, quia etiam Doctor sanctus non est plus quam X
 35 Universitates.

Quomodo ergo volumus emendare, quod dicimus recte? Advertatis, quia est quaestio multum difficilis. Et quamvis pertinet ad grammaticalia, tamen etiam plures Magistri nostri non sciunt.

⁹ *cursivus*. Not in the vocabularies in this sense, but Du Cange gives "*Cursiva Italica*," s.v. "*Scriptura*." Cf. ii. 55.

⁹ *Lib. Sent.* See i. 11, n.

¹⁰ *Doct. sanct.*: i.e. Thomas Aquinas. His *Tractatus de Ente et Essentia* had been printed several times before 1517.

¹¹ *Fort. fid.* See i. 22, n. By Alphonsus a Spina, Bp. of Orense. "*Fortalicium fidei contra iudeos*,

Saracenos, Aliosque christiane fidei inimicos."

¹³ *form. Scoti. Questiones Miscell. de Formalitatibus*, attributed to the "*Subtle Doctor*." See Wadding's edn. of Duns Scotus, vol. iii., 1639.

¹³ *ceram*: an amusing blunder for *cerae*.

¹⁴ *decem univ.* Cf. i. 11, n.

¹⁵ *incongruus*. "*Oratio . . . incongrua est quae non est conformis est regulis nec figuris permissivis*." *Reg. cong. et fig. construct.* (1505).

Ille ergo qui est inmatriculatus in decem universita-⁴⁰
tibus, etiam ad tempus studuit in eis, audiens lectiones,
et servans statuta, facto etiam et servato juramento,
exhibens honorem Magistris et doctoribus, potest
dicere: "Ego sum membra decem Universitatum," et
non "membrum."⁴⁵

Et non est Oratio incongrua, quamvis sit ibi dis-
conientia in numero. Quia fit ibi appositio, sicut in
Virgilio:

"Formosum pastor Coridon ardebat Alexem,
Delitias domini."

50

Quia ibi etiam Alexis, qui est solum unus rusticus,
dicitur esse delitiae per Appositionē.

Et credatis mihi quod est una subtilitas valde nota-
bilis. Ego didici quando steti Leuoniae, et nondum fui
bacularius, quando haec materia fuit disputata per quator⁵⁵
dies. Non habeatis pro indignatione, quia ex bono
scripsi vobis et Valete.

Datum CONFLUENTIAE.

XIV

❧ *M. OTHO HEMERLIN Magistro*
Ortvino Gratia

SALUTIS maximam Copiam. Venerabilis Magister,
dominatio vestra magnam gratiam fecit mihi mit-
tendo illum notabilem librum Iohannis Pfefferkorn,⁵
qui intitulatur "Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra
famosas." Ego non possum admirari satis, quod sic
notabiliter et excellenter ille vir reprehendit Iohannem
Reuchlin. Et dixi quando legi: "Iste Reuchlin deberet
libenter esse mortuus." Sed plabanus quidam existens¹⁰
bonus Reuchlinista, semper opponit mihi Arguens a
maiori ad minus. Et heri ante vespas quando ivi
secum spaciatum, haec verba exiverunt ab ore suo: "Si
Theologi non obtinuerunt contra Reuchlin in Almaniam,
multo minus obtinebunt in Curia Romana, quia in¹⁵
Italia sunt doctissimi viri, et statim intelligent stul-

⁴⁸ *Virg.*: Eclog. ii. 1.

⁴⁹ *Leu.*: for *Lovaniae*.

⁵ *Hemerlin.* See ii. 70.

¹⁰ *plab.* *Sic*, in [D].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

titiam et Vanitatē Theologorum, Quia Romae non curantur tales frascariae.” Et etiam dixit: “Quale signum est hoc? quod Theologi non audent nominibus propriis scribere contra Iohannem Reuchlin et cohaerentes, sed subordinant unum bufonem qui neque honorem neque bona habet perdere, et huic adscribunt libros?” Tunc respondi ego: “Pfefferkorn quidem composuit materiam, sed M. Or. postea latinisavit.”

25 Dixit plebanus: “Bene scio quod Ortvinus cōpusuit hoc latinum, quia statim cognovi stilum suum; etiam scio quod ipse Ortvinus est de bona progenie, scilicet sacerdotali. Sed dicatis mihi unum: Vos habetis fateri quod Pfefferkorn non scit Alphabetum latinum. Et si

30 non scit alphabetum, multo nimis [minus] scit legere. Et si non scit legere, multo minus scit intelligere. Et si non intelligere, multo minus scit scribere et componere. Et si non scit legere neque intelligere neque scribere, multo minus scit disputare de istis quaestionibus quas nemo potest sapere nisi sit profundissimus

35 litteratus. Quomodo ergo est possibile quod ipse composuit hanc materiam vel latine vel teutonice vel hebraice? Respondi quod videtur mihi quod Pfefferkorn habet ita illuminatum Intellectū: et ita saepe

40 audivit istam materiam quod adiuvante deo et ex instinctu spiritussancti bene potest disputare desuper. Et causa illa est ita facilis, quod Reuchlin posset vinci in ea etiam per uxorem Pfefferkorns.” Dixit plebanus: “Verum est hoc. Quia credo quod uxorem Iohannis

45 Pfefferkorn non vincerent quinque Iuvenes quadrati rustici ex Westphalia, multo minus Iohannes Reuchlin, qui est senex et debilis et per Consequens impotens, poterit eam vincere. Sed miror quod Sanctissimus dominus Papa et etiam Imperator noster permittunt

50 tanta scandala fieri per istum Iudaicum bufonem, quod debet stare in loco sacro et praedicare populo et dare benedictionem. Et facere talia, quae si faceret unus laycus qui fuisset semper Christianus, tamen nihil boni deberemus suspicari de Eo: multo minus de Iudaeo

²⁴ materiam: i.e. the *Beschrymung* Johannes Pfefferkorn, 1516.

²⁵ cōpu.: for composuit.

⁴³ per ux. This boast occurs in the *Defensio*.

⁵¹ in loco sacro. P. in his *Defensio* pleads that he did not preach “pontificaliter,” but merely exhorted the Jews, at Frankfurt, standing outside the church.

baptizato, qui non debet probari quod fuerit bonus 55
 Christianus, nisi post mortem. Et si non deberent hoc
 pati, multo minus deberent pati quod ipse intromit-
 teret se in disputationes Doctissimorum virorum : Et
 scandalizaret honestissimos viros. Ipsi deberet suspendi
 cum libris et scandalis suis, sicut diu meruit." Respondi 60
 quod praedicatio Iohannis Pfeffercorn non fuit ponti-
 ficalis, sed fuit laycalis et simplex instructio. Sed de
 libris eius manifestum est quod ipse defendit se contra
 Iohannem Reuchlin qui parvipendit eum. Et ipse in
 Speculo suo manuali corrigit iniustitiam Iohannis 65
 Reuchlin. Et quod sit bonus Christianus praesumitur
 ex hoc quod si non cogitaret semper manere Chris-
 tianus, ipse non esset ita iratus super Iudaeos, et faceret
 eis tanta mala." Dixit plebanus "Scribere seu Com-
 ponere libros est una magna res, et non competit nisi 70
 magnis et Doctis Viris qui sunt altissime graduati,
 multo minus Iohanni Pfefferkorn qui est Ideota : et
 Ergo Theologi Colonienses nunquam debuissent praeten-
 dere quod vellent hominibus persuadere quod Pfeffer-
 korn componit talia. Sed si ego essem Imperator, Ego 75
 vellem Pfefferkorn et Hochstrat suspendere ad unum
 patibulum." Respondi : "Quid fecit M. nř Iaco. de
 Hochstraten ? Tamen est bonus Imperialis, quod ego
 volo probare per Epistolam suam ad Imperatorem, in
 qua sic scribit : 'Valeat et in aeternum gaudeat Caesaria 80
 Ma. quam deus optimus maximusque suae Ecclesiae
 conservare dignetur per milia tempora felicem.'" Dixit
 plebanus : "ego vidi X malefactores mortificari, et
 nullus fuit ita dignus mortis sicut Hochstrat, qui tam
 bonum et innocentem virum sic iniuste tribulat, et 85
 adhuc petit etiam adiutorium a Rege Franciae qui est
 publicus inimicus Imperii, contra Iohannem Reuchlin ;
 quod est crimen laesae maiestatis. Et super hoc Romae
 lamentavit." Respondi quod Hochstrat facit talia zelo
 fidei, ei fides maior est quam imperator, et Theologi 90
 non curant superioritatem saecularem. Tunc plebanus
 abcessit dicens : "O Innocentissime Reuchlin, debes
 tu sic tractari a pessimis et nequitiosissimis tribula-

⁵⁹ *Ipsi* : for *ipse*.⁷⁹ *Epist.* : Oct. 9, 1510. Quoted in⁶⁵ *Spec. Man.* : the *Handt-Spiegel* was the *Defensio*,
published in Ap. 1511.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

toribus? Deus te conservet. Sed si ulla est iusticia,
 95 tu non potes superari in ista causa. Ergo possum
 dicere: 'zelabunt gentes et nihil adversum te pote-
 runt.'” Respondi occulte: “Fiant dies eius pauci, et
 Episcopatum eius accipiat alter.” Per deum, domine
 Ortvine, nos habemus multas tribulationes. Vellem
 100 quod ista causa esset expedita: et ergo scribatis mihi
 tamen quomodo stat in Curia Romana, et valeatis per
 tot annos quot vixit Matusalem.

Datum VRATISLAVIA.

XV

❧ *M. PETRUS STEYNHART Magistro
 Ortvinio Gratio Salutem*

MULTUM vellem vobis scribere, domine Ortvine,
 de novitatibus hincinde et bellis et guerris et
 5 etiam de Causa Iohannis Reuchlin: Sed iam sum ita
 iratus quod non possum sedere prae ira: et ergo non
 possum scribere talia, quia Cor palpat mihi quasi unus
 percuteret cum pugno, quia est hic unus Almanus de
 partibus Misnensium, et ipse promisit mihi dare unum
 10 vocabularium Iuris: et nunc non vult dare, et saepe
 monui eum amicabiliter, sed non iuvat. Et video quod
 praetendit me vexare. Sed quia scitis quod omne
 promissum cadit in debitum, propterea feci eum citare.

Tunc hodie scripsit mihi unam litteram vitupera-
 15 tivam et scandalisavit me quasi bufonem. Ergo sum
 ita iratus quod nescio quid debeo facere. Sed volo ire
 ad gubernatorem et impetrare unum mandatum de
 capiendo, quia iste socius est mihi suspectus de fuga.
 Et quando non mittit mihi statim librum, tunc afferam
 20 famulos pariselli ad captivandum eum, et mittere in

⁹⁷ *fiant*: Psal. cviii. 8.

⁴ *bellis*, &c.: i.e. Maximilian's cam-
 paign in Northern Italy.

¹⁰ *Vocab.*, &c. A work of uncertain
 authorship, usually cited as *Vocabu-
 larius Iuris utriusque*. Its popularity
 may be estimated from the fact that
 some forty editions were published

during the XVth and XVIth Cents.
 It may be described as a glossary of
 legal technical terms.

¹⁴ *vitup.* Not elsewhere met with,
 except in Ep. ii. 53.

²⁰ *pariselli*. Not elsewhere met with.
 Du Cange has: Bargellus, *licitor*;
 Barigellus, *apparitor*.

praesunā: et si tunc habebit unam strapecordam vel duas, capiat sibi: Quia volo eum docere quomodo debet unum circumducere, et non tenere promissum. Et credatis mihi firmiter quod volo rectificare illum socium: vel est damnum quod vivo. Quia oportet me habere ²⁵ talem librum, quia iam pono studium meum in ordine, et emi libros in Iure et in aliis, vadens cotidie quattuor horas ad sapiētīā, audiendo instituta, et infortiatum, et etiam in iure Canonico, et Regulas cancellariae; et inveni hic unum librum multum Practicū: et est ³⁰ excellens, et ex eo disco multa: ego credo quod in Almania non habetis eum: ipse est mirabilis et est valde declarativus, et intitulator "Casus longi super institutis" et practicat pulcherrimas materias, et ita profunde declarat instituta: quod saepe dividit unum ³⁵ Paragraphum in .X. partes, et procedit per modum dialogi, et est etiam quantum ad latinitatem valde elegans. Non possum vobis scribere quantum est utile habere talem librum. Sed non debetis dicere Iuristis in Colonia qui sunt fautores Io. Reuchlin: quia si ⁴⁰ haberent illum librum, magis subtiliter possent practicare. Ego bene scio quod non habetis libenter quod studeo in Iure, quia saepe dixistis mihi quod debeo studere in Theologia, quae beatificat et est de maiori merito, quam illa Iura q̄ faciunt curvum rectum et rec- ⁴⁵

²¹ *praesunam*: "prison." L. Diefenbach, *Gloss. Lat.-Germ.*, gives "Prisona = prisiona = prigiona (Ital.)."

²¹ *strapec.*: an adaptation of the Italian "strappata di corda"; the punishment of the *strappado* consisting in raising the victim to a height, and letting him fall suddenly so as to suffer a violent jerk from the suspending rope.

²⁸ *sapient.* See ii. 32, n.

²⁸ *Instit.*: the *Institutes of Justinian*. The introductory part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the other portions being the *Digest*, the *Code*, and the *Novellae*.

²⁸ *Infort.*: a portion of the *Digest*, comprising Books XXIV. (3)-XXXVIII., and coming between the *Digestum Vetus* and the *Digestum Novum*. This division is quite arbitrary, and seems due to the mere accident of an ancient copy having been split at the points indicated.

The entire *Digest* consists of fifty books.

²⁹ *Reg. canec.*: a collection of papal mandates, regulations, ordinances, &c. These were reissued and confirmed by successive Popes, and numerous editions had appeared before 1517.

³³ *Casus longi*: perhaps by Wilhelm, third son of Francesco Accorso (Accursius). He was born in 1246, and ended his days as Professor of Jurisprudence at Bologna. Maurus Sartius, *De clar. archigymnasii Bononiensis profess.*, Bonon., 1769, I. i. p. 188.

³⁵ *profunde*. Stintzing, *Gesch. der populären Lit. des röm. kanon. R.*, points out that in the *Casus* the treatment of the subject is so superficial (not to say silly) that the title of this trivial production is quite misleading.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

tum curvum. Et allegastis mihi Richardum in uno passu. Attamen dico vobis quod oportet me facere. Quia scientia Iuris est de pane lucrando. Unde versus—

50 “Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Iustiniani:
Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana.”

Et scitis bene quod alias sum pauper, et mater mea scripsit mihi quod debeo cogitare ad habendum victum et amictum. Quia amplius non vult mittere mihi
55 pecuniam: et sic est per deum. Sed iam iterum cogito de isto socio qui fecit me iratum. Valete cordialiter.

Datum ROMÆ.

XVI

❧ M. IOHANNES PILEATORIS

M. Ortino Gratia

<p>5</p> <p>Et</p> <p>10</p>	<p>{</p> <p>Quam sunt in Polonia</p> <p>fures,</p> <p>in Bohemia haeretici,</p> <p>in terra Suitensium rustici,</p> <p>in Italia Scorpiones,</p> <p>in Hispania lenones,</p> <p>in Ungaria pediculi,</p> <p>in Parrisia articuli,</p> <p>}</p>	<p>{</p> <p>Meretrices in Bam-</p> <p>berga,</p> <p>artifices in Nurm-</p> <p>berga,</p> <p>in Praga Iudaei,</p> <p>Coloniae Pharisei,</p> <p>Clerici in Herbipoli,</p> <p>naves in Neapoli,</p> <p>Busto ducis acufices,</p> <p>Franckfordiae pelli-</p> <p>fices,</p> <p>}</p>
------------------------------	--	--

⁴⁸ *Richardum*: Richardus de Media-villa, i.e. Richard Middleton, fl. 1280, a Franciscan monk, supposed to have been born either at Middleton Stoney (Oxf.) or at Middleton Cheyney (Northants). He rose to eminence in canon law and theology, and was perhaps the teacher of Duns Scotus. Middleton's chief work was a Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, which appeared in many editions. (D. N. B.)

⁴⁹ *de pane*, &c. “Theologia quae est anime pabulum, leges quae sunt egenis remedium.” *Vocab. Juris utriusque*, s.v. *Ars*, whence also the succeeding verses. Cf. *Æn. Syl. Piccol.*, *Op. Omn.*, Basel, 1515, p. 619.

“Only Justinian and Hippocrates fill the purse.”

⁵⁰ *Galienus*: for *Galenus*.

Pileat.: the writer of ii. 4.

⁷ *haeret.* The Bohemian Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum, with views anticipating those of the Quakers, had been definitely organised in 1467, and by the beginning of the XVIth Cent. possessed nearly 400 churches. See C. E. Maurice, *Bohemia*, 1896, chap. xiii.

⁹ *Herbip.*: Würzburg.

¹⁰ *leno.* In [E] and later edd. “leones.”

¹¹ *Bust. duc.*: 's Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), N. Brabant.

¹² *artic.*: referring to the “articuli” from the *Augenspiegel* condemned by the Univ. of P.

	in Saxonia potatores,		nobiles in Franconia,	
	in Venetia Mercatores,		nautae in Selandia,	15
	Romae Curtisani,		Sodamitici Florentiae,	
	in Almania Cappellani,		ex ordine praedica-	
Et	in Frisia Caballi,	Et	torum indulgentiae,	
	in terra Franciae vasalli,		textores Augustae,	
	pisces in Marchia,		per Estatem locustae,	20
			Columbae in Wet-	
	sues in Pomerania,		trania,	
	oves in terra Angliae,		caules in Bavaria,	
	boves in regno daciae,		alleges in Flandria,	
			sacci in Turingia,	25

Id est infinitas Salutes vobis opto, Venerabilis Magister, quia estis mihi ita charus sicut est possibile in caritate non ficta. Sed possetis dicere quod fingo illam dilectionem, quia non creditis quod est ita cordialis : igitur non volo multum scribere de illa. Unde ³⁰ versus "Laus proprio sordet in ore," Teutonice "Eygen lob stinckt geren." Sed in signum dilectionis mitto vobis hic duo munera, scilicet unum Pater noster factum de cornu buffi, et tetigit sepulchrum Sanctorum Petri et Pauli et multas alias reliquias ³⁵ Romae. Et cum hoc feci tres missas superius legi. Et dicunt quod valet contra latrones et omnes intersectoriales nequitias, quando aliquis orat Rosarium in eo. Secundo mitto vobis unam rem q̄ est ligata in paniculo, et habet virtutes contra serpentes, quia vidi ⁴⁰ experimentum; et quandocunque (deus custodiat) mordet vos unus serpens, tunc non nocet vobis: ego dedi unum Carlinum pro. Fuit hic unus in Campo florum qui facit mirabilia per virtutem sancti Pauli, et habuit multum de serpentibus terribiliter formatis, ⁴⁵

¹⁴ *Franconia* : Hutten's native country.

¹⁵ *Florent*. The evil reputation of F. is reflected in the words *florentinare* and *florenzer*. See Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1861.

¹⁹ *Frisia* : Friesland.

¹⁹ *August.* : Augsburg.

²¹ *Wettr.* : the district of Wetterau.

²⁵ *Daciae* : Hungary.

³³ *Pater nost.* : specifically one of the larger beads in a rosary, dividing decades of smaller ones. Here, the whole rosary.

³⁴ *buffi*. Not elsewhere found.

³⁷ *interfect*. Not elsewhere found.

³⁹ *Rosar.* : the series of devotions in which the "beads" are used.

⁴³ *carl*. See ii. 26, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- ita quod est mirabile ad videndum. Ipse tangit eos et non nocet ei. Sed quando mordet unum alium, tunc ipse liberat eum per talem virtutem, dans homini illam materiam sic ligatam; et dicunt quod est de illa pro-
- 50 genie, cui sanctus Paulus concessit talem virtutem. Quia quando sanctus Paulus ambulavit in terris, tunc semel fuit hospitatus ab uno viro qui tractavit eum cum summa reverentia, et faciens ei bonam Companiam praebendo comedere et bibere et bona lectisternia, et
- 55 de mane quaesivit eum "O bone domine, non habeatis mihi pro malo: ego video quod estis unus magnus vir, et habetis specialem gratiam a deo. Et non dubito quod estis sanctus, quia heri vidi vos facere miracula. Rogo dicatis mihi quis estis?" Respondit ei sanctus Paulus:
- 60 "ego sum Paulus Christi apostolus." Tunc ille vir cecidit in genua sua dicens: "O sancte Paule, parcatis mihi, quia nescivi quis estis: et ergo rogo vos velitis deum orare pro peccatis meis, et velitis mihi dare pro valedictione unam specialem gratiam propter deum."
- 65 Dixit ei sanctus Paulus: "Fides tua salvum te fecit," et dedit ei talem gratiam, et omnibus successoribus suis, quod possunt sanare homines qui sunt veneficati a serpentibus. Et iste vir qui dedit mihi hoc, est de tali progenie, sicut multotiens probavit. Ergo accipiat
- 70 pro bono. Et scribite mihi novalia de guerris; et mittatis me scire an ille Iurista Iohannes Reuchlin composuit adhuc alia contra vos, quia possibile est quod fecit propter audaciam suam, quamvis nullis vestris praecedentibus demeritis. Sed spero quod etiam bene
- 75 confundetis eum. Quia hic dominus M. N. Hochstrat dixit mihi quod causa sua bene stat, et quod debeo hoc vobis scribere. Valete Romae datum.

⁶⁷ *venef.* Not elsewhere found.

XVII

¶ FRADERICUS GLANTZ

M. Ortvinio Gratio

SALUTIS Cumulum. Honorabilis vir, si non scitis prius, tunc volo vobis certificare nova, quod fui hic in guerra cum quodam Cantore, qui putat se esse magnum dominum, sed est adhuc ita bene pauper socius sicut ego et alii. Nos bibimus in simul, et ipse dixit quod portasset mihi unum totum cantarum Cerevisiae: et ego dixi quod non. Et ita me deus iuvet quod non vidi quod bibit. 5 10

Tunc dixi: "Domine Cantor, Ego non vidi quod bibistis; si vidissem, tunc libenter vellem respondere vobis, Quia adhuc sum Imperterritus contra unum Cantarum Cerevisiae." Tunc iuravit quod portasset mihi, et dixit quod debeo bibere. Respondi: "Portate mihi unum, et faciam vobis aequū." Tunc dixit quod portasset mihi et ergo essem ei satisfacere obstrictus. Respondi quod non vidi, et posito casu quod vidissem, tamen non tenerer ei, et de nullo iure potest me cogere ad bibendum, quando non volo dixit ille, "Imo possum vos cogere." Respondi: "Ubi hoc legistis?" Dixit, "*in l. Vinum ff. Si certum petatur.*" Respondi, "Vos allegatis me Iura, Ego non sum iurista, sed volo interrogare desuper." Et sic solvi zecham et recessi. Et dixit ipse quod nunquam in vita sua mihi portare aliquid. Respondi: "dimittatis." Sic est factum, Magister Ortvine, Vos etiam per Contrarium scribite mihi novalia Et valete tam diu donec unus passer ponderat centum libras. 15 20 25

Datum MONASTERII.

30

¹ *Frad.*: thus in [C] and [D], but perhaps a misprint.

²² *l. Vin.*, &c.: L. 22, D. de rebus creditis si certum petatur xii. 1.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XVIII

¶ *F. SIMON WORST* sacrae Theologiae doctor
M. Ortivino Gr. Salu.

POSTQUAM venit huc defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas quam composuit in latino, semper omni die audimus hic nova : Unus dicit sic, alius sic; Unus est pro eo, alius pro Reuchlin; Unus defendit eum, alius culpat. Et est magnum certamen, et volunt invicem percutere se. Si deberem vobis scribere Omnes guerras, q̄ sunt de hoc libro, Olympiae me tempus sit defecturum. Sed traseunte dicam pauca. Simpliciter plures dicunt, et communiter saeculares Magistri et presbiteri et fratres de ordine minorum, quod non est possibile quod Pfefferkorn composuit istum librum; Quia nunquam didicit unum verbum latinum. Respondeo quod haec obiectio nihil valet, licet magnos etiam viros in hunc usque diem perverterit, et male: quia Io. Pfef., q̄ secum fert Calamare et atramentarium, ea potest annotare quae audit, vel in sermonibus publicis, vel in conventiculis, vel quando studentes et fratres praedicatores veniunt in domum suam, vel quando ipse vadit ad balneum. Sancte deus, quot praedicationes intra .XII. annos audivit? Quot admonitiones? Quot sanctorum patrum auctoritates? Quas ipse vel per seipsum retinere aut uxori suae dicere potuit, vel ad parietem scribere, vel ad tabulam suam ponere. Et dixi etiam nuper quod Io. Pfefferkorn de seipso profitetur (citra iactantiam tamen), quod omnia illa q̄ in biblia vel in sacris Evangeliiis habentur, per seipsum allegare potest ad omne propositum, sive malum sive bonum, sive Iudaice sive Almanice. Et etiam scit mentetenus omnia Evangelia q̄ per totum annum exponuntur, et potest ea recitare ad unguem, quod non possunt facere isti Iuristae et poetae. Etiam habet filium nomine Laurentium, ingenuum profecto

¹ This Ep. is based almost entirely on passages from Pfefferkorn's *Defensio*.

¹⁰ *tras.*: for *transeunter*.

²⁹ *sive mal. s. bon.* P. does not add these words.

adoleſcentem, qui ſtudit ita quod eſt pallidus. Sed ³⁵
 ego miror quod permittit eum ſtudere in illis diabolicis
 poetis: ipſe recolligit patri ſuo ſententias Oratorum et
 poetarum tum ex ſuo tum praeceptorum ſuorum ore,
 ad omnem materiam et omne propositum: et ſcit alle-
 gare Hugonem. Et ipſe Io. Pfefferkorn intelligit ⁴⁰
 multa ex tam ingenuo adoleſcente. Ita ut quae ipſe
 indoctus facere non poſteſt, filius eius perficiet. Doleant
 igitur omnes qui falſe circumtulērunt, quod ipſe non
 composuit ſuos libros, ſed doctores et Magiſtri in
 Colonia componunt eos: Erubeſcat quoque et in ⁴⁵
 Aeternum ingemiſcat Io. Reuchlin, qui etiam dicit
 quod Io. pfeffer. non composuit ſuum manuale ſpec-
 ulum, de quo ſaepe apud doctos fuit contentio, quia
 tres viri dederunt ei illas Autoritates quas ibi allegavit.
 Tunc unus dixit: “Qui ſunt illi tres viri?” Reſpondi ⁵⁰
 quod nescio. Sed credo quod ſunt illi tres viri, qui
 apparuerunt Abraam, ut legitur in Geſeſi. Et quando
 dico talis, tunc ſubſannant me, vexantes ſicut ſcutonem.
 Ego vellem quod diabolus percenteret eos plaga magna,
 ſicut ſcribitur in libro Iob, quem pronunc in monaſterio ⁵⁵
 noſtro legimus ad menſem. Dicatis I. p., quod habeat
 patientiam, quia ſpero quod ſemel dominus deus faciet
 miraculum, et ſalutate eum nomine meo. Etiam de-
 betis mihi ſalutare uxorem eius ſicut bene ſcitis:
 ſed occulte. Et Va. Da. raptū non valde ſpeculative ⁶⁰
 Antuerpie.

XIX

❧ CUNRADUS UNCKEBUNCK *M. Ortivino*

MIRABILE eſt, venerabilis domine Magiſter, quod
 parentes mei non mittunt mihi pecuniam, et
 tamen ſciunt quod non habeo unum obulum, et

⁴⁰ *Hugo.* Hugo de Folieto. P. ſays,
 “. . . allegavit H., quem dixiſſe
 affirmabat quod inter abuſiones huius
 ſaeculi ſola major eſt ſenis obſti-
 natio.” *Migne*, vol. clxxvi. c. 1064.

⁴⁹ *tres viri.* P. declared that the
 quotations in the *Handſpiegel* were

furniſhed him by the three members
 of the comiſſion appointed by Max.
 to report on the opinions. See S. A.
 Hirsch, *A Book of Eſſays*, 1905, p. 101.
 The three named by him being
 Angelus de Beſutio, Pius Hieron.
 Baldung, and Greg. Reiſch.

⁵² *Geſeſi*: xviii 2.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- scripsi eis bene viginti lras. Si non volunt mittere mihi pecuniam, tunc per deum ego volo aliter facere. Et credatis mihi quod nuper habui in voluntate, quod volui me obligare sub paenis Camere accomodando duos florenos Renenses aut tres, et redire in patriam, et dicere eis opinionem meam, ita grosse quod deberent tangere. Diabole, credunt quod sum natus super arborem, vel debeo comedere fenum sicut animal? diabolus auferat me si habui unum Carlinum in sex mensibus: et semper nihil comedo nisi salatum et cepe et allium, et aliquando unum menestrum de fabis vel herbis vel spinaciam more Italico. Ego bene scio quod fratres mei in patria comedunt pisces et aves et bona fercula, et non cogitant super me; sed ego non volo diutius pati, et debetis ipsis dicere: tunc ego etiam volo diligenter hic instare apud dominum meum, quod promovebit negocium vestrum sicut scripsistis mihi. Et rogo vos, quando parentes mei dabunt pecuniam, quod velitis mihi mittere. Et cum hoc mittatis mihi unum frustrū de Creta, quia in tota Roma non habent bonam cretam, etiam si vellitis dare unum florenum pro ea: sed sicut scitis, oportet habere cretam, quia sum logicus: et quando volo facere syllogismum, tunc non habeo atramentum semper. Etiam est fastidiosum facere cum atramento: et mittatis mihi ligas teutonicas ad ligandum caligas, quia faciunt ita malas ligas in Italia quod est mirabile. Mitto vobis hic unam veronicam q̄ tetigit capita sanctorum Pe. et pau. et multas alias reliquias; et mitto vobis unum agnus dei; et debetis mihi salutare dominum Valentinum de Gelterszheim, magistrum nostrum colendissimum. Per deum ego nunquam ita potuissem dicere logicam si non stetissem in bursa sua; quia ipse est valde declarativus, et supposita

⁸ *Camere*: perhaps for *cameriae* (*camariariae*) or *Cumbiae*.

¹¹ *tangere*: not merely "verbera linguae." Hor., *Od.*, iii. 12, 3.

¹² *arborem*: "sicut poma." See i. 3.

¹³ *Carl.* See ii. 16, n.

²⁵ *vell.*: for *velitis*.

³² *veronic.*: a copy of the kerchief

of St. Veronica, which bore a miraculous image of Christ's face. Cf. :—

"A vernicle had he sewed on his cappe."

Chaucer, *Prolog. Cant. Tales*.

³⁴ *agn. dei*: a cake of wax, blessed by the Pope, and stamped with a figure of the Lamb.

³⁵ *Valent.* See i. 7, n.

cito capiunt quando ipse legit. Valet plurime cum
sanitate mentis et corporis.

40

Datum ROMANAE CURIAE.

XX

¶ M. MARQUARDUS FOTZENHUT

M. Ortvino Gratio

SALUTEM cum servitute amicabile. Venerabilis
domine Magister. Sicut scribitis mihi quod debeo
notificare vobis de Magistro nostro Iacobo de Hoch- 5
straten: Scitote quod Iuristae faciunt ei magnam
instantiam. Sed sicut ego audiui, diabolus confundit
eos. Quia multi Cardinales sunt pro vobis, et prae-
cipue Cardinalis s. Crucis, qui debet fieri papa quando
ille Papa moritur. Et audiui quod dixit "Ego volo 10
defendere illum notabilem Theologum Iacobum de
alta platea contra Reuchlin, et si omnes Iuristae in
toto mundo starent pro eo." Sicut etiam fecit, cum
habuit semel articulos contra Petrum Ravennatem,
qui etiam fuerunt multum haereticales. Et debetis 15
pro certo habere, domine Ortvine, quod ille Cardinalis
adhuc confundet omnes iuristas, quia est bonus pro
Theologis. Et est etiam bonus pro rege Franciae
et Universitate Parrhisiensi. Antiquus Rex Franciae
voluit ipsum facere Papam. Etiam alias habetis bonam 20
causam. Cum hoc M. N. Iacobus dedit ante octo dies
unam pinguem propinam uni referendario cuiusdam
Cardinalis quem non volo nominare, qui debet eum
promovere apud Reverendissimum sicut bene scit.
Fuit hic rumor, quod Episcopus Colonien̄ est mortuus, 25
et Comes de nova Aquila est electus in novum epis-
copum. Si est verum, tunc volo dicere quod Canonici

¹ *Fotzen.*: cunni pileus. See Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

⁹ *sanct. Crucis*: Bernardino Caravajal, Bp. of Ostia. To him Hoogstraten addressed his *Defensio scholastica principum Almaniae* . . . 1511. See Geiger, *J. Reuchlin*, p. 305, 1871.

¹⁴ *Petr. Rav.*: Petrus Tommai, Franciscan, author of a popular book

on mnemonics, *Foenix Divini Petri Ravennatis memoriae magistri*, Venet, 1491, and of a compendium of the civil law.

¹⁹ *Ant. Rec.*: Louis XII.

²⁵ *Episc. Col.*: Philip von Dhaun-Eberstein, ob. 1515; succeeded by Hermann, Graf von Wied.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Colonieñ sunt magni stulti, quia Poeta et Episcopus
 proprie sunt duo Contradictoria. Etiam non esset
 30 bonum pro causa fidei, quia talis Comes est magnus
 fautor Iohannis R. Quia dixit mihi quidam Curtis-
 anus, quod quando ex Colonia ivit ad Italiam, tunc
 ipse dedit ei unam Epistolam, quam portavit Io.
 Reuchlin; et audiivi ab aliis quod habet societatem
 35 cum multis poetis et novis Theologis sicut est Erasmus
 Roterdamus. Quando ego fui in Herbipoli, tunc fuit
 unus poeta qui vocatur Ulricus Hutenus qui semper
 ridet et vexat Thologos et Magistros artium: ipse
 dixit in mensa in uno hospitio ad quendam alium
 40 nobilitarem, quod in illo die scripsit unam lřam ad
 illum Comitem. Tunc respondit ille nobilitaris: "quid
 tamen scribitis, quando sic scribitis ad invicem?" Re-
 spondit ille, quod scripsit ei, quod debet facere magnam
 diligentiam in causa fidei, et debet laborare pro Reuch-
 45 lin contra Theologos, ne comburant Speculum oculare;
 et quod multum commendavit ei Iohannem Reuchlin,
 et dixit quod amat Io. R. tanquam patrem suum. Et
 ego tacui, ne notaret quod sum fautor vester. Et
 propterea dico vobis, quod non est bonum si iste debet
 50 esse episcopus. Sed spero quod non est verum. Ergo
 scribatis mihi veritatem et Valete a planta pedis usque
 ad verticem capitis. Sicut dicit Esaias.

Datum in URBE ROMA.

XXI

¶ IOHANNES HOLCOT M. Ortvinò G.

AMICABILITATEM pro salute. Excellens vir,
 Acepi lřam vestram quam compilastis in Colo. et
 notetis quod talis lřa fuit compilata in die s. Margerethae,
 5 et ego accepi eam in die s. Bartholo.; et quando accepi
 eam, tunc dixi "O diabole, ista lřa diu est scripta, et
 dominus Ortvinus irascabitur mihi et potest dicere
 'Quam iste est superbus, et non respondet mihi!'"

³⁸ *Thol. Sic*, in [D].

⁴⁵ *ne comb.* But the *Augenspiegel*
 had been burnt Feb. 10, 1514.

⁵² *Esaias*: Is. i. 6.

¹ *Holcot.* Robert of H. was an

English Dominican, *ob.* 1349; his
 commentary on Prov., Cant., &c.,
 appeared in many edd. (D. N. B.)

⁴ *Marg.*: July 20.

⁵ *Barth.*: Aug. 24.

Ergo peto venerabilitatem vestram quod habeatis me excusatum: et non debetis dubitare quod non est ita. ¹⁰ Quia vos putatis quod fui adhuc in Cassel, et hospes meus, quando accepit eam, misit mihi postea ad Margburek. Et sic transivit multum tempus, quia actu sum in Margburek et resumo duos juvenes domicellos: quando ergo vultis mihi lras mittere, debetis eas desti- ¹⁵ nare huc: et intellexi a vobis, quod componitis seu practicatis unum notabilem librum quem vultis intitu- ²⁰ lare "Defensio Io. P. contra famosas," et vultis eum dare ad impressuram: et scribitis quod non vultis ponere nomen vestrum, et cogitatis quod est melius inti- ²⁵ tulare eum nomen I. P. quia Pfefferkorn non curat talia et non timet Io. R. et suos cohaerentes, si vellent aliquid componere contra eum. Sed volo vobis unum aliud dicere: Quid si Reuchlin diceret? "Ecce Pfe. non scit latinum, ergo non potest compilare talia; sed ³⁰ Theologi in Colonia et Ortvinus qui est poeta eorum componunt talis scandalizatiōis, et postea dicunt 'Pfefferkorn scripsit, nos non scripsimus.'" Ergo vellem quod considerabitis bene ante factum: si velletis postea negare quod scripsistis, tunc Reuchlin posset cognoscere vestrum ³⁵ stilum et probare quod vos composuistis, et sic incurreretis scandalum. Et perdonate mihi quia scribo ex amore. V. D. margb.

XXII

¶ IODOCUS KLYNGE BACLARIUS

M. Ortvinio G.

VENERABILIS vir, quamvis sum remotus a vobis corporaliter, tamen habetis scire quod quoad mentem semper sum vobis propinquus cogitando de sodalitate nostra quam habuimus invicem cum stetimus ⁵ Daventriae. Ergo nuper ille Beanus veniens huc et portans mihi illud vestrum dictamen dixit quod dixistis

¹¹ *Cassel*: on the Fulda, capital of Hesse-Nassau.

¹² *Margb.*: Marburg, where there was a large Dominican monastery. (The Univ. was not founded until 1527.)

¹³ *multum*. The letter, in fact, had travelled about 126 miles in 36 days.

¹⁴ *resumo*. See i. 6, n.

¹⁵ *dare*. The *Defensio* was actually published in July 1516.

²⁷ *talīs scand.*: *sic*, in [D] and [E].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

ei "O ille Iodocus pro nunc est in patria et habet bonos
 10 dies et non curat pro me." Ego respondeo quod nihil
 est. Quia non sum de talibus, et adhuc bene scio quo-
 modo semper Daventriae scripsistis ad parietem :

Qui procul est oculis, procul est a cordis lumine.

Et per deum, heri quando fuimus in Cena et habuimus
 15 de illis piscibus de patria mea qui vocantur Amae, quia
 pater meus portavit mihi, tunc optavi vos et dixi: "O
 si M. Ortvinus deberet esse praesens et comedere de
 talibus piscibus, tunc cor deberet mihi laetari." Re-
 spondit pater meus "Quis est iste Ortvinus?" tunc dixi
 20 ei quod estis socius meus antiquus, et fuistis mecum
 Daventriae, et quando ego fui secum domi, Vos fuistis
 primarius; et postea in universitate Coloniensi fuistis
 depositor meus, quando deposui beanium, quia vos
 venistis unum annum ante me ad Coloniam, et postea
 25 steti vobiscum usque ad gradum baculaureatus: tunc
 vos accepistis magisterium. Sed ego promotus in bacu-
 larium de gratia dei recessi ad universitatem Witten-
 bergensem: tunc fui scholirega hincinde: et sic non vidi
 vos. Et dixi ei multa de vobis. Et dixi ei quomodo
 30 semel feci vos ridere quando allegavi vobis illud metrum:

Veni Spandaw aggere, tunc inspexerunt me Amae.

Et dixi vobis quomodo Beani in Spandaw composuerunt
 tale metrum de teutonico in latinum, quia teutonicum
 sic sonat:

35 Ick kam genn Spandaw opp den dam,
 Dar segen mick de plötzgen ann.

Et pro tunc dixistis mihi quod prius nescivistis quod
 ille piscis, scilicet plotzken, latine vocatur Amae: et
 allegavi tale metrum et vos risistis intime, et conse-
 40 quenter dixi vobis qualiter ille piscis est in magna copia
 apud nos: et unus qui est ita longus sicut brachium
 meum, vix solvit unum grossum. Et dixistis: "O
 deus, si essemus ibi!" et ergo heri optavi quod essetis
 mecum. Dixit autem pater meus "Credis quod etiam
 45 non habet pisces Coloniae?" Dixi ei quomodo pisces

¹⁵ *Amae*. There seems to be inten-
 tional mystification with reference to
 the fish mentioned here. The classi-
 cal *amia* (*ἀμια*) was a sea-fish, the

tunny. (*Amia*, Linn., is a N. Ameri-
 can ganoid.) But we are told below
 that *amae* means *plützen*, i.e. roach.
²³ *depos*. See i. 39, n.

Coloniae sunt in caro foro. Sed scripsistis mihi quod
negocium vestrum non bene stat et male procedit vobis
in urbe Roma, et quod fautores Iohannis Reuchlin
faciunt vobis magnas instantias. Debetis mihi credere
quod ita doleo de vobis sicut essetis mater mea. Sed
spero quod dominus deus dabit benignitatem et terra
nostra dabit fructum suum. Idest vos Colonienses
Theologi postquam combussistis libros haereticos,
fructificabitis in ecclesia dei praedicando, argumentando,
disputando, novas materias scribendo et talia faciendo.
Sic faciat filius dei Christus, qui sit volens clemens et
propitius. Amen.

Datum Perlin in Marchia, ubi sunt bona piscalia

XXIII

¶ M. BERTHOLDUS HACKSTRO
Magister Ortvino Gratio

FRATERNALEM dilectionem loco Salutis. Hon-
orabilis vir, secundum quod reliqui vobiscum,
quod volo vobis notificare singula et scribere quomodo
sto. Scire debetis quod nunc fui per duos menses in
Urbe Roma, et non possum habere patronum. Unus
auditor Rotae voluit me suscipere. Tunc fui laetus et
dixi "Bene est, domine, sed magnificentia vestra velit
mihi dicere quod debeo facere." Respondit quod debeo
esse in stabulo et unum mulum servare in ordine, dando
ei comedere et bibere, et strigilando et mundificando.
Et quando ipse vult equitare, quod sit paratus. Et
habeat frenum et sellum et omnia. Et postea debeo
currere et cum eo ad audientiam et iterum ad domum.
Ego dixi quod non est pro me, quod sum et magister
arciū Coloniensis et non possum talia facere. Re-
spondit ipse: "Si non vis facere, tuum damnum." Et
sic credo quod volo iterum ire ad patriam. Deberem
strigilare mulum et purgare stabulum ego potius vel-

⁴⁶ *in caro foro*: expensive; "dear
cheape" of fish.

¹¹ *mulum*. "As late as 1547 the
Primate Siliceo of Toledo asserted
. . . that in every cathedral chapter

in the land the majority of canons
had been either hostlers in Rome or
traders in benefices, who scarce knew
grammar enough to read their hours."
Camb. Mod. Hist., i. 657.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

lem quod diabolus auferet illum mulum cum stabulo. Etiam credo quod esset contra statuta universitatis nostrae: quia Magister debet se tenere sicut magister. Et esset magnum scandalum universitatis, quod Magister
 25 ter Coloniensis deberet facere talia. Ergo volo redire in patriam propter honorem universitatis: etiam alias non placet mihi Romae: quia Copistae et Curtisani sunt ita superbi quod non creditis: unus heri dixit mihi quod velit merdare super unum magistrum Colo-
 30 niensem. Respondi quod deberet merdare ad patibulum. Tunc dixit quod ipse etiam est Magister, scilicet Curiae, et unus Magister Curiae p̄ualet magistrum artium de Almania. Respondi quod non est possibile. Et dixi "tu velles esse ita bonus sicut ego,
 35 cum tamen non stetistis in examine sicut ego, ubi quinque magistri rigore examinauerunt me, et ergo es magister bullatus." Tunc incepit disputare mecum dicens "Quid est magister?" Respondi: "est persona qualificata, promota et graduata in septem artibus
 40 liberalibus praecedente examine magistrali, privilegiata quod potest portare annulum aureum et sericum sub cappa, habens se ad suos discipulos sicut rex ad suum populum. Et Magister dicitur quatuor modis: uno modo a magis et ter, quia magister ter magis debet
 45 scire quam simplex persona. Secundo dicitur a magis et terreo, quia Magister debet esse terribilis in conspectu suorum discipulorum. Tertio a magis et theron, id est status, quia magister in suo statu debet esse maior quam sui discipuli. Quarto a magis et sedere,
 50 quia magister debet esse maior in sua sede quam aliquis suorum discipulorum. Tunc ille interrogavit "quis est autor?" Respondi quod legi in vade mecum. Statim ipse voluit reprehendere illum librum et dixit quod non est autenticus. Respondi "Tu vis reprehendere illos
 55 antiquos, et tamen tu non seis melius. Ego neminem vidi Coloniae reprehendere talem librum. Non habes

³² *Mag. Cur.*: one who had been granted the degree of Magister by the Curia, without examination, on payment of a fee. The privilege of granting the degree of Doctor of Theology was vested in the Master of the Sacred Palace ("Maestro del

Sacro Palazzo Apostolico"). See A. Vacant, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, vol. iii. c. 1954 (1908).

⁴⁷ *theron*: "Magister . . . a major et sterion . . . quasi major statione." *Gemma Gemmarum*. "Terion .i. statio," Torrentinus, *Elucidarium*.

verecundiam?" Et cum indignatione magna recessi ab eo. Et ergo notetis quod volo redire in Almaniam, quia ibi magistri sunt domini, Et merito. Probo per Evangelium. Quia Christus etiam vocavit se Magistrum, et non doctorem, dicens: "Vos vocatis me magister et dominus, et bene dicitis: sum etenim." Sed non possum plus scribere, quia pro nunc non habeo amplius papirum: et est longum ad Campum florae. Vale
Datum in Romana Curia.

65

XXIV

¶ *M. PHILIPPUS MESUE Magistro
Ortvino Gratia*

HUMILEM subiunctionem loco Salutis. Venerabilis Magister: quoniamquidem promisi vobis omnia scribere quae audio et video in causa vestra, quae merito vocatur Causa fidei, quia universaliter concernit fidem Cristianā. Ergo sciatis quod primo quando veni huc, tunc Magistri dixerunt mihi: "Quid novi, quid novi, magister Philippe? Quid novi de Colonia?" Respondi quod nihil novi scio nisi quod noviter Domini theologi et Inquisitor haereticæ pravitatis de Ordine praedicatorum combusserunt unum librum haereticalem qui intitulatur "Speculum Oculare Iohannis Reuchlin." Respondit Magister Ecbertus de Harlem, qui est vir doctus et probus. Et debetis mihi credere quod non est partialis. Ipse dixit: bene audivimus hic quod combusserunt illum librum: sed etiam audivimus quod non debite et iusto modo processerunt in illa causa, et commiserunt maximum scandalum, quia nos hic etiam vidimus talem librum, et non videtur nobis quod haeretica pravitas inest. Sed quod est maius, Theologi dederunt Sententiam quando causa pendebat in Curia Romana, et Sanctissimus commisit illam duobus Cardin-

¹ *Mesue*. The name would be familiar, as the mediaeval transliteration of Yūhannā ibn Māsawaih, an Arab writer on Medicine, many of whose works were translated into Latin.

¹⁴ *Ecbertus*: Rector of the University of Rostock in 1517.

²³ *Cardin.*: Cardinals Grimani and Pietro Accolti.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

alibus et mandavit silentium ex utraque parte. Illo non
 25 obstante Theologi Colonienses combusserunt librum.”
 Tunc dixi quod fecerunt haec propter Parrhienses, et
 alias quatuor universitates quae sunt contra Reuchlin.
 Respondit M. Ecbertus: “etiam si X universitates
 essent contra illum Doctorem, tamen debuerunt esse
 30 obedientes summo Pontifici tanquam capiti Ecclesiae.
 Respondi quod praesumitur quod tot universitates non
 errant. Respondit ipse “quod praesumptio non valet.
 Et ergo credatis mihi quod istud negotium habebit
 malum finem.” Tunc non volui amplius respondere,
 35 sed dixi: “sit a vel b, ego non curo.” Ergo, domine
 Ortvine, notifico vobis talia quod velitis esse cautus,
 quia timeo quod Sententia erit contra vos, quia papa
 est iratus: et si etiam Romae perditis litem, tunc
 diabolus tenebit candelam. Rostochienses sunt magni
 40 inimici Parrhiensium, quia Parrhienses habent unum
 statutum quod non accipiunt ad facultatem suam
 Magistros Rostochienses, Et sic Rostochienses etiam
 non accipiunt Parrhienses. Sed vos forte scitis quid
 debetis facere. Commendo me vobis.

45 Datum RosTock.

XXV

❧ MAGISTER ADOLFUS KLINGESOR

Magistro Ortvino Gratio

SALUTIS tantum sit Magistro Ortvino, quantum
 non potest in hac lra stare, et nuncius non potest
 5 portare, et nemo potest dicere, et nemo potest scribere.
 Et cum hoc etiam vellem quod essetis laetus et non
 cruciaretis vos sic in causa fidei. Ego nunquam suadeo
 vobis quod debetis esse ita tristis, sed permittatis vobis
 requiem. Ipsi etiam multa dicunt mihi hic, quia sum
 10 Coloniensis. Sed ego rideo quasi non curans. Aliqn̄
 etiam respondeo ipsis vexans eos iterum. Sicut nuper
 quando unus (qui etiam stetit Coloniae ante X annos)

²⁷ *quat. univ.* : i.e. Louvain, Cologne, Erfurt, and Mainz.

³⁹ *diab.* A fiend holding a candle appears on the title-page of the

Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum, 1518. The phrase occurs in Pfefferkorn's *Defence*.

¹ *Klingesor.* Cf. ii. 50.

dixit mihi quod non credit quod Pfefferkorn adhuc est
 bonus Christianus. Quia dixit quod vidit eum ante
 unum annum et adhuc foetebat sicut alius Iudaeus. 15
 Et tamen dicunt communiter, quod quando Iudaei
 baptizantur, non amplius foetent. Ergo credit quod
 Pfefferkorn adhuc habet nequam post aures. Et
 quando Theologi credent quod est optimus Chris-
 tianus, tunc iterum erit Iudaeus, et fides non est ei 20
 danda, quia omnes homines habent malam suspicionem
 de Iudaeis baptizatis. Tunc dixi "Sancte deus, vultis
 arguere ex suspicionibus: homines credunt quod
 Iudaei baptizati sunt mali Christiani: ergo Pfeffer-
 korn est malus Christianus? Non sequitur: ego etiam 25
 possem suspicari quod Magister noster Arnoldus de
 Tungari esset zodomita: sed tamen non esset verum,
 quod Coloniae omnes tenent quod est purus virgo.
 Sed respondebo vobis ad illum objectum. Vos dicitis
 quod Pfefferkorn foetet. Posito casu quod est verum, 30
 sicut non credo, neque unquam intellexi, dico quod est
 alia causa hujus foetoris. Quia Ioannes Pfefferkorn,
 quando fuit Iudaeus, fuit macellarius, et macellarii com-
 muniter foetent."

Tunc omnes qui audiverunt, dixerunt quod est bona 35
 ratio. Sic etiam rogo vos quod non velitis nimis tristari
 in illa causa, quia spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa. Valete.

Datum FRANKFORDIAE AD ODE.

XXVI

¶ HENRICUS SCHAFFSMULIUS

Mag. Ortvino Gratio S. P. D.

CUM priusquam ambulare ad Curiam, dixistis mihi
 quod saepe debeo vobis scribere et aliquando debeo
 dirigere aliquas quaestiones Theologicales ad vos: tunc 5

¹⁵ *foetebat*: the famous Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Regensburg, was wont to introduce Jews into his discourses with the stock epithet of "stinking." See W. Scherer, *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, 1886, i. 228.

¹⁸ *post aur.*: i.e. he was still a Jew at heart.

³³ *macell.* P., in his *Defensio*, denies that he was a "lanius," but adds that, after all, Peter was a fisherman.

³⁷ *spiritus*: Prov. xvii. 22.

¹ *Schaffsmulius*: "Muttonhead"; "Il Pecorone."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

vultis mihi eos solvere melius quam Curtisani Romae. Ergo nunc quaero dominationem vestram quid tenetis de eo, quando unus in die Veneris, id est feria sexta, vel alias quando est ieiunium, comedit ovum et est pullus
 10 intus: quia nuper in Campo florum sedimus in uno hospitio et fecimus collationem, et comedimus ova: et ego aperiens ovum vidi quod iuvenis pullus est in eo: et ostendi socio meo, tunc ipse dixit: "Comedatis cito antequam hospes videt, quia quando videt, tunc oportet
 15 ei dare unum Carlinum vel Iulium pro gallina:" quia est hic consuetudo quod quando hospes ponit aliquid ad tabulam, tunc oportet solvere, quia non volunt recipere. Et si videt quod iuvenis gallina est in ovo, ipse dicit: "Solvatis mihi etiam gallinam," quia com-
 20 putat parvam, sicut magnam. Et ego statim bibi ovum, et simul illum pullum intus: et postea cogitavi quod fuit dies Veneris, et dixi socio meo: "Vos fecistis quod feci peccatum mortale comedendo carnes in feriis sextis." Et dixit ipse, quod non est peccatum mortale:
 25 immo non est peccatum veniale: quia ille pullaster non reputatur aliter quam ovum, donec est natus. Et dixit

⁶ *Curtisani: autici*, Du Cange. Curialists, or, in a general sense, persons in any way attached to the Papal Court.

⁸ *feria sexta: i.e.* "the sixth day of the week." Feria is also used in the special sense of any day that is not a festival. Cf. F. G. Lee, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p. 134.

⁹ *ieiunium*: a fast-day, when meat was to be abstained from, at all events up to 3 p.m.

¹⁰ *Campo florum*: the piazza known as Campo dei Fiori, near the Palazzo Farnese, now a market-place, was the scene of "the most terrible of the Autos da Fe, instituted by the Dominicans, in which many Jews and other heretics were burnt alive." A. J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome* (1887), ii. 181. In 1600 it was the place of execution of Giordano Bruno.

The inn there was a favourite haunt of German pilgrims. Cf. Ep. i. 48.

¹¹ *collationem*. See i. 4, n.

¹⁵ *Carlinum, &c.*: "Carlin. A small silver coin current in Naples and Sicily, equivalent to about fourpence English. *Iulio*: a silver coin

worth about sixpence, struck by Pope Julius II., 1503-13." (N. E. D.) "Numus Carolinus; Karlis Pfennig, oder Karlin." *Vocabula Mensurarum, et Rei Numariae: Authore Philippo Melancthone*, Franckfurti, 1573.

²⁰ *bibi*. The egg was evidently raw. Cf. note on line 26, below.

²⁵ *pullaster*: "chickling." (N. E. D.) In a glossary for school-children, entitled *Nomenclatura Rerum* (to which the pamphlet attributed to Melancthon, and mentioned above (l. 15), is appended), Franckfurti, 1573 (revised edition), we find: "Pullaster, Jungerhan; Pullastra, Jungshenlin." Schaffsmulius might have been comforted had he known that some theologians classed fowls with fishes, because they proceeded from the waters. (Gen. i. 20.)

²⁸ *natus*: quaestio subtilissima—"when is a chick born?"

St. Augustine mentions a singular scruple of the Manichaeans, who would not eat a (raw) egg lest they should chance thus to eat a "corpse": "Nec ova saltem sumunt, quasi et ipsa cum franguntur expirent, nec

mihi quod est sicut de Caseis in quibus aliquando sunt vermes, et in cerasis, et in pisis et fabis recentibus, sed tamen comeduntur in sextis feriis, et etiam in vigiliis Apostolorum. Hospites autem ita sunt pultroni quod ³⁰ dicunt quod sunt carnes, ut habeant plus pecuniam.

Tunc ego abivi et cogitavi desuper. Et per deum, M. Ortvine, ego sum multum turbatus et nescio quomodo debeo me regere. Si vellem libenter consilium quaerere ab uno Curtisano, tunc scio quod non ³⁵ habent bonas Conscientias. Videtur mihi quod istae iuvenes gallinae in ovis sunt carnes: quia materia est iam formata et figurata in membra et corpus animalis, et habet animam vitalem. Aliud est de vermibus in caseis et aliis: quia vermes reputantur pro piscibus, ⁴⁰ sicut ego audiui ab uno medico qui est valde bonus Phisicus. Ergo rogo vos multum cordialiter quatenus velitis mihi respondere ad propositam quaestionem. Quia si tenetis quod est peccatum mortale; tunc volo hic acquirere unam absolutionem antequam vado ad ⁴⁵ Almaniam. Etiam debetis scire quod M. N. Iacobus de Hochstraten acquisivit mille florenos ex banco; et credo quod lucrabit causam, et diabolus confundet illum Io. R. et alios poetas et iuristas, quia volunt esse contra ecclesiam dei. Idest contra Theologos, in ⁵⁰ quibus est fundata ecclesia, ut cristus dixit: "Tu est Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam." Et sic commendo vos domino deo. Valet.

Datum in URBE ROMA.

oporteat ullis mortuis corporibus vesci." St. Aug., *De Haeresibus*; Migne, *Patrol.*, vol. xlii. p. 37.

²⁹ *vigil. Apost.*: the days before Apostolic Feasts.

⁴⁰ *rep. pro pisc.*: "Eadem ratione limaces et ranae prohiberi debent, cum instar piscium edantur, quando esus carnium prohibetur." P. T. P. Gury, *Casus Conscientiae*, i. 212.

⁴⁵ *hic acq.*: if a mortal sin, absolution could not be postponed without risk; perhaps, too, it is hinted that absolution could be more easily obtained at Rome.

⁴⁷ *mille flor.*: Hermann von dem Busche writes to Reuchlin, Sept. 30, 1514: "I find that the Theologians

have lately sent Jakob Hochstraten, through the bankers at Rome, fifteen hundred crowns—not for maintenance, for monks should be frugal—not for necessary legal expenses, for these, I think, would amount to a much smaller sum—but I strongly suspect (bad luck to them!), for purposes of bribery; to obtain, for gold, votes that they could not hope for in the interests of justice."

⁴⁷ *banco*: "Nonne cognoscitis, quod si contingat aliquem ire Romam . . . mittant pecunias suas in banco . . . ut Romae vel alibi cum literis dicti banci securas rehabeat." Tetzels (H. von der Hardt, *Hist. Literaria Reformationis*, iv. 15).

⁵¹ *dixit*: Matth. xvi. 18.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XXVII

❧ *M. WILHELMUS STORCH M. Ortvinio*
Gratio Sahu. P. D.

QUID est quod multum scribitis mihi de vobis et
tamen non repraesentatis mihi semel illum librum
5 quem scripsistis contra Iohannem Reuchlin. Et scribitis
mihi quod habuistis bonum ingenium quando com-
posuistis illum librum; et creditis quod talis erit
multum notabilis, Ita quod unus impressor voluit vobis
dare viginti florenos quod mitteretis eum imprimere.
10 Et scribitis mihi quod vultis mihi mittere copiam, quod
debeo ostendere hic Curtisanis et copistis, et vexare eos.
Quia non volunt credere quod in Almania sunt etiam
ita bene poetae sicut in Italia. Et esset bene bonum
quod mitteretis mihi eum. Sed non facitis: et tamen
15 semper scribitis quod vultis facere. Et rogo vos quod
velitis mihi mittere illud dictamen seu librum. Quia
volo hic vexare aliquos copistas, qui credunt quod nemo
scit aliquid quam ipsi. Etiam reprehendunt hic carmina
mea quando aliqua scribo, dicentes quod sunt bene
20 compilata. Videatis tamen si est verum, quia hic mitto
vobis unum quod composui nuper quando M. N. Hoch-
strat advenit et posui ad pastquillū in honorem illius
doctoris. Quia est vir singularis et defendit fidem
Catholicam contra multos haereticos. Et est tale
25 Carmen:

CARMEN MAGISTRI WILHELMI STORCH DAVENTRIENSIS
quod composuit ad Intronisationem Reverendi p̄ris Fra. Ia. de Ho.
ord. praedicatorum Magistri nostri et inquisitoris haere. pra.

Notum sit hic omnibus parvis necnon senibus,
30 Qualiter unus Magister noster, qui est doctus excellenter,
Et vocatur Iacobus de Hochstraten, quod est suum proprium nomen,

⁴ *ill. lib.*: i.e. Pfefferkorn's *Defensio*.

⁸ *impressor*: Quentel, though his name did not appear on the title-page.

²² *pastquil.*: the *Pasquino* statue, to

which lampoons were affixed. See I. Disraeli, *Cur. of Lit.*, and J. B. Mary-Lafon, *Pasquin et Marforio*, Paris, 1861.

²⁷ *Intron.*: ironically.

Est in hac Civitate, et vadit cum magna gravitate :
 Sed venit ex Almaniae partibus, ubi collegit multos caseos
 In magna quantitate : et in una universitate
 Tandem fuit graduatus, et in Theologia qualificatus ; 35
 Quia ibi subtiliter disputavit, et multos sillogismos formavit
 In Baroco et Celarent, ita ut omnes admirarent.
 Quod videntes ibi Theologi, qui sunt in fide zelosi,
 Fecerunt eum inquisitorem, contra haereticam pravitatem.
 Sed posset aliquis quaerere, " quid vult talis hic facere ? " 40
 Advertatis diligenter : quia dico vobis libenter :
 Est ibidem in Almania unus doctor in iuristria,
 Qui Iohannes Reuchlin vocatur : ille per hunc Magistrum nostrum
 citatur
 Ad Romanam Curiam : quia scripsit unam materiam, 45
 Quae non est Theologicalis : sed videtur esse haereticalis :
 Quia habet multas propositiones in fide scandalizativas.
 Et debet notum esse vobis, quod ille liber favet Iudaeis,
 Et propterea est suspectus : Ergo nuper ad illo inquisitore perlectus,
 Fuit ad ignem damnatus, et autor ad revocationem vocatus. 50
 Etiam sciatis istum librum Speculum Oculare dictum.
 Sed ille magister noster iam venit ad Romanam curiam
 Ad perficiendum illud negotium, quia Theologi non permiserunt ei
 ocium,
 Donec huc veniret, et faceret quod ille iurista periret. 55
 Ergo debetis eum honorare, et reverenter salutare,
 Quando est vobis obvis : quia est valde disputativus,
 Et quantum ad primas intentiones paucos habet similes.

Ipsi dicunt quod non est recte compositum seu com-
 portatum in pedibus suis : Et ego dixi : Quid ego curo 60
 pedes ? Ego tamen non sum poeta saecularis, sed
 Theologicalis, et non curo nec habeo respectum ad ista
 puerilia, sed tantum curo sententias : Quapropter,
 domine Ortvine, debetis mihi omni modo respondere ad
 hoc dictamen, et debetis lras ponere in bancum. Etiam 65
 volo vobis nova scribere, quod quidam homines qui
 vocantur Hispani, vadunt ad Lombardiam : et dicunt
 quod Imperator vult expellere regem Franciae, quod
 non esset bonum pro M. N. de Hochstraten, quia ipse
 per regem Franciae sollicitat negotium suum apud 70
 Sanctissimum, et Christianissimum rex multum petit pro
 eo, propter honorem universitatis Parrhisiensis, quae
 scandalizaretur ex hoc, si Speculum Oculare non com-
 bureretur. Sed iam nihil magis scio. Valete in gaudio.

Datum ROMAE.

75

³³ caseos. See i. 5, n.

⁵⁸ *prim. intent.* "Of the first in-
 tention are the names of things, a

man, stone, &c." Hobbes. (Con-
 cepts of genus, difference, &c., are
 of second intention.)

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XXVIII

¶ *M. BERNHARDUS GELFF* unus ex minimis
M. Ortino Gra. Salutem

- H**ONORABILIS seu praestans vir, quamvis non habeo notitiam vestri quoad personam, tamen
 5 quoad famam novi vos Et iamdudum est quod intellexi de Causa vestra que vocatur Causa fidei contra Ioannem Reuchlin, et habeo mecum totum processum. Et disputo cottidie cum Curtisanis et Copistis qui defendunt Iohannem Reuchlin. Et quando iste Cursor praesentium
 10 lator dixit mihi quod vult ire ad Almanniam et per Coloniam habet facere iter, dixi "Tunc per deum sanctum ego volo contrahere notitiam cum M. Ortino et scribere ei unum dictamen." Tunc ille dixit "o per deum faciatis: ipse multum gaudebit. Et dixit mihi
 15 quando exivi Coloniam, 'Dicatis omnibus Theologis et magistris et Artistis et poetis qui sunt Romae, quod scribant mihi. Quia libenter habeo quod docti viri et qui sunt bene qualificati, scribunt mihi dictaminas. Et quando sic scribunt mihi, tunc ego colligo illas lras, et
 20 postea facio unum librum ex illis, et facio eas imprimere.' Respondi ei: 'bene scio, quia vidi bene unum librum qui intitulatur Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, et multum delectat me quando lego, quia est notabiliter bonus, habens in se de multis materias hincinde.'"
 25 Ergo, M. Ortvine, rogo Dominatio vestra velit me habere commendatum, quia sum mirabilis fautor vester, et amo vos incredibiliter. Etiam debetis me commendare Iohanni Pfefferkorn quondam Iudaeo, sed nunc feliciter in Christo baptizato. Liber suus qui intitulatur
 30 "Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra Famosas" est mihi portatus ex Almania, et legi eum per totum, et signavi notabilia et Continuationes in margine. Et mul-

¹ *Gelff.* See ii. 1, n.

⁷ *processum*: seemingly, "minutes of the case"; Ger. *Proceszakten*.

⁹ *Cursor*: i.e. in theology; the first stage of bachelorship in the case of a secular student, in which he delivered

a course of lectures on a portion of the Bible. See Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur. in the Mid. Ages*, i. 465, 467.

³² *notab.*: indicated by "NB."

³² *Contin.*: brief marginal summaries.

tum teneo de tali libro. Sed debetis ei dicere quod est h' unus Officialis curiae qui est singularissimus fautor Iohannis Reuchlin. Ipse collegit aliquos articulos ex tali libro Iohannis Pfefferkorn, et vult probare quod in talibus articulis partim est haeresis, partim Crimen laesae Maiestatis. Et dicit quod vult quod fiat inquisitio contra I. P. de haeresi et Crimine laesae Maiestatis. Mitto vobis hic unam schedulam in qua scribuntur illi articuli, et consequenter contra ipsos Solutiones quas ego replicavi: Quia disputavi cum illo Officiali et defendi I. P. pro posse meo. Et sic valete habens me pro noto et Amico vestro.

Datum in CURIA Ro.

¶ ARTICULI EXTRACTI DE LIBRO IO. PFEFF.

CONTRA REUCHLIN ET QUOSDAM REUCHLINISTAS QUI LIBER INTITULATUR DEFENSIO IO. PFEFF. CONTRA FAMOSAS. ET SUNT TALES ARTICULI A REUCHLINISTIS EXCERPTI PRO HAERETICIS ET HABENTIBUS IN SE CRIMEN LAESAE MAIESTATIS QUOD FOVENTE DEO NON EST NEC FUT NEC ERIT VERUM.

¶ PRIMUS ARTICULUS

¶ Dicit Reuchlinista, quod I. P. in libro suo qui intitulatur "Defensio Io. P. contra famosas," in Epistola ad Sāctiss. d. D. Leonem. etc. Pōti. Max. blasphematur et committit Crimen laesae maiestatis appellando Papam ministram domini, quasi sit femina, sicut legimus quod semel una femina fuit papa: Sic enim scripsit Aij.

³⁴ *Offic.*: almost certainly Jacobus Aurelius von Questenberg. See ii. 10, n. Von Q., who was a liberal-minded and learned man, proved a valuable "friend at Court" for Reuchlin during the hearing of Hoogstraten's appeal, and, as one of Reuchlin's biographers puts it, "his influence was of more service to Reuchlin than all the letters commendatory of Kings and Princes." Maius, *Vit. Reuchlin*, p. 214.

³⁵ *artic.*: just as Arnold von Tognern had published *Articuli*, culled from the *Augenspiegel* in 1512.

³⁷ *laesae maj.*: Pfefferkorn's *Defence*

is full of accusations of high treason against Reuchlin.

⁵⁷ *femina*: in allusion, of course, to the legend of "Pope Joan," universally credited throughout the XVth and XVIth Cents. The development of this vague myth into an accepted fact of history is a remarkable phenomenon, resulting as it did in the accumulation of a vast evidential structure upon the flimsiest of foundations. For an adequate discussion of the whole subject see Döllinger, *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, 1863 (Eng. tr. by Plummer, 1871).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

col. ij. : “*Tuam itaque sanctitatem, velut domini nostri*
 60 *in terris locum tenens ac ministram.*” *Etiam habet in se*
haeresim iste articulus : quia vult ibi pfefferkorn innuere,
licet non expresse, tamen implicate, quod tota ecclesia
erraverit faciendo mulierem in papam : quia ille error
est maximus. Sed qui ecclesiam dicit errare, de facto est
 65 *haereticus : ergo.*

¶ Respondeo quod Io. P. qui non est bonus gram-
 maticus et non intelligit latinum, putavit quod Papa
 est generis feminini, sicut Musa : quia ut ipse audivit
 ab aliis “Nomina in *a* sunt generis feminini exceptis
 70 excipiendis.” Unde Alexander :

Sit tibi nomen in *a* muliebre, sed excipe plura.

Unde patet quod Io. P. in praesenti tractatu scribit sicut
 Theologus : sed theologi non curant grammaticam, quia
 non est de sua facultate.

75

¶ SECUNDUS ARTICULUS

¶ Reuchlinistae arguunt : Io. Pfef. in multis locis
 sicut *A j.* et *K iij.* quando vult iurare quod aliquid sit
 verum, dicit “*mediusfidius*,” quasi diceret “*per meum*
deum fidium.” Nam *mediusfidius* interpretatur “*meus*
 80 *deus fidius*” : unde manifestum est, quod ipse *I. pf.* est
idolotra et non habet cristū pro deo suo, sed Fidium qui
fuit idolum apud veteres paganos.

¶ Respondeo quod pfe. iuravit ibi “*mediusfidius*”
 non respiciendo ad hunc Terminum “*fidius*,” quod est
 85 forsitan proprium nomen alicuius Idoli : sed ipse utitur
 illo termino in quantum est Adverbium. Et sic ponit
 Donatus, qui est autenticus et legitur in scholis : et est
 dicere “*mediusfidius*” id est “*certe*” vel “*seriose.*” Vel
 dic, ut prius, quod Iohannes pfefferkorn non curat gram-
 90 maticam : vel dic, quod “*mediusfidius*” idem est quod
 “*per meam fidem*,” et sic audivi ab uno Poeta.

⁶⁷ *latinum* : the point of the gibe, of course, being that it was well known the Latin of the *Defence* was due to Ortwin Gratius himself.

⁸⁷ *Donatus* : ii. 12, n.

⁸⁸ *mediusfidius*. In the *Catholicon* we are informed that the word signifies either “*By Mercury*,” “*qui mediator est et fidus interpres*,” or that it is “*quasi mediante fide.*”

¶ TERTIUS ARTICULUS

¶ *Dicit Reuchlinista: Quisquis dicit se sustentare Ecclesiam, est haereticus: Sed Iohannes Pfefferkorn dicit se sustentare Ecclesiam: Ergo est haereticus. Maiorem* 95 *probo, quia qui dicit se sustentare Ecclesiam, praesumit quod tota ecclesia est in errore, et nisi ipse sustentaret eam, caderet et destrueretur. Etiam talis videtur esse Antipapa, id est volens esse papa contra illum papam quem elegit communis ecclesia. Quia sustentare ecclesiam* 100 *est officium Papae: sed pfefferkorn arrogat sibi hoc officium: ergo est Antipapa et haereticus innuens papam errare et non esse bonum Pastorem. Minor patet ex verbis Iohannis pfeff. qui scribit in eodem libro "se esse humile ecclesiae membrum."* 105 *Sed humile membrum in corpore est pes, quia pedes stant humi, id est in terra. Pedes autem sustentant corpus et amotis pedibus cadit corpus: Ergo Pfefferkorn praesumit quod Ecclesia stat in se, et ipse sustentat ecclesiam.*

¶ Respondeo quod Pfefferkorn non sumit terminos 110 sic stricte, et prout in sua prima impositione significant. Sed dicit se membrum, id est partem ecclesiae, sicut omnis homo Christianus dicitur esse pars Ecclesiae: vel etiam "membrum" largo [modo] utendo terminis. Et sumitur ibi "humilis" pro devoto et simplici: sicut 115 etiam in Epistola ad Papam idem Iohannes Pfefferkorn dicit: "Quanquam minime dignus sum ut vel ad sacramentis. pedes tuos etc." Ergo non debet intelligi quod Pfefferkorn loquitur contra Papam.

¶ QUARTUS ARTICULUS

120

¶ *Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn tenet quod fides Christiana est falsa, et hoc suismet verbis affirmat. Sic etiam scribit se dixisse ad Moguntinensem Episcopum in libro praefato D. J.: "Si fides Christiana est vera, Reuchlin nullam perfidiam mihi factururus est."* 125 *Sed postea plus quam in ducentis locis et etiam in aliis suis libris prius scriptis vocat Iohannem Reuchlin perfidum; Ergo*

¹¹¹ *imposit.*: almost exactly equivalent to "application."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

manifestissime dat intelligere quod non credat fidem Christianam esse veram.

- 130 ¶ Respondeo quod illa verba sunt limitanda. Quia quando dixit Pfefferkorn “si fides Christiana est vera,” subintelligendum est: “et Reuchlin est verus Christianus”: quia si Reuchlin fuisset verus Christianus, nunquam fecisset tantam perfidiam: vel dico et melius Qd
135 Iohannes Pfefferkorn protunc ita sensit: Quia omnes sumus homines et humanum est errare: sed tunc statim fecit [fuit] ab Episcopo castigatus et patienter tulit illam Correctionem faciens paenitentiam. Quia scribit quomodo episcopus dedit ei alapam quando dixit illa
140 verba: et sic habuit illam correctionem pro peccato suo.

¶ QUINTUS ARTICULUS

- ¶ Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn facit se maiorem Christo: quia in hoc libro sic dicit F. j. “Sic me tradidit Reuchlin sicut Iudas Christum, et multo peius,”
145 Quasi diceret: “peius est quod Pfefferkorn traditus est quam quod Christus.” Vel “magis merito Christus est traditus quam Pfefferkorn.” Vel “Christus dignior fuit passione quam Pfefferkorn.” Sed talia dicere aperte est haeticum, quod aliquis posset tangere cum digitis suis.
150 ¶ Respondeo, quod quando Pfefferkorn ibi dicit, quod sit peius traditus quam Christus, vult intelligere, quod Reuchlin tradidit eum Caesari: sed Christus tantum fuit traditus scribis et sacerdotibus qui sunt minores quam Caesar. Et sic videtur esse peius, id est terribilius,
155 quod aliquis traditur Caesari quam Sacerdotibus et scribis qui non habent ita magnam potestatem.

¶ SEXTUS ARTICULUS

- ¶ Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn committit iterum Crimen laesae maiestatis, et hoc multipliciter. Dicit enim
160 O i.: omnes amicos et fautores Iohannes Reuchlin, principes et alios doctos et indoctos peccare in hoc quod

¹⁴⁹ tangere, &c.: Ger. man kann es mit Fingern greifen; “it is clear as noonday.”

Iohanni Reuchlin favent: sed tales sunt in Germania bene X Principes et dominus Imperator met et multi Cardinales et Episcopi Romae, et ipse sanctissimus dominus Papa Leo, qui nuper quando legit epistolam Iohannis Reuchlin, multum laudavit talem virum Et dixit quod vult eum defendere contra omnes Fratres: et talia dixerunt etiam Reverendissimi Cardinales s. Marci et s. Georgii et s. Chrissogoni et alii plures. 165

¶ Respondeo quod Pfefferkorn fecit hoc Amore 170
veritatis que est maior quam Papa et Imperator et omnes Cardinales et Episcopi et Principes. Et ergo in protestatione sua finali, O iiii. sic excusatur se: “Me ipsum duce veritate et sine alicuius defensione defendi. Nam Hieremie vaticinio Maledictus qui prohibet 175
gladium suum a sanguine: et melius est incidere in manus hominum quam in manus omnipotentis dei.” Et ergo putat quod melius est offendere Papam et Imperatorem quam veritatem, id est deum. Quia deus est veritas. 180

¶ SEPTIMUS ARTICULUS

¶ Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn in eodem libro uno eodemque loco committit haeresim et Crimen laesae maiestatis. Quia dicit O. j. columna ij. “Non pugnatur hic gladio, non viribus, non hasta progreditur in campum (quod superbiae Crimen est) cum rege miles, etc.” 185
Ibi enim dicit quod bellare et ire in campum superbiae crimen est: sed hoc faciunt Papa et Imperator, et semper fecerunt, et etiam multi qui sunt in Cathalogo sanctorum. Si ergo ire in campum esset Crimen superbiae, tunc illi 190
sancti et imperator modernus et etiam papa essent in

¹⁶⁴ Card. Raffaello Riario, Cardinal of S. Giorgio, was degraded for conspiracy against Leo X. in 1517, but was soon restored to favour. Dominico Grimani, Cardinal of S. Marco, had been appointed by the Pope to cite Reuchlin to appear, personally or through an advocate, at Rome. Adriandic Castello, Cardinal of S. Chrisogono (to be carefully distinguished from Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Pope Adrian VI.), was also one of the conspirators against Leo X., and to

avoid the penalty fled from Rome. He was an accomplished scholar, and to him Reuchlin dedicated one of his works on Hebrew grammar. Adrian, who was in high favour with Henry VIII., was Rector of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, and held successively the sees of Hereford and Bath, which latter he farmed out to Wolsey. See Rymer, *Foed.*, vi. 1, 141.

¹⁷⁵ Hier.: Jer. xlviii. 10.

¹⁷⁶ melius, &c.: 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; 1 Chron. xxi. 13.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

peccato mortali, et per consequens erraret Ecclesia quae habet pro sanctis. Ergo Pfefferkorn directe est contra ius Canonicum et Civile, contra Imperatorem et Papam,
 195 *contra Ecclesiam et Imperium."*

¶ Respondeo quod haec verba sunt limitanda, quorum talis erit intellectus quod bellantes cum armis et vadentes in campum committunt crimen superbiae in quantum sine iusta causa aliis faciunt iniuriam. Sed
 200 quando Imperator et Papa gerunt bellum, tunc praesumitur quod faciunt pro defensione Ecclesiae et Imperii : et sic Pfefferkorn non reprehendit eos.

¶ OCTAVUS ARTICULUS

¶ Dicit Reuchlinista : Pfefferkorn arguit Imperatorem quod mentitur, quia sic scribit O ij. columna j.
 205 *contra Reuchlin : " Ego contra dico eum esse proditorem dei et hominum et Caesareae maiestatis perfidum consultorem."* In his verbis aperte tenet oppositum Imperatori et vocat eum mendacem. Quia dominus imperator in
 210 *Epistola sua ad Papam, et etiam in multis mandatis et commissionibus hincinde vocat Iohannem Reuchlin suum fidelem consiliarium et consultorem. Quomodo ergo posset maiorem blasphemiam facere, quam vocare eum mendacem ? Unde irremissibiliter meruit penam*
 215 *laesae Maiestatis.*

¶ Respondeo quod iste textus distinguendus est, et punctandus. Ita ut post hoc verbum " Maiestatis " ponantur duo puncta. Quia Reuchlin forte est fidelis consultor imperatoris in suis rebus : sed non fuit fidelis
 220 Iohannis Pfefferkorn, ut ipse probat multis argumentis. Et ergo nemo debet putare quod Io. Pfe. loquitur contra imperatorem : quia ipse est bonus imperialis, ut apparet in suis libris hincinde, teutonici[s] et latinis.

²¹⁰ *Epist. sua ad Papam : i.e. of Oct. 23, 1514. See Introd.*

²¹⁴ *irremiss.* : a technical term in theology ; " unpardonably " in its strictest sense.

²¹⁸ *duo puncta* : a semicolon (in the place of the more modern comma) ; but Gelff's emendation scarcely mends matters.

¶ NONUS ARTICULUS

¶ Dicit Reuchlinista: Quod omnium maximum et 225
grandissimum et terribilissimum et horribilissimum et
diabolicissimum et infernalissimum est, Io. Pfefferkorn
reprehendit Papam et Curiam, attribuendo eis Crimen
falsi. Sic enim scribit I. iij. "Ceterum omnia haec, id
est ipsius ex urbe Roma commissionem, minus iuste, immo 230
iniustissime acquisitam, haeretice pravitatis Magister non
curavit, etc." Sed Papa dedit illam commissionem:
ergo Papam vituperat Io. pfe. quod non bene administrat
iustitiam: quod est ita haeticum ut mereatur tres ignes.

¶ Respondeo: Pfefferkorn non dicit ibi quod Papa 235
 vel Curia Romana iniuste dedit commissionem: sed
 vult intelligere quod Reuchlin iniuste acquisivit eam.
 Et ergo Io. Reuchlin appellat iniustum, et non Papam.

¶ DECIMUS ARTICULUS

¶ Dicit Reuchlinista: Pfefferkorn iterum committit 240
Crimen laesae maiestatis, quia manifeste mentitur de Im-
peratore et Episcopo Coloniensi. Quia dicit quod quidam
inquisitor haereticae pravitatis ex commissione Caes.
Maiestatis cum appositione manus Episcopi Coloniensis
combussit Speculum Oculare Coloniae. Quod est falsis- 245
simum. Quia neque Caes. Ma. commisit hoc, neque
Episcopus unquam apposuit manum: quia si imperator
commisisset hoc, non iam laboraret pro Reuchlin scribendo
ad papam, quod debet sibi Consiliarium defensum habere
contra invidos et Captiosos Theologos. Ergo Pfefferkorn 250
manifeste est falsarius, quia falsificat seu mentitur commis-
siones imperiales.

¶ Respondeo quod de Episcopo Coloniensi non
 curatur, quia est mortuus. Sed de Imperatore Io. pfe.
 loquitur intentionaliter, et implicite quantum ad primam 255
 imperatoris mentem. Quia primo quando Iohannes
 Pfefferkorn incepit istud laudabile negocium in Causa
 fidei, ut faceret comburere libros Iudaeorum, tunc im-
 perator fuit intentionatus, ut videbatur, quod vellet

²⁵⁴ mortuus: ii. 2, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 260 cōburē omnes libros qui sunt contra fidem Christianam. Sed liber Io. Reuchlin est talis: ergo imperatori videbatur quod vellet etiam eum committere ad comburendum. Igitur Pfefferkorn scribit quod imperator commisit, videlicet implicite, non explicite vel expresse.
- 265 Et ipse putat quod satis fuit quod imperator commisit ei semel de libris Iudaeorum, sub quibus reprehenduntur etiam libri haereticales. Quia audiui ego, quod si imperator mansisset in illo laudabili proposito, tunc Theologi voluerunt omnes librarios per totam Al-
- 270 maniam visitare, et omnes malos libros comburere, praesertim libros istorum novorum Theologorum qui non habent fundamentum suum ex Doctore sancto, ex doctore subtili, et ex doctore Seraphico, et Alberto magno. Quod fuisset utique laudabile et valde proficuum: et credo quod adhuc erit: quod tribuat omnipotens qui regnat per omnia et omni tempore. Amen.
- 275

XXIX

✠ *ECBERTUS UNGENANT*
M. Ortino Gratia Salutem

VENERABILIS domine et amice singularissime. Diu est quod non habui nuncios, ut possem
 5 dirigere litteras ad dominationem vestram: alias diu scripsissem vobis. Pareatis ergo mihi, quia libenter scripsissem vobis, si habuissem nuncium.

Sed sicut scripsistis mihi quod Mg̃r n. Valentinus de Gelterstheim dixit vobis, quod debetis mihi scribere,
 10 quod adhuc duos florenos debeo ei pro lectionibus quando steti in bursa sua: Sciatis quod nihil volo ei dare, Quia ipse etiam promisit mihi multa, et dixit

²⁶⁶ *reprehend.*: for "comprehenduntur."

²⁶⁹ *librarios*: equivalent to "librarians" in i. 31, "Libraria, ein library, locus librorum," *Gemma Gemmarum*.

²⁷² *Doctore*, &c.: i.e. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Bonaventura, respectively.

²⁷⁴ *profic.*: "profitable" (the word is used by Martianus Capella).

¹ *Ungenant*: Ger. *ungenant*, "unnamed."

⁸ *Valentinus*: i.e. Valentin Engelhart von Geltersheim. See i. 7, n.

¹¹ *in bursa sua*: i.e. in the De Monte hostel at Cologne.

quod vellet mihi dare bonas propinas, quod irem
omni die bis vel ter ad Rhenum videndo quando
naves veniant ex partibus inferioribus vel superioribus: 15
et quando beani sunt intus, tunc deberem eis suadere
quod visitarent in bursa sua. Et per deum ego bene
portavi ei viginti beanos et perdidit multum tempus,
currendo hincinde. Et fuisset melius studere illo tem-
pore. Sed ipse nunquam dedit mihi aliquid. Etiam 20
dedit nobis mala bursalia et macras carnes, et acerbum
potum. Et potestis ei bene dicere quod debet ista
recordare.

Sed vos valete in Caritate.

Datum Lo.

25

XXX

¶ *BALTHASAR SCLAUCH* *baccalarius*
Theologiae formatus M. Ortvinio Gra. Sa.

GRATIARUM actiones vobis immensas, infinitas,
inenarrabiles, innumerabiles, incomparabiles, in- 5
effabiles, quod misistis mihi librum d. Iohannis Pfeffer-
korn, qui intitulatur “Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn
contra famosas.” Ego fui ita laetus quando accepi
illum librum, quod saltavi prae gaudio. Et certissime
credo quod Io. Pfefferkorn est ille de quo prophetizatur
Ezechielis IX. sic: “Et vocavit virum qui indutus 10
erat lineis et atramentarium scriptoris habebat in
lumbis suis.” Quia Io. pfeff. semper habet atramen-
tarium secum et scribit in praedicationibus vel con-
venticulis Auctoritates et notabilia, unde postea
componit talia. Vos exhilaratis me valde quando 15
mittitis mihi libors suos: quia sunt ita artificialiter
compositi quod miror. Ego etiam Viennae multum

¹⁶ *beani*: Fr. *béjaune* (bec jaune), a novice, a freshman, in allusion to the yellow bill of a callow nestling. The equivalent “bejan” is still used in more than one Scottish university.

¹⁷ *visitarent*. This practice of tout-
ing for particular hostels was expressly
forbidden in the statutes of the Uni-
versity of Basle (1477), and the Rhine

bridge is mentioned as a favourite
hunting ground.

²⁵ *Lo.*: probably for Lovaniae, i.e.
Louvain. The university was founded
in 1426.

¹ *Sclauch*: for *Schlauch*, a leathern
bottle.

¹⁶ *lib.* *Sic*, in [D].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

glorior quod sum notus sibi : et quando nomino eum, dico "Iohānis pfef., Amicus meus." Sed in illo
 20 libro intellexi, quod Theologi sunt discordes super speculum oculare : quia aliqui damnant eum ad ignem, sicut Pharrisieñ et Colonienses, Aliqui vero ad suspensionem, sicut M. N. Petrus Meyer, qui quando vidit Speculum Oculare, clamavit voce magna : "Ad
 25 patibulum, ad patibulum cum tali libro !" Vos deberetis esse Cōcordes, tunc possetis habere victoriam contra illum haereticum. Ego fui multum perterritus quando legi ista. Et dixi : "Nunc diabolus tenebit candelam, si Theologi volunt esse discordes." Sed
 30 spero quod eritis iterum concordēs. Sed mihi videtur quod M. n. Petrus non est iustus ipse et sui Cohaerentes, qui tenent quod Speculum oculare debet suspendi ad patibulum. Quia est ille liber haereticus, et haeretici merentur penam ignis. Quia haeretici comburuntur, sed fures suspenduntur. Quamvis illi fortasse dicunt quod Speculum O etiam commisit furtum. Quia
 35 Io. Pfeff. dicit quod in hoc libro I. Reuchlin furavit ei honorem suum, quem non daret pro viginti florenis : quia duo Iudaei qui similiter furaverant ei honorem
 40 suum, dederunt ei triginta florenos pro eo. Sit a vel b, ego vellem quod essetis concordēs. Non habemus hic nova, nisi quod ille poeta Ioachimus Vadianus, qui est unus ex Reuchlinistis, est factus Rector universitatis. Percutiat deus omnem societatem Poetarum et
 45 Iuristarum et non derelinquat unum ex eis mingentem ad parietem. Ego cogitavi quod volo recedere : quid deberem in illa universitate facere, ubi poeta est rector : et sunt hic ita multi Reuchlinistae sicut in nulla alia universitate. Sc' Ioch. Vadianus rector, et
 50 Georgius Collimitius Tanstetter, pronunc Medicus, olim

²² *Phar.* Sic, in [D] ; perhaps an intentional allusion to *Pharisaei*.

²³ *Meyer.* See i. 5, n.

²⁸ *diab.* See ii. 24, n.

⁴² *Vadian.* : Joachim von Watt (1484–1551), Rector of Vienna Univ. in 1516, a man of wide sympathies and much energy. Later he joined the party of Zwingli. See *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 315. For many years burgomaster of his native town, St.

Gallen, where the *Bibliotheca Vadiana* still commemorates his munificence.

⁴⁵ *mingent.* Milton (*Apol. for Smectymmus*, Prose Works, 1848, vol. iii. p. 131) makes some curious comments on this Biblical naïveté.

⁴⁹ *Sc' :* scilicet.

⁵⁰ *Colli.* : Georg Tannstetter, Rector of Vienna Univ. in 1512, called C. from his native town of Rain (a boundary).

Mathematicus, et I. Cuspinianus, qui est servitor et consiliarius Caesaris. Et quidam qui vocatur Thomas Resch, et Simon Lasius, qui est compatriota Io. R. et alii multi. Sed Magister noster Heckman est de via nostra; et dixit quod tenebit cum Theologis usque ad finem vitae suae. Ipse etiam multum salutatur vos, et Io. Pfeff. Valete. Datum in Vienna. Iterum Valete tam diu donec Pfefferkorn manet Christianus. 55

XXXI

¶ ALBERTUS STRUNCK
M. Ortvinio Gratio Dauē

REVERENTIALEM obedientiam loco Salutis. Venerabilis domine Magister. Rogo vos Cordialit⁷ quatenus velitis mihi indulgere, quod non scribo vobis saepe, quia est per deum ita magnus Calor in Roma, quod unus non potest ire in plateis vel sedere in domo: Et non possum scribere aliquid vel componere prae Calore. Sed vos scitis quod est magnus labor facere dictaminas, et dixistis mihi in Colonia, quod in septem diebus vix facitis unum bonum dictamen. Et allegastis mihi Horatium dicens, quod talis poeta docet quod novem annos debemus consumere faciendo unum bonum dictamen. Et credo quod sic est faciendum. Quia oportet esse cautum et videre quod est bona congruitas. Et aliquando non est satis quod est bona congruitas: quia requiritur etiam Ornatus secundum viginti praecepta Elegantiarum et Modum epistolandi 15

⁵¹ *Cusp.*: 1473–1529. Rector of Vienna Univ. in 1500. See ii. 9.

⁵³ *Resch.*: Latinised as Velocianus. Rector of Vienna Univ. in 1509 and 1511.

⁵³ *Lasius.*: or Lazius, father of the historian, Wolfgang L.

⁵⁴ *Heckm.* See ii. 9.

¹ *Strunck.*: "stump," e.g. of a cabbage.

¹⁰ *dict.* See ii. 1, n.

¹² *Horat.*:

"nonumque prematur in annum
Membranis intus positis."

Ars Poet., 388.

¹⁸ *Elegant.* Seventeen editions of *Elegantiarum viginti praecepta* are noted by Hain (6561–6577); twelve are in the Brit. Mus. All are anonymous, but the work is due to Aegidius of Süchteln.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- Pontii vel Pauli Niavis qui fuit magister Lipsensis.
20 Etiam isti poetae sunt nunc valde reprehensivi, et
quando aliquis scribit aliquid, tunc dicunt: "Ecce ibi
et ibi non ē bona latinisatio:" et veniunt huc cum suis
novis terminis et confundunt antiquam grammaticam.
Ergo non possum scribere in istis Caloribus. Ergo
25 habeatis me excusatum. Et Valet.

Datum ROMAE.

XXXII

¶ M. HENRICHUS CRIBELINIONIACIUS
Magistro Ortino Salutem

- VENERABILIS Magister, primum et ante omnia
sciatis, quod perdidī duas sententias, et si perdo
5 tertiam, tunc diabolus erit Abbas. Et timeo valde,
quia Auditor dixit mihi: "Per deum, si essem sicut
vos, ego non vellem appellare, quia non habetis Ius:"
ergo non scio quid debeo facere. Ego credo quod
theologi hoc anno non debent fortunam habere. Quia
10 etiam eximius vir D. M. noster Petrus Meyer satis male
stat in causa sua contra Canonicos Franckfordienses,
quod vexant illum bonum et devotum patrem. Sed
credo quod isti Canonici faciunt hoc propter Io.
Reuchlin quem diligunt propter suam poetriam. Et
15 propterea volentes ei placere tribulant illum bonum
pastorem, quia ipse mirabiliter inimicatur Io. R.: et
merito, quia stat pro facultate sua. Quia Io. R. est
inimicus Theologorum: sed M. noster Petrus est Theo-
logus: ergo. Et est bene licitum, quod unus defendit
20 facultatem suam. Etiam D. Iacobus de Hochstraten
M. nŕ et haeret. pra. Inquisitor non habet bonam for-
tunam in causa fidei. Quia isti Curtisani nunc omnes
volunt esse poetae, et sic parvipendunt Theologos et

¹⁹ Pontii. Probably a pseudonym. Bebelius, in his diatribe, "Contra Epistolandi modos Pontii et aliorum," speaks of him as "one Pontius."

¹⁹ Niavis. See i. 7, n.

²⁰ reprehensivi. Not elsewhere found.

²³ antiquam: i.e. scholastic.

¹ Cribel.: sieve-maker(?). Allusion unknown.

⁵ diabol.: the first recorded instance of this proverbial phrase: "the powers of darkness gain the mastery." See Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Abt.*

sunt contra eos. Sed tamen spero quod parum lucrabunt: quia dominus respiciet famulos suos et liberabit eos. Ego audiui nuper quod Imperator scripsit unam lram ad Papam pro Io. Reuchlin, et scripsit ita, quod si Sanctissimitas sua non vult finem facere in isto negocio et dare Sententiam, tunc ipse met vult videre quomodo potest defendere suum consiliarium. Sed quid est? Si papa est pro theologis, tunc non timeo. Etiam audiui ab uno notabili viro qui est Officialis Curiae qui dixit: "Quid nobis hic cum lris? Si Reuchlin habet pecuniam, mittat huc. Quia in Curia oportet habere pecunias: alias nihil potest expedire." Et alius occulte dixit mihi, quod M. n. Ia. iterum dedit certas propinas quibusdam referendariis. Et sic quando iam vadunt ante eum, tunc faciunt ei maiorem reverentiam et loquuntur amicabiliter cum eo. Ergo nunc semper meliorem spem habemus. Si perdo illud beneficium, tunc adhuc volo contendere pro illa vicaria in Nussia sicut scitis. Quia procurator meus informavit me quod habeo bonum Ius. Sed iam recordor quod nuper venit unus hic qui dixit, quod universitas Erfordiensis vult revocare sententiam suam seu determinationem contra Io. Reuchlin. Et si facit, tunc volo dicere, quod omnes Theologi qui sunt ibi, sunt perfidi et mendaces, et volo semper de eis dicere hoc scandalum, quod non manent cum facultate sua et defendunt zelosissimum virum D. Iacobum de Hochstraten qui est lux Theologorum, et lucet sicut stella per suas doctrinas et Argumentationes pro fide Catholica. Et credo quod si haeretici vel Turci venirent, ipse disputaret contra eos et confunderet eos cum subtilitate sua, et converteret eos ad fidem Christianam. Quia ille Theologus non habet Aequalē: Et nuper disputavit hic in Sapientia valde doctrinaliter. Tunc dixit quidam Italus "Ego non credidi prius, quod Almaniam habet tales Theologos." Sed quidam alius dixit, quod non est bene profundatus in textibus bibliae, et non bene intelligeret Hierony-

²⁷ *litteram*: Oct. 23, 1514. Maius, *Vit. Reuch.*, p. 462.

²⁸ *Sanctiss.* See ii. 5.

⁵⁶ *Sapientia*: the Università della Sapienza, founded, as a law school, by Innocent IV., 1244. Schools of theo-

logy and grammar were added by Boniface VIII. and Clement V. The present building, near the Pantheon, dates from 1576. Above the entrance are the words: "Initium Sapientiae timor Domini."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

mum et Augustinum. Respondi: "O bone deus, quid dicitis? Ille doctor praesupponit talia, et iam ipse habet curare alia, et bene maiores subtilitates." Deus det quod recte eat, tunc volumus triumphare, et postea
65 ex tota Almania pellere illam poetriam. Et volumus facere quod isti Turistae non audent dicere unum verbum, quando sunt cum Theologis. Quia timebunt ne mittant super eos Inquisitorem et comburant eos pro haereticis. Sicut nunc spero quod fiet Iohanni
70 Reuchlin adiuvante deo, cuius nos sumus iudices. Quia sicut milites saeculares defendunt Iustitiam in terris: Ita nos defendimus Ecclesiam per disputationes et praedicationes. Sed parcatis mihi de longiloquio. Et Valet.

75 Datum ROMANAE CURIAE.

XXXIII

¶ *PETRUS LAPP* sacrae paginae *Licentiat*
M. Ortvino Gratia Salu.

SECUNDUM quod semel scripsistis mihi, vir vene-
rabilis, quod habetis valde magnum miraculum
5 abinde quod pro nunc sunt ita multi excellentes Doctores in Colonia, et etiam alii non adhuc promoti sed propediem M. N., et multi egregiissimi theologi, et nominastis mihi M. n. Ia. de Hoch., M. n. Arnoldum de Tungari, et M. n. Remigium, et M. n. Valē. de
10 Gelterszheim, et M. n. Pe. qui tempore meo regebat in bursa Kück, et d. Rutgerum Licē. et multos alios qui actu sunt Coloniae, et etiam Io. P. qui quanvis est laicus et indoctus in arti. liberalibus, et nunquam visitavit scholas Christianorum et non didicit Grammaticam aut logicam,
15 tamen ut scribitis habet profundum intellectum et Cor illuminatum. Etiam apostoli non fuerunt docti, et tamen seiverunt omnia. Et sic putatis, quod spiritus-sanctus potest predicto I. P. infundere omnem scien-

⁹ *Remig.* See i. 5, n.

¹⁰ *Geltersch.* See i. 7, n.

¹¹ *Pe.*: Böcking suggests P. Süls,

Rector of the Univ. of Cologne in 1518.

¹¹ *Rutg.* See i. 3, n.

tiam sanctorum, sicut dicit scrip. Etiam nominastis mihi in Maguntia duos M. n., D. Bartholomaeum Zehe-²⁰ ner praedicatorem in summo, et D. Pe. bertrā plebanum. Et in Frankfordia d. Pe. meyer qui est mirabilis in sermonibus suis Et quando vult ipse facit homines ridere, et quando vult facis eos flere, et facit mirabilia praedicando. Secundum hoc vellem quod faceretis²⁵ omnes ad unum et excelleretis istos Iuristas et Poetas saeculares, vel imponatis eis silentium quod non audent ita scribere libros. Et quando vellent aliquid compilare, tunc deberent prius ostendere Magistris nostris ad videndum si debet imprimi. Et si non placet magistris³⁰ nostris, non debet imprimi vel debet comburi. Etiam deberent M. nostri facere mandatum quod nullus iurista vel poeta aliquid scriberet in Theologia, et ne introducerent illam novam latinitem in sacrosanctam Theologiam, sicut fecerunt Io. Reuchlin et quidam ut audio³⁵ qui appellatur Proverbia Erasmi: quia non sunt fundamentales in ea: et possibile est quod nunquam disputaverunt publice vel tenuerunt conclusiones sicut est mos. Ipsi volunt mittere falcem in messem alterius, quod Theologi non debent pati. Ergo rogo vos quod velitis⁴⁰ rogare illos doctissimos viros de quibus scribitis, quod disponant disputare contra illos novos latinisatores et scommatizare eos bene. Et si dicunt quod sciunt litteras graecas et hebraicas, habetis respondere, quod tales litterae non curantur a Theologis. Quia sacra⁴⁵ scriptura sufficienter est translata et non indigemus aliis translationibus. Et potius non debemus discere tales lras propter despectum Iudaeorum et Graecorum. Quia Iudaei videntes quod discimus suas lras, dicunt: "Ecce Christiani discunt nostras scientias, et sine illis⁵⁰ non possunt fidem suam defendere:" et fit magna verecundia Christianis, et Iudaei fortificant se in sua fide. Sed Graeci recesserunt ab ecclesia: igitur etiam debent haberi pro inimicis et eorum scientiae non

²⁰ Zehen. See i. 27, n.²¹ Bertr.: "crassus rudisque sacerdos," known only by allusions in the *Triumphus Reuchlini*.²² Meyer. See i. 5, n.²⁴ fucis. Sic, in [D]; for *fucit*.³⁶ appell. "Smaragdus, a grammarian, mistook *Eunuchus Comoedia* and *Orestes Tragoedia*, mentioned by Donatus, for the names of authors." J. A. Symonds, *Revival of Learning (Renaissance in Italy)*, 1897.⁴³ scom. Not elsewhere found.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

55 debent praticari a Christianis. Talia vellem libenter
quod faceretis, et postea scriberetis mihi quid fieret.
Valete.

Datum in HALBERSTAT.

XXXIV

❧ *MAGISTER IOHANNES SCHNERCKIUS*
Magistro Ortvino Gratia

5 **S**ALUTEM simpliciter annunciatam et non per
pomposum ornatum verborum sicut consueverunt
poetales Magistri non ambulantes in via simplici cum
Theologis.

Sed salutem in Christo, qui liberet nos in die isto
Ab omni tribulatione, necnon a Iohanne Capnione,
Qui est Iurista saecularis, sed in Theologia vix scholaris,
10 Et si deberet disputare, cum Theologis se exercitare,
Ita quod aliquid solveret: per deum ipse perderet
In sacra scriptura: quia ibi est magna cura
Quod possit aliquis bene stare, vel unum alium vexare,
Ita quod cum concludat, et concludendo bene confundat,
15 Sicut nuper Hochstratus, qui est ad salutem ecclesiae natus,
Ut expellat istos socios, poetas et historicos,
Qui tenent malas opiniones, et non valent ad disputationes.

Sancte deus, ego non habui voluntatem scribere
vobis metra, et tamen scribo. Sed factum est ex im-
20 proviso. Etiam illa metra non sunt de poetria saecu-
lari et nova, sed de illa antiqua quam etiam admittunt
Magistri nostri in Parrhisia et Colonia et alibi. Et
tempore meo quando steti Parrhisius, dicebatur quod
unus antiquus Magister qui habitavit in Collegio Montis.

¹⁴ *eum*: in later edd. "eum," which is clearly preferable.

²³ *Parrh.* Indecl. See ii. 37, *ad fin.*

²⁴ *ant. Mag.* Apparently a confused reference to Petrus de Riga, fragments of whose *Aurora* are given by Migne (*Patrol.*, vol. 212); additions were made by Egidius Parisiensis. An example is appended:—

"Mox Deus adduxit animantia singula terrae:

Praebat ut cunctis nomina rebus
Adam,
Hebraice loquens imponit nomina
rebus

Omnibus ille. Prior illa loquela
fuit." —p. 22.

²⁴ *Coll. Mout.* Perhaps Montaigu Coll.; Böcking, however (citing Crévier, *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*), favours the College "des Augustins dans le quartier Montmartre."

componeret totam bibliam metricè, scilicet cum istis 25
metris. Debetis autem scire novitates quae sunt bene
pro vobis: videlicet quod Reuchlin non potest amplius
ita multum studere sicut prius, quia oculi volunt ei de-
crescere, sicut dicit scriptura in Genesi: "Et caliga-
verunt oculi eius, nec videre poterat." Quia nuper 30
venit unus bacularius de Stuckgardia qui fuit ibi in
domo eius: et ego feci quasi non scirem de inimicitia
vestra quam habetis invicem, dixi ad eum: "Bone
domine bacularie, Non habeatis mihi pro malo quod
interrogo vobis. Et cum supportatione pro primo lib- 35
enter vellem scire, An Reuchlin est adhuc sanus?"
Respondit, quod ita, sed tamen quod non potest bene
videre sine brillo. Tunc dici "Ergo pro secundo dicatis
mihi quomodo tamen habet se quoad Causam fidei.
Ego audiui quod habet certas lites cum certis Theo- 40
logis: sed credo quod faciunt ei iniuriam (sed dixi
tronice): quomodo ergo habet se. Ego credo quod
semper componat aliquid contra Theologos." Respondit
ille: "Nescio, sed tamen volo dicere vobis quid ego
vidi ab eo: quando veni in domum eius, dixit mihi: 45
'Bene veneritis domine bacularie, sedeatis.' Et ipse
habuit brillum in naso et librum ante se qui fuit
scriptus mirifice, Ita quod statim vidi quod non erat
Almanice neque bohémice scriptus, neque etiam latine.
Et dixi ei 'Egregie domine doctor, quomodo tamen 50
vocatur talis liber?' Respondit quod vocatur Plut-
archus in graeco, et tractat de Philosophia. Tunc dixi,
'legatis in nomine domini.' Et sic credo quod scit
artes mirabiles. Tunc vidi iacere unum parvum librum
noviter impressum sub scamno. Et dixi ei: 'Egregie 55
domine doctor, quid iacet hic?' Respondit: 'est unus
liber scandalizativus quem nuper quidam amicus meus
misit mihi ex Colonia, et est scriptus contra me, et
Theologi Colonienses composuerunt eum, dicentes nunc
quod Iohannes P. fecit talem librum.' Tunc dixi: 60
'Quid facitis ergo desuper? Non vultis vindicare
vos?' Respondit 'Nullo modo. Sed sum satis vindi-
catus. Ego nunc non curo amplius istam stulticiam,
sed vix habeo satis oculos ad studendum ea quae sunt

²⁹ Gen.: xxvii. 1.

⁴² tron.: (sic) for ironice.

⁵⁵ nov. imp.: i.e. Pfefferkorn's

Defensio.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 65 mihi utilia.' Fuit autem talis liber intitulatus 'Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra famosas.' Aliud non scio de doctore Reuchlin." Talia dixit praedictus bacularius. Ergo, domine Ortvine, habeatis bonam Confidentiam. Quia si ille habet malos oculos quod
70 non potest amplius multum legere aut scribere, suum damnum, Vos autem non debetis quiescere, sed debetis recenter scribere contra eum. Valete.

Datum ULMAE.

XXXV

¶ M. WILHELMUS LAMP

M. Ortveno Gratia S.

- EXIMIE et promotoriali reverentia celeberrime vir.
Vos scripsistis mihi qualiter litera mea quam
5 composui vobis de ambulatione mea ad Curiam, fuit vobis praesentata. Et scribitis quod potestis exinde notare quod diligo vos valde. Et bene scribitis talia: sunt etenim vera. Quia vos estis mihi in corde et ego amo vos cordialiter. Sed etiam scribitis mihi quod
10 debeo vobis Intimare seu declarare quomodo transit mihi promunc. Sciatis quod sum apud unum Notarium Rotae et habeo parare mensam, et ire ad forum pro comparando herbas et fabas et panes et Carnes et talia, et facere domum in ordine, quando dominus venit ex
15 audientia et commensales sui, quod omnia sunt parata. Et cum hoc etiam studeo. Et dominus meus nuper dixit mihi, quod per deum quando sto unum annum vel duos secum, ipse vult mihi iuvare ad unum beneficium, sicut prius iuvavit multis. Et est bene creden-
20 dum, quia amat me multum. Et praecipue nuper quando vidit quod sum poeta, tunc dixit quod vult me semper Amātius habere. Et factum est ita: Est unus ex commensalibus qui est poeta in ista poctria nova, et semper in mensa loquitur de poesi, et multum repre-

¹ Lamp: the writer of ii. 12.

³ promo. At Bologna the *promotor*

was the graduate who presented candidates for degrees. (Rashdall.)

hendit illos antiquos patres et grammaticos, Alexandrum Graecistā, Verba deponentalia, Remigium et alios. Et nuper dixit quod aliquis volens discere bona Carmina facere, debet scire Diomedem: et dixit multa de tali Diomede. Respondi “ego Miror quomodo tamen venistis super illos novos grammaticos, et tamen habetis omnia metrice in tertia parte Alexandri de pedibus et quantitatibus syllabarum, et artem scandendi et cetera. Et cum hoc iste Diomedes non fuit bonus Christianus. Quia legi semel qualiter ipse habuit Equos qui comederunt homines, et ipse dedit eis comedere homines.” Tunc ille Curtisanus multum risit et subsanavit me. Et postea dixit, quod debeo ei dicere quomodo Abacuck habet primam syllabam. Respondi: “ego distinguo. Quia prout est proprium, habet primam indifferentem secundum Alexandrum: 40

“Ad placitum poni priorum multa notavi.”

Sed prout quaeritur quantam habet primam naturaliter respiciendo ad naturas appellativorum, tunc habet primam brevem secundum Alexandrum dicentem quod *a* ante *b* in primis syllabis, exceptis excipiendis, est brevis.” Tunc ille adhuc magis derisit me et dixit “Vade tu Coloniensis Copulatista, cum tuo Alexandro, qui fuit asinus Parrhisiensis, sicut adhuc sunt plures.” Et sic multum scandalizans illum bonum Alexandrum abivit. Et dixi ego: “Cras videbitis.” Et de mane portavi unum carmen quod compilavi per noctem in laudem Alexandri, et mitto vobis exemplum. Et quando dominus meus vidit illud Carmen, tunc laudavit me et dixit “Iste socius est pro me.” Et dixit “O Wilhelme, scis ita compilare metra? Ego ignora- 55
vi. Et propterea plus volo te diligere in posterum.” Et sic spero quod volo bene stare. Et quando vult dominus deus quod acquirō aliquid, tunc iterum volo

²⁵ *Graec.*: Eberhard Bethuniensis.

²⁶ *Verb. depon.*: the *Verba Deponentalia* of Johannes Synthen; a pamphlet of 12 ff.

²⁷ *Remig.* See i. 7, n.

²⁸ *Diom.*: grammarian; (“Diomedis Artis Grammaticae Libri III.”; is included in Keil’s *Grammatici Latini*,

vol. i., Lips., 1857), confused by Lamp with D., king of the Bistones, in Thrace, who fed his mares on the flesh of his captives. See Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.*, iv. 15.

²⁹ *subs.* Sic, in [D] and [E].

³⁰ *Aba.*: i.e. Habakkuk.

⁴⁷ *Col. Cop.* See ii. 9, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

me conferre ad partes, fiendo presbiter. Valetate iugiter.
60 Datum Romanae Curiae.

*Metrum Epigrammaticum confectum per Wilhelmum Lamp M. septem
artium liberalium Coloniensem In laudem Alexandri Galli*

65 Qui vult discere grammaticam, legat Alexandri materiam,
Quae est divisa in quattuor partes, docens multas bonas Artes,
Praebens lac et mel pueris, sicut docet Glosa notabilis
In Colonia facta: praecipue quoad metra
Collige partem tertiam: ipsa tollet tibi omnem inertiam,
Sicut fecit mihi, qui multum ex hac didici.

XXXVI

❧ IOHANNES ARNOLDI M. Ortuno Gratia
Salutem D. P.

CREDIDERIM utique quod audiveritis vel fuerit
vobis pluscule dictum qualiter ex quadam affectione
5 animali bona contulerim me nuperrime viatica ambula-
tione ad urbanam Romae Curiam causa lucruli ad consar-
cinandum unum beneficiolum seu praebendiolum vel
parrochiam aliquam missam, unde poterit mihi ex
nunc usque ad finem vitae meae sufficere ac suppetere
10 victus et amictus, si divina voluerit dei gratia. Quamo-
brem, me hercule vel mediusfidius, debueritis mihi non
rariuscule unam literulam amiciose conflata se com-
pilata ascribere, et in ea affectionaliter significare
quomodo steteritis in omni qualitate Corporali seu
15 animali, Et quomodo fueritis fortunatus fataliter ex
praedestinatione divina quae fuit ante saecula, sicut
dixerit Lactantius quem nuperrime audiverim studio
intentionali, quando lectus fuerit formaliter hic in
sapia praeterea Enimvero venerit unus sociolus ex
20 Colonia et gelidis Almaniae partibus, apportans epis-
tolia missiva hincinde sibi astipulata, A quo videlicet
intellixerim qualiter vos fecistis imprimere arte charac-

⁶⁵ *Glosa.* See i. 3, n.

⁶⁷ *omnen.* Sic, in [D].

¹ The fantastic style of this Ep. bears no resemblance to that of i. 10, A. being now "aliter stilatus."

¹⁹ *sap.*: see ii. 32, n.

²¹ *sibi.* It is useless to attempt the disentanglement of A.'s account. (Böcking doubts whether we should deem him crazy or merely tipsy!)

terali unum librulum, qui intelligitur esse vel fuisse intitulatus seu praenominatus “Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ad M. Ortvinum Gratium,” in quo utique codi-
 culo seu libello, sicut talis dederit mihi intelligendum, con-
 tinentur omnes literulae ad vestram dignitatem hincinde
 destinatae charitative et fraternaliter a vestris amicis et
 notis: et etiam posueritis meum epistolium intus, et
 valde miratorie stupefactus fuerim, quod dignamini me
 tantisper honore sesquipedali; et facitis mihi aeternalem
 famam. Quapropter habueritis scire quatinus voluerim
 vobis gratiam referre in quantum potero. Etiam scive-
 ritis qualiter studuero hic per totum in poeseos artificuolo,
 et ergo fuerim aliter stilatus quam prius. Valet sesqui-
 pedaliter. Datum Romae.

XXXVII

¶ *FRATER GEORGIUS BLECK*
M. Ortvino Gratio

HUMILEM orationem meam cum ea qua decet subiectione, domine et M. Or. Vos misistis mihi huc librum I. P. qui est praetitulatus “Defensio Iohan-
 nis Pfefferkorn contra famosas.” Quem utique, sicut
 petivistis, ostendi omnibus Magistris nostris per totam
 Parrhisiā, et similiter de nostro ordine Theologis, qui
 unanimiter dixerunt: “Ecce Almania habet notabiles
 Theologos. Si unus simplex scribit talia, quid deberent
 facere docti et promoti?” Et unus interrogavit me, an
 etiam principes in Almania faciunt magnam reverentiam
 Io. P.” Respondi quod pro parte sic et pro parte non.
 Et qualiter ipse est verus et dilectus sollicitator Impera-
 toris ad procurandum negotium de libris Iudaeorum
 et augmentum fidei Christianae. Et quod episcopus
 Moguntinensis piaē memoriae defunctus iam solebat
 eum valde amare et promisit ei auxilium in rebus
 omnibus quantum ei fuit possibile: et quando ambula-
 vit hincinde in negotio fidei, tunc dedit et magni precii

³¹ *sesq.* Sic, in [D] and [E].

¹⁶ *episc.* *Mog.*: Uriel von Gemmingen, ob. 1514.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

nummum pro viatico. Respondit unus Theologus
 “facit tunc etiam magnam diligentiam ipse Io. P. in
 dicto negotio?” Dixi velut scripsistis mihi, quod sic:
 quia sine molestia circumvixit per totam Almaniam,
 25 quamvis pro tunc fuit ei inconveniens, cum uxorem et
 libros suos educare et alere conveniret quos dereliquit.
 Quamvis in absentia sua Theologi fecerunt multa bona
 uxori eius consolantes eam, quia vident quod vir eius
 est occupatus in causa fidei. Etiam aliquando Fratres
 30 de Monasterio nostro accedunt eam dicentes: “Misere-
 mur vestri quod estis sic sola:” et ipsa respondet:
 “Veniat is aliquando visitantes me, quia sum quasi
 vidua, et detis mihi consolationes vestras.” Attamen
 modernus Episcopus Moguntinensis non favet Io. P.,
 35 et hoc propterea, quia habet aliquos Consiliarios qui
 multum promovent Io. R. et odiunt Theologos. Etiam
 dictus episcopus non voluit admittere Iohannem P.,
 quando voluit ei praesentare suam Defensionem contra
 famosas, sicut intellexi ex vestra litera. Talia dixi.
 40 Tunc respondit unus “Quis est tamen ille Pfefferkorn?”
 Respondi quod olim fuit Iudaeus et nunc est feliciter
 in Christo baptizatus et est vir proculdubio integerrimus
 et est de tribu Neptalim. Dixit ille “Vere benedictio,
 quae data est Neptalim, completa est in Io. P.”
 45 Quia Iacob dixit filio suo Neptalim: ‘Neptalim cervus
 Emissus dans eloquia pulchritudinis.’ Genesis .XLIX.”
 Postea multi Magistri nostri et licentiati et alii Theologi
 per totum legerunt istum librum de folio ad folium, de
 verbo ad verbum, de Article ad articulum. Sed est
 50 unus superiorista qui studet in græco: ipse vadit ubique
 et dicit, quod non est verum quod Pfefferkorn est solli-
 citator Caesaris, et quod nunquam etiam fuit. Et
 quod imperator pro Reuchlin scripsit ad sanctissimum
 et simpliciter vult quod Theologi non debent sibi vexare
 55 suum consiliarium fidelem et probum. Item Iacobus
 Fabri Stapulensis, de quo audivistis multa, ipse aperte

²¹ *pro viat.*: a fact mentioned by P. in the *Defensio*.

³⁴ *mod. Episc.*: Albert of Brandenburg.

⁴⁰ *Genes.*: xlix, 21.

⁵⁶ *Fabri*: Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples, of lowly birth, a forerunner of the

Reformation. His *Commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles* (1512) anticipated some of Luther's conclusions, but the Sorbonne took no proceedings against him till 1521, when he escaped by the aid of François I. See also Bayle, *Dict. Hist.*, Lond., 1736, iii. 46.

favet Io. R., quamvis Theologi dixerunt ei ne deberet facere. Et dictum fuit quod scripsit in una lra ad Almaniam quod theologi Parrhisienses tractaverunt Io. R. non aliter quam Iudaei Chrstū. Sed dicat quicquid 60 velit, tamen maior pars in Parrisia est pro nobis propter honorem universitatis et odium Iuristarum. Ergo debetis esse bono animo laetando et gaudendo. Valete aeternaliter. Datum Parrhi.

XXXVIII

❧ DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS

M. Ortvino G. S.

SCRIBITIS mihi intērogās a me quomodo tamen universitas nostra habet se in Causa fidei: an est pro vobis an pro Io. R. Sciatis, hic et per totam terram 5 Suitensium fratres de ordine praedicatorum habent malam famam et sunt in magna disgratia propter illos Innocentes fratres qui fuerunt combusti in Bern, quia nunquam credo quod fecerunt talia quae dicuntur de eis. Igitur Monasteria eorum desolantur, et monasteria 10 fratrum s. Francisci crescunt. Et quando unus homo dat Elemosinam predicatoribus, tunc viginti dant minoribus et Augustinensibus et aliis. Etiam dicitur quod est in prophetia, quod ille Ordo predicatorum debet totaliter deleri. Super hoc est hic unus 15 Theologus, ut ipse se nominat, sed mihi videtur quod magis est poeta, dictus Erasmus Roterodamus, qui a multis ita honoratur sicut si esset miraculum Mundi. Et est ille qui scripsit librum Proverbiorum, quem semel ostendistis mihi Coloniae, et dixistis: "Quid 20 nobis cum Proverbiis Erasmi, cum habemus proverbias Salamonis?" ille Erasmus multum tenet de Reuchlin et semper laudat eum: et nuper fecit imprimere aliquas Epistolas quas misit ad Curiam Romanam

¹ *Demetr.* Why the name of the learned librarian of Alexandria, B.C. 345-283, should be selected as that of one of the Obsc. Viri is unexplained.

⁸ *Bern.* See i. 22, n.

¹⁷ *Erasm.* E. visited Basle more than once in 1514-16, taking up his residence there in 1521.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

25 ad Papam et aliquos Cardinales. In istis laudavit
Reuchlin et scandalizavit theologos. Ego videns dixi
“Si videbunt hoc M. nostri, diabolus confundet eum.”
Sic ergo universitas nostra quae facit magnam
reverentiam Erasmo, inclinata est pro Reuchlin: Et
30 venit huc Glorianus poeta, qui est homo valde audax
ut scitis: ipse mirabilia scandala loquitur de vobis et
aliis theologis. Et dicit quod vult unum librum
componere de nequitiis praedicatorum et vult totaliter
describere illa quae facta sunt in Bern. Ego vellem
35 libenter amicalit³⁰ dicere ad eum ne faciat: Sed est
homo terribilis, et iracundiosus semper volens per-
cutere, quapropter habeat sibi diabolum. Ego spero
quod veniet Sententia ex urbe Roma pro Theologis:
tunc omnia erunt bona. Si autem fuerit pro Reuchlin,
40 tunc diabolus tenebit candelam. Valete. D. Basileae.

XXXIX

❧ *CHUNRADUS STRYLDRIOT*
M. Ortvino G.

REVERENTIA et servitio affectuositatis meae prae-
cedentibus erga virtuositatem vestram, venerabilis
5 M. Intimavi vobis saepe qualiter non sum hic
libenter: Sed credo quod diabolus portavit me huc:
et non possum recedere quia non sunt hic bonae
societates sicut in Almania. Et homines non sunt ita
sociales: et habent pro malo quando aliquis semel in
10 die est ebrius, vocantes eum porcum. Etiam non
habeo supponere. Quia meretrices volunt multum
pecuniae, et tamen non sunt pulchrae. Et dico vobis
in veritate quod in Italia sunt ita distortae mulieres
sicut est possibile, quamvis habent pulcherrimas vestes

³⁰ *Glor.*: Heinrich Loriti, *Glareanus* (of Glarus), 1488–1563. Swiss humanist. Laureated by Maximilian, 1512. Founded a school at Freiburg-im-Breisgau. A commentator upon Livy, Caesar, Horace, Sallust, &c. “The

shadow of Erasmus,” he favoured the Reformation at first, but afterwards held aloof. Among his works is a description of Switzerland in verse. See S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, 1901, for many reff.

de serico et sameloto. Quia quando modicum sunt 15
senes, tunc statim habent curva dorsa et vadunt quasi
vellent merdare. Etiam comedunt allium, et faetent
maxime. Et sunt nigrae, nec sunt ita albae sicut in
Almania. Item in facie sunt pallentes sicut mors. Et
quanto aliquae sunt rubiae, certum est quod fecerunt 20
sibi Colorē cum unguentis. Ergo non placent mihi
mulieres hic. Etiam dicunt quod in aestate non est
bonum supponere hic. Tunc dico ego: “ergo redire
volo in Almaniam, ubi semper bonum est supponere.
Et saepe recordavi qualiter habuimus in Daventria 25
Amasias ego et vos: et ivimus in despectum istius
domicelli qui etiam amabat vestram amasiam: sed ipsa
merdasset ei super os. Sed nunc audiui qualiter
debetis supponere uxorem Io. Pf. causa honestatis:
quia est secreta et quasi honesta. Et est bonum 30
quando aliquis habet propriam in secreto. Et dixit
unus ad me, quod Io. Pfe. semel rixavit vobiscum
dicens ad vos: “Domine Ortvine, Ego vellem quod
comederetis ex vestra patella et permetteretis me
comedere ex mea.” Et vos diu non intellexistis: quia 35
ille vir est valde subtilis et semper loquitur aenigmatice
in proverbiiis. Sed quidam amicus vester, sicut ego
audiui ab aliis, exposuit vobis illa archana verba dicens:
“Ego vellem quod comederetis ex vestra patella, quod
supponeretis vestram uxorem vel mulierem, et per- 40
mitteretis me comedere ex mea patella, id est non
tangeretis uxorem meam, sed sineretis me eam
tangere.” Ego dixi hic ad quendam poetam quod
quaereret illam proverbiam in proverbiiis Erasmi. Re-
spondit mihi quod non potest Inuenire. Dixi ei: 45
“ergo ille Autor non est sufficiens sed diminutus.”
Sed quando audiui haec de Io. pfe. dixi, quod est
nimis invidiosus si facit hoc: Quia est una proverbiam
quod amicorum omnia sunt communia: quamvis aliqui
dicunt quod uxores debent excipi. Ipse tamen non 50
deberet irasci super vos quia vos non habetis uxorem:
et non habentibus debemus Impertire. Audiui etiam
quod supponitis ancillam Impressoris Quentel, ita quod
fecit puerum: hoc non deberetis facere, scilicet forare
nova foramina. Ego semper maneo cum antiquis q̄ 55

¹⁵ *samelot.* Not elsewhere found.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRONUM

non faciunt pueros. Sed hic habeo neque antiquas
neque novas: ergo volo redire in Almaniam sicut
spero. Valete tam diu donec una alaada ponderat
C talenta. D. R.

XL

❧ *M. IOHANNES CRAPP Magistro
Ortvino Gratio Salutem*

SCRIBIT mihi dominatio vestra qualiter valde
gavisa est de Epistola mea Carminali nuper com-
pilata, et scribitis quod vix vidistis similem: et sicut
intelligo vultis quod semper ita debeo vobis scribere.
Sed dico vobis, sicut etiam ipse met scitis, quod non est
possibile quod unus semper facit carmina. Vos bene
scitis de vobis, quamvis estis valde facundus et scitis
facere plura metra. Tñ "non semper oleum," sicut
communiter dicunt: et aliquando estis luxuriosus ad
metra, aliquando ad prosas. Et recordor quod semel
dixi vobis Coloniae "D. Or., faciatis mihi tamen aliquod
Carmen metricum," Respondistis mihi "non habeo
pronunc Apollinem," Et dixistis mihi quod aliquando
in X diebus vix potestis facere unum bonum metrum:
quia Aer non patitur Et oportet expectare tempus, unde
Ovidius

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis.

Ergo quando semel habeo bonum Apollinem, tunc volo
dictare unum et mittere vobis: etiã scribitis mihi quod
debeo vobis intimare aliquas novitates; sed nihil scio
nisi quod sunt hic tres excellentes Theologi qui habent
magna nomina inter Almanos Et faciunt nobis bonam
famam et laudabilem per totam Curiam. Duos forte
bene novistis, Reverendum patrem dominum Magistrum
nostrum Iacobum de Hochstraten, latine de Alta platea,
et d. m. n. Petrum Meyer plebanum Franckfordiensem.
Tertius est D. Caspar praedicator ex Kempten, sacrae

⁴ *Epist.* See ii. 2.

¹⁵ *Apoll.* :—

¹⁸ *Ovid. : Fast.*, vi. 771.

"neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo." —Hor., *Car.*, ii. 10.

Theologiae Licentiatuſ propediem Magiſternoſtranduſ. 30
 Ipsi habent hic agere tres Cauſas notabiles. Unuſ
 ſcilicet Magiſter noſter Iacobuſ habet cauſam fidei
 contra Io. Reuchlin qui dicitur eſſe haereticuſ. Et
 bene. Eſt etenim. Secunduſ habet Cauſam com-
 petentiae, ſcilicet M. n. Petruſ contra Canonicuſ 35
 Franckfordienſeſ qui non volunt ei dare Competentiam
 ſuam: et ergo venit huc in Curiam tribulans eoſ
 terribiliter. Tertiuſ ſcilicet dominuſ Caſpar habet
 cauſam ſacri olei contra quodaſ Monachos qui habi-
 tant extra muros Kempten, et habent ſacruſ oleuſ 40
 in Monasterio: et quando homineſ debent oleari, tunc
 non habetur ſacruſ oleuſ. Et ergo praefatuſ licen-
 tiatuſ vult ipſoſ Monachos rectificare quod debent
 ſacruſ oleuſ in Civitate permittere pro communi
 ſalute hominuſ. Alia nova non habeo. Sed voſ 45
 etiam nihil ſcribitiſ mihi. [Nescio profecto quomodo
 demeruſ de reverentia veſtra.]

Commendo voſ domino deo, qui voſ cuſtodiat quod eſtiſ fortiſ ſicut
 Leo,

Pulcher ſicut Abſolon, Prudentiſ ſicut Salomon, 50
 Diveſ ſicut Aſueruſ, Poeticaliſ ſicut Homeruſ,
 Et ſanctuſ ſicut Iohanneſ Baptiſta. Moriatur Reuchlin Iuriſta,
 Nec non poetae ſaeculareſ, qui adhuc poſſent eſſe veſtri ſcholareſ.

Ecce non volui facere Carmina et tamen feci, ſed nescio
 qualiter venit quod feci. Lauſ deo. Valet. Et ſic 55
 eſt finiſ. Teloſ. Amen. Tetragrammaton. Datum
 Romanae Curiae.

³⁸ *Caspar*. Böcking quoteſ a letter from Adelmanſ to Pirckheimer, Dec. 19, 1517, on thiſ “abſurd and deteſtable brangle between monkſ and burgherſ,” in which more than 3000 guldenſ had been waſted.

⁴⁶ *Nescio*. The wordſ in bracketſ were added in [E].

⁴⁸ *Tetrag.*: the name Jehovah, aſ

written with four Hebrew letterſ: “Tetragrammaton id eſt quatuor litterarum . . . Iſtae ſunt litterae: Ioth, he, vau, heth. Ioth, id eſt principiuſ, he et vau, iſte, heth vita ſive Chriſtuſ.”—*Mamotrectuſ ſuper Bibliam* (Prol. ſuper libr. Regum.), Metiſ, 1511.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XLI

❧ *M. SIMON POCOPORIUS M.*
Ortvino Gratio Sa. P. D.

“**M**IRABILIS facta est Scientia tua ex me, confortata est, et non potero ad eam.” Psalmista.
5 Haec verba possunt appropriari mihi directe, quando considero Doctrinam dominationis vestrae quam perspexi nuper ex libro vestro qui intitulatur “Orationes M. Ortveni.” Sancte deus, quomodo crevistis ita in magnum virum, cum tamen olim fuistis [hebes] scholaris
10 meus, sed nunc estis super magistrum, quamvis dicit scriptura: “Non est discipulus super Magistrum.” Et ergo quando vidi talem librum, tunc clamavi alta voce: “O Ortvine, Mirabilis [facta est scientia tua ex me, confortata est, et non potero ad eam.” Et bene
15 “mirabilis,”] quia nunquam credidi quod potestis sic facere dictamina excellenter et artificialiter ex me: quia de gratia dei fui resumtor et instructor vester: et multum gloriator super vobis. “Confortata est,” bene, quia olim non fuit ita efficax scientia vestra, sed
20 nunc confortata est per instinctum Spiritussancti qui illuminavit vos. Et olim (parcatis mihi) non voluistis studere: et saepe correxi vos quando non scivistis “mei” vel “sui” cuius Casus: et “legat, legant” cuius temporis. Et saepe dixi ad vos illud Metrum:

25 *Durae cervicis es, haec enim sapere non vales.*

Sed nunc possetis me instruere: et ego non deberem verecundari quod essem vester discipulus. Et ergo dico: “non potero ad eam,” scilicet pervenire, quia, ut dicit Socrates, “quae supra nos, nihil ad nos”: sed
30 procedatis sic compilando dictamina et eritis notabilis vir. Valete. Datum Lubeck.

³ *Mirab.*, &c.: Psal. cxxxviii. 6.

⁷ *Orat.*: “Orationes quodlibeticae perjucundae Ortveni Gratii . . .” Cologne, 1508.

¹¹ *scrip.*: Matt. x. 24.

¹³ *facta*, &c. The words in brackets were added in [E].

²⁵ *Durae cerv.*: “stiff-necked,” but here rather in the sense of “block-head.”

²⁹ *Socr.* Eras., *Adag.* DLIX.; Lactant., *Iust. Div.*, iii. 20.

❧ *M. ACHATIUS LAMPIRIUS*
M. Ortvinio Gratia S. P. D.

VALDE miror, vir honorabilis, quod scribitis omnibus sociis et Amicis vestris Romam versus, et solum mihi non scribitis, cum dixistis tamen quod vultis semper scribere mihi. Sed intellexi ab uno qui venit ex Colonia quod velitis libenter habere illum artem de qua dixi vobis semel. Videlicet ut faciatis quod una mulier maxime amat unum.

Quamvis jam non scripsistis mihi, tamen volo mittere vobis, ut potestis videre qualiter diligo vos. Quia non volo aliquid in secreto habere prae vobis, sed volo vos docere,

“Quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere charis.”

Est autem talis ars illa. Sed non debetis aliquem docere : quia ita abscondo illam, quod non vellem docere fratrem meum : quia plus Amo vos quam Fratrem meum. Ergo volo participare vobiscum. Et faciatis sic : Quando amatis unam mulierem, tunc debetis quaerere quomodo vocatur ipsa et quomodo vocatur Mater eius. Et ponamus casus quod amatis unam que vocatur Barbara et mater eius vocatur Elsa. Tunc quaeratis unum Crinem de capite ipsius Barbarae et quando habetis illum Crinem, debetis esse contritus et confessus vel ad minus dicere Confessionem generalem. Deinde faciatis unam Imaginem de Cera virginea et faciatis legere tres missas de super ligando illum Crinem circum collum ipsius. Postea uno mane audiat prius missam, deinde accipiat Ollam novam vitreatam cum aqua et faciatis Ignem in una Camera clausa undique et faciatis fumum de thure et incendatis unam candelam de cera nova, in qua est

¹⁴ *Quae ret.*, &c. :—

“Jamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani

Quae veteres,” &c.

This couplet occurs in the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Grammaticus (v. 4).

²⁷ *ipsius* : i.e. “of the image.”

²⁹ *vit.* : either “made of glass,” or merely “glazed.”

³¹ *in qua*, &c. : large wax candles used in churches at Eastertide. “Wax from the candles consecrated at Easter” is an ingredient of a magical potion in a receipt due to “one Martyn, an organist of Botzen, a famous conjurer.” *The Tragical History of Jettzer*, Lond., 1679, p. 15.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

modicum de Candela paschali. Deinde dicatis istam
Coniurationem super Imaginem: "Coniuro te Cera per
virtutem dei omnipotentis, per novem choros angelorum,
35 per virtutem Cosdriel: boldriach: tornab. Lissiel far-
nach pitrax et Starnial, quod velis mihi repraesentare
in omni substantia et Corporalitate Barbaram Elsaе,
ut obediat mihi in omnibus q̄ volo." Postea scri-
batis circum caput imaginis haec nomina cum stilo
40 argenteo "Astrab + Arnod + Bildron + Sydra +"
Et sic ponatis imaginem in ollam et aquam. Et ponite
ad ignem. Et dicatis istam Coniurationem: "Coniuro
te, Barbara Elsaе, per virtutem dei omnipotentis, per
novem choros angelorum, per virtutem Cosdriel bold-
45 riach tornac lissiel, fornach pitrax et starnial, et per
virtutem istorum nominum Astrobr Arnod Bildron Sydra,
quod statim incipias amare me ita quod sine tardatione
velis ad me venire. Quia amore langueo." Et tunc
statim quando aqua incipiet fieri calida, satis est: quia
50 ita incipiet vos amare quod quando non videt vos, ipsa
nescit ubi estis. Probatum est saepe et totiens quotiens.
Et debetis mihi credere quod ista scientia est valde pre-
ciosa. Et ego non darem vobis nisi amarem vos ita
intentionaliter. Ergo vos etiam semel debetis mihi partici-
55 paret unum secretum. Et sic Valete cum sanitate
vestra. Da. Romanae Curiae.

XLIII

❧ *FRATER OTHO FLERSZKLIRDRIUS*
M. Ortvino Gratia

DEVOTAM Orationem meam pro salute. Venera-
bilis vir, ut scribitis mihi quod omnes nos Theologi
5 debemus agere gratias omnipotenti deo quod pronunc
Theologia est ita in flore et sunt plures docti Theologi
in omnibus partibus Almaniae: Et omnes homines,
domini et servi, nobiles et rustici, faciunt eis magnum
honorem vocantes eos Magistros nostros propter excel-
10 lentiam et deponunt pileos et bareta ante eos dicentes:

³⁵ *Cosdriel*, &c. Gibberish, with a suggestion of Hebrew.

“Commendo me egregitudini vestrae, eximie domine Magister noster.” Et quando unus M. noster transit per stratum, tunc omnes honorant eum sicut si venerit unus princeps. Et merito. Quia M. nostri sunt sicut Apostoli dei. Sic vos in Epistola vestra scribitis mihi magnalia. Sed ego tenebo vobis oppositum, dicendo, quod bene est hoc verum Coloniae, non autem alibi. Et praecipue hic in patria mea Magistri nostri religiosi habent nullum honorem, et Canonici et nobilitares multum parvipendunt eos. Sed seculares bene adhuc habent honorem et sunt in respectu. Et hoc videtur mihi indignum, Quia religiosi deberent semper habere primum locum: quia sunt magis Clericales, et semper religiosus quoad caelestitatem est super secularem clericum. Quia religiosi sunt apti nati ad personandum in divinis laudibus ad gloriam dei et suae sanctae matris virginis Mariae semper benedictae et ad gloriam omnium sanctorum et sanctarum Martyrum confessorum, et cetera. Ergo videtur mihi magnus error quod plus honorant homines seculares quam religiosos. Etiam seculares Theologi in partibus superioribus incipiunt esse superbi, et sunt quasi contra religiosos, cum tamen ipsi sunt plus Mundiales et tanto plus remoti a regno Caelorum. Quia vos scitis quod Christus dixit “Vos qui secuti estis me, sedebitis super sedes, iudicantes XII tribus Israel.” Sed religiosi reliquerunt patrimonia sua et omnia bona, et sunt spreți in mundo, ergo sunt proximi ad regnum Caelorum. Et parcatis mihi quod scribo talia de Theologis secularibus, cum vos etiam estis unus. Sed est aliter Coloniae, ubi sunt humiles et reverentiales erga religiosos. Et etiam vos quoad zelositatem estis religiosus: quia dixistis mihi semel Coloniae: “domine Otho, ego credo quod adhuc volo fieri Monachus de vestro ordine: quia habeo bonam inclinationem.” Et ergo scribo vobis socialiter. Quia displicet mihi valde quod nunc aliqui Theologi seculares sunt ita superbi, sicut hic Doctor Iohannes Reysz, qui est praedicator in

¹¹ *egreg.* Not elsewhere found.

²⁴ *caelest.* Not elsewhere found.

⁴¹ *zelos.* Not elsewhere found.

⁴⁷ *Reysz*: Johann Rays, Rhest, or Res, a canon of Würzburg, *ob. c.*

1517. See J. J. Maderus, *Scriptorum Insignium . . . Centuria*, Helmstadt, 1660 (xlviii.), where R.'s preaching is eulogised, and he is characterised as “in dialecticis subtilitatibus acerrimus disputator.”

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

hac Civitate in summo. Ipse est in magno honore et omnes Canonici et nobiles valde amant eum : quia scit
 50 eis bona verba dare. Sed talis doctor videtur esse valde
 contra religiosos intentionatus. Unus dixit mihi qui
 saepe fuit cum eo in mensa, quod ipse omnino tenet unam
 propriam viam, Et neque est Albertista, neque Scotista,
 neque Occanista, neque Thomista. Sed quando aliquis
 55 interrogat eum "Eximie domine doctor, de qua via estis."
 Rñdet "de via Christi." Et ipse ridet quando doctores
 theologiae appellant se Magistros nostros. Etiam non
 multum tenet de religiosis dicens quod non oportet in-
 60 duere cappam, sed alias etiam possumus salvari. Et dicit
 esse haereticus, quia est irreverentialis erga religiosos
 et sanctos patres. Ipse tenet etiam specialem modum
 p̄dicandi : et non facit sicut alii. Mouēdo subtiles ques-
 tiones et formando Argumenta contra, et solvendo postea
 65 et eliciendo Corollaria ; sed simpliciter procedit. Et ergo
 miror, quod libenter audiant praedicationes eius, cum
 tamen non est artificialis praedicator : ego consyderavi
 in duobus passibus, quod non est bene intentionatus erga
 religiosos. Semel quando incepistis vos Colonienses una
 70 cum ordine nostro universaliter istam laudabilem con-
 tentionem contra Iohannem Reuchlin : tunc ego por-
 tavi ei unam schedulam, in qua Erat mandatum contra
 Iohannem Reuchlin quod liber suus deberet comburi
 et ipse debet cogi ad revocationem. Et dixi ei sicut
 75 mihi commissum a provinciali nostro "Eximie domine
 Magister noster, hic habet eximietas vestra unum man-
 datum quod Reuchlin est haereticus et liber eius debet
 comburi. Ergo velitis publicare super cancellis : et cum
 hoc rogamus vos quod velitis stare nobiscum contra pre-
 80 dictum haereticum." Tunc ipse legit mandatum Et
 postea dixit : "ego non video nisi quod est mandatum
 quod Speculum Oculare non debet vendi publice, usque
 ad cognitionem et decisionem Causae. Ego non intelligo
 quod Reuchlin debet dici haereticus." Respondi, quod
 85 praesumitur ex quo prohibitum est quod liber suus non

⁵³ *Albert.* See i. 15, n.

⁵⁴ *Occan.* : William Ockham or Occam (? Surrey), 1270-1349 (?), Franciscan, "Doctor Invincibilis." He opposed the temporal claims of

the papacy and revived Nominalism. Chief works : *Summa Logices*, *Expositio Aurea*, *Tractatus de Sacro Altaris*, *Quaestiones in IV Libr. Sent.* See *Diet. Nat. Biog.*

debet vendi, et rogavi eum quod vult causam nostram commendare in cancellis. Respondit: "Permittatis me in pace: ego sum hic quod debeo seminare verbum dei, et non debeo scandalizare quenquam. Quia scriptum est: 'Qui scandalizaverit unum ex minimis istis, etc.'" ⁹⁰

Et sic non potui Impetrare quod vellet adjuvare causam fidei. In alio passu notavi: Quando fuit hic frater Iacobus de Ordine nostro et seminavit indulgentias quas impetravimus Romae pro Monasterio Augustensi, tunc etiam rogavit p̄dictū Doctorem Reysz quod in ambone ⁹⁵ vellet laudare illas Indulgentias et hortare mulieres et alios quod daret pecuniam ad cistam, quia esset bene datum. Sed ipse permisit eum dicere quicquid voluit, et tamen non voluit dicere unum verbum de Indulgentiis. Et Frater Iacobus semel dixit ad eum "Ecce vos invidetis ¹⁰⁰ nobis quod debemus colligere pecuniam, et tamen colligamus etiam si deberet vobis cor frangi." Et dixit etiam in Ambone: "ecce hic habetis indulgentias et l̄ras indulgentiales, et quod scriptum est in illis, est ita verum et credendum sicut evangelium. Et quando accipitis illas ¹⁰⁵ Indulgentias, tunc estis ita absoluti sicut si Christus met venisset et absolvisset vos." Tunc Doctor Reysz tenuit oppositum, dicens; "Nihil est comparandum cum Evangelio: et qui bene facit, bene ibit. Et si aliquis centies acceperit istas indulgentias, et non bene vixerit, peribit: ¹¹⁰ nec adiuvabitur per istas Indulgentias. Sed econtra si quis bene vixerit, vel post peccata paenitentiam egerit et vitam Em̄dabit: ecce ego praedico ei quod erit habitator regni Caelorum, nec indigebit ullis aliis auxiliis." Et sic notavi quod iste doctor reysz est Inimicus religiosorum: et videtur etiam mihi quod favet ¹¹⁵ Io. R.: quamvis nescio. Ergo videtis quid sit dicendum. Bene concedo quod Theologi Coloniae sint in magna veneratione, et quod Theologi seculares et mundani sunt in magna unione cum religiosis: sed hic non est ita. ¹²⁰ Spero tamen quod quando Reuchlin erit superatus, tunc Theologi gaudebunt invicem, quod praestet nobis Salvator noster unigenitus. Amen. Datum Herbipoli.

⁹⁹ script. : Matt. xviii. 6.⁹⁷ daret. Sic, in [D] and [E].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XLIV

¶ *PETRUS DE WORMATIA*
M. Ortvino Gratio S. P. D.

VIR eximie, secundum quod estis mihi naturaliter
inclinatus et multum favetis mihi: ergo etiam
5 volo vobis facere possibilia.

Dixistis mihi autem "O Petre, quando venitis
Romam, videte an sunt novi libri et mittatis mihi
aliquos." Ecce habetis unum novum librum qui est
hic impressum.

10 Et quia estis poeta, credo quod potestis vos multum
ex illo meliorare.

Quia audiui hic in Audientia ab uno Notario, qui
debet esse p̄fect⁷ in tali arte, quod iste liber est fons
poetriae, et autor eius qui vocatur Homerus est pater
15 omnium poetarum: et dixit quod est adhuc alius
Homerus in Graeco.

Tunc dixi: quid mihi cum graeco? Ille Latinus
est melior: quia volo eum in Almaniam mittere M.
Ortvino, qui non curat illas graecas fantasias.

20 Et interrogavi eum "quid continetur in tali libro."
Respondit quod tractat de quibusdam viris qui vocantur
Graeci: qui bellaverunt cum aliis viris qui vocantur
Troiani, quos etiam audiui prius nominare.

Et isti Troiani habuerunt unam magnam Civitatem,
25 et illi Graeci posuerunt se ante Civitatem et iacuerunt

⁷ *nov. libr.*, &c. Böcking considers that this is, "without doubt, *Homeri Iliadis libri aliqui per Nicol. de Valle latino carmine redditi* . . . *Impressus est iste Liber Rome in domo Johannis Philippi* . . . 1474" (Hain, *Rep. Bibliog.* n. 8780).

This is, however, far from clear, inasmuch as N. de Valle's rendering of parts of the Iliad into Latin verse comprises only Books III.-V., XIV., XVIII., XIX. (20 lines), XX., XXII.-XXIV. ; and it happens that not one of the passages alluded to in this Ep.

is contained in these Books of the Iliad.

There is some reason, as will appear below, for believing that the "Latin Homer" actually made use of by the writer of the Ep. was the *Iliadis Homericae Epitome*, of uncertain authorship, but attributed to *Pindarus Thebanus*, of which the first dated edition appeared in 1492 (Hain, 8778 *sqq.*).

¹⁶ in *Graeco*: e.g. the Florentine edition of 1488, or the Venetian edition of 1504.

ibi bene X annos: tunc Troiani aliquando exiverunt ad eos, et percusserunt se realiter cum ipsis, et interfecerunt se mirabiliter ad invicem, ita quod totus Campus sanguinavit: et fuit ibi quaedā aqua, quae fuit colorata per sanguinem et fuit per totum rubicata. Ita ³⁰ quod fluxit sicut si esset sanguis; et clamor audiebatur in Caelo, et unus proiecit unum lapidem quem XII viri non possent elevare, et unus equus incepit loqui et prophetizavit. Sed non credo talia, quia videntur mihi impossibilia: et tamen nescio an talis liber est multum ³⁵ autenticus.

Rogo scribatis mihi de eo, et faciatis me cognoscere quid tenetis. Et cum hoc Valete.

Datum ROMAЕ.

²⁶ *decem annos*: *Il.*, ii. 328. Cf. :—

“In decimo labor est, quem Calchas dicerat, anno Quo caderet Danaum victricibus Ilion armis.”

—Pind. Theb., *Il. Hom. Epit.*, 151.

²⁸ *ad invicem*. Cf. :—

“Inque vicem Troiumque cadunt Danaumque catervae.”

—Pind. Theb., *Il. Hom. Epit.*, 357.

²⁹ *sanguin.*, &c. *Il.*, iv. 451, and *Il.*, xxi. 326. Cf. :—

“Sanguine Dardanii manabant undique campi Manabant amnes passim.”

—Pind. Theb., *Il. Hom. Epit.*, 384.

³¹ *clamor*, &c.: *Il.*, xxii. 338. Cf. :—

“Ingens ad sidera clamor Tollitur, et vastis impletur vocibus aether.”

—Pind. Theb., *Il. Hom. Epit.*, 595.

“And Clamour flew so high Her wings struck heaven.”

—*Chapman's Transl.*

³² *lapidem*.: *Il.*, xxii. 447. Cf. :—

“Saxum iugens, medio quod forte jacebat in agro Bis seni quod vix juvenes tellure levabant,

Sustulit;”

—Pind. Theb., *Il. Hom. Epit.*, 460.

Where it is particularly to be observed that “Peter of Worms” agrees with the writer of the *Epitome* in giving “twelve” men instead of Homer’s “two,” following Virgil :—

“Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo qui forte jacebat,

Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent

Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.”

—*Aen.*, xii. 897 *sqq.*

³³ *equus*: Xanthus, one of the steeds of Achilles (*Il.*, xix. 404). This incident is not referred to in the *Epitome*, but is mentioned by Servius in a Scholium on Virgil (*Aen.*, Book xi. 90). “Quod autem equum dicit ‘lacrymare’ non mirum est, cum Homerus etiam divinantem induxerit.”

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

XLV

¶ IOHANNES GERILAMBIUS

M. Ortino Gratia

SICUT scribitur "Amicus in necessitate probatur,"
 S volo etiam videre an adhuc habetis memoriam
 5 mei. Et possum videre tali medio: praesentium lator
 est consanguineus meus et habet bonum ingenium et
 intendit studere in artibu' tūc pater suus voluit eum
 hic facere ad universitatem: et ego dissuasi, quia volo
 quod studet in via Antiquorum, sicut ego studui. Et
 10 rogo quod mittatis eum vobis esse commendatum.
 Quamvis ego sum Albertista, non curo tamen quod
 faciatis eum ad bursam Montis, ubi student in via
 Thomae. Quia ille rector est superiorista, et etiam non
 est magna differentia inter Thomistas et Albertistas,
 15 nisi quod Albertistae tenent quod adiectiva appellant,
 et quod corpus mobile est subiectum in Phisica. Sed
 Thomistae tenent quod Adiectiva non appellant, et
 quod Ens mobile est subiectum in phisica. Etiam
 Albertistae dicunt quod logica est de secundis in-
 20 tentionibus in ordine ad primas, Thomistae vero dicunt
 quod est de primis intentionibus in ordine ad secundas.
 Item Albertistae tenent quod Mobile positum in vacuo
 movetur successive, Thomistae dicunt quod Mobile
 positum in vacuo movetur in instanti. Etiam Alber-

³ *Amicus*. Cf. "Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur." Ennius, in *Cic.*, *Lacl.*, 17, 64.

¹³ *rector*: i.e. von Geltersheim. See i. 7, n.

¹⁴ *magna diff.*: Gerardus de Monte, after whom the Hostel was named, wrote *Expositiones textuales dubiorum atque luculentissime explanationes in libros de Celo et mundo* [and other writings of Arist.]; the same volume including the *1^o Ente and Essentia* of Thomas Aquinas, and also *Tractatus Gerardi de Monte . . . ad favorem dirigens concordiam, quaedam problemata inter sanctum Thomam et venerabilem Albertum magnum . . .*

1497 (Brit. Mus., I.B. 4659). This is clearly the book at which this Ep. is aimed.

¹⁹ *de secund.*: "Avicenna dicit quod logica est de secundis intentionibus adjunctis primis, ergo logica est magis de secundis quam de primis." *Copulata commentaria omnium tractatum Petri hispani* (for the use of students at de Monte Hostel), Cologne, 1496, fol. x.

²³ *successive*: "Motus est transmutatio successiva, non mutatis instantanea." A. M. a Vicetia and J. a Rubino, *Lexicon Bonaventurianum*, Venice, 1880.

tistae dicunt quod Galaxia est naturae caelestis; Tho- 25
mistae dicunt quod Galaxia est naturae elementaris.
Sed non multum refert sic vel sic tenere, dum modo sit
aliquis Antiquus: et volo quod iste iuvenis comedat
in bursa, et quod teneatis eum sub rigore, ne currat
exterius quando sibi placet. Et quando facit aliquem 30
excessum, detis ei disciplinam. Quia scribitur Pro-
verb' .XXIII. "Noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam:
si percusseris eum virga, non morietur. Tu virga per-
cuties eum, et animam eius de Inferno liberabis." Et
teneatis eum in consuetudine quod semper intrat 35
disputationes bursales, et quod non visitat lectiones
Caesarii vel aliorum poetarum. Gaudeo quod scrip-
sistis mihi quod Buschius non est amplius Coloniae:
quia ipse fuit magnum impedimentum universitatis,
seducens supposita cum sua poetria. Sunt hic etiam 40
duo poetae, Eobanus Hessus et Petreius Aperbachus,
qui sunt inimici mei: sed ego non curo eos. Ubicunque
vident me, loquuntur de causa Iohannis Reuchlin, et
dant ei rectum et obloquuntur Theologis: ego autem
taceo, quamvis nuper dixi: "Iohannes Pfe. bene scit 45
ei dicere qualis est:" et ostendi eis librum ipsius
qui intitulatur "Defensio Iohannis Pfefferkorn contra
Famosas," et sic abiivi. Det dominus deus, quod sen-
tentia vadat pro vobis, alias isti poetae facerent nobis
magna frivola. Sed habeatis vobis illum iuvenem 50
commendatum et Valeatis. Datum Erfordia.

XLVI

❧ *M. CUNRADUS UNCKEBUNCK*
M. Ortvinio Gratio S. P. D.

"OS habent et non loquentur; oculos habent et
non videbunt; Aures habent et non audient."
Psalmista. Haec verba possunt sic introduci et the- 5

²⁵ *Galaxia: Tractatus*, ut sup., fol.
xii.

³⁷ *Caesarii*. See i. 33, n.

³⁸ *Busch*. See i. 9, n.

⁴¹ *Eobanus*. See i. 38, n.

⁴¹ *Aperbach*.: Peter Eberbach, ob.
1532; one of the Erfurt circle.

¹ *Unck*. See ii. 19.

⁵ *Psal.*: cxiii. 5, 6.

⁵ *themat*. Not elsewhere found.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

matisari ad propositum meum: Magister Or. habet
 os et non loquitur, ita ut semel diceret alicui Curti-
 sano qui tendit Romam: "salutetis mihi d. Cunradum
 Unkebunck." Et habet oculos et non videt: quia
 10 scripsit ei multas litteras et non respondet mihi quasi
 non legens seu videns. Et tertio habet aures et non
 audit: quia commendavi multis sociis quando iverunt
 ad partes, ut salutarent eum. Sed ipse non audivit
 salutationes meas, quia non respondit illis. Ergo
 15 peccatis valde, quia ego amo vos: et ergo debetis
 me iterum amare. Sed non facitis, quia non scribitis
 mihi nihil. Et vellem libenter quod saepissime scribe-
 ritis mihi: quia quando lego lras vestras, laetificant
 me in corde intus. Attamen intellexi, quod habetis
 20 paucos auditores, et est querela vestra quod Buschius
 et Caesarius trahunt vobis scholares et supposita
 abinde: cum tamen ipsi non sciunt ita exponere poetas
 Allegorice sicut vos, et superallegare sacram scrip-
 turam. Credo quod diabolus est in illis poetis. Ipsi
 25 destruunt omnes universitates. Et audiui ab uno An-
 tiquo Magistro lipsensi qui fuit magister XXXVI
 annorum, et dixit mihi, quando ipse fuisset iuvenis,
 tunc illa universitas bene stetisset, quia in XX mili-
 aribus nullus poeta fuisset. Et dixit etiam quod tunc
 30 supposita diligenter compleverunt lectiones suas for-
 males et Materiales seu bursales: et fuit magnum
 scandalum quod aliquis studens iret in platea et non
 haberet Petrum Hispanum aut Parva logicalia sub
 brachio. Et si fuerunt Grammatici, tunc portabant
 35 Partes Alexandri vel vade mecum vel Exercitium
 puerorum, aut Opus minus, aut dicta Iohannis Sin-
 then. Et in scholis advertiebant diligenter: et habu-
 erunt in honore magistros Artium: et quando viderunt
 unum Magistrum, tunc fuerunt perterriti quasi vide-
 40 rent unum diabolum. Et dixit etiam quod protunc
 quater in anno promovebantur baculari et semper pro
 una vice sunt sexaginta aut quinquaginta. Et illo

³⁰ *form. et mat.*: the former dealing with the text of the works studied, and the latter with the commentaries.

³³ *Petr. Hisp.*: i. 11, n. (observe that his book is here discriminated from the following).

³³ *Parr. log.*: i. 17, n.

³⁵ *Partes.*: i.e. the *Doctrinale*.

³⁵ *Exercit.* See i. 20, n.

³⁶ *Sinthen.* See i. 7, n.

⁴² *sex.* *Sic*, in [D].

tempore universitas illa fuit multum in flore. Et
 quando unus stetit per annum cum dimidio, fuit
 promotus in bacularium, et per tres annos, aut duos ⁴⁵
 cum dimidio, in Magistrum: et si[c] parentes eorum
 fuerunt contenti, et libenter exposuerunt pecunias.
 Quia videbant quod filii sui venerunt ad honores.
 Sed nunc supposita volunt audire Virgilium et Plinium
 et alios noves autores: et licet audiunt per quinque ⁵⁰
 Annos, tamen non promoventur: Et sic quando rever-
 tunt in patriam, dicunt eis parentes "Quid es?" Re-
 spondent quod sunt nihil, sed studuerunt in Poesi.
 Tunc parentes non sciunt quid est. Et quando vident
 quod non sunt Grammatici, tunc sunt male contenti ⁵⁵
 super illam universitatem, et paenitent de pecunia.
 Et dicunt postea aliis: "Non mittatis filios vestros ad
 universitatem, quia nihil student, trufantes in plateis
 per noctem. Et est inutilis pecunia quae datur ad
 studium." Et dixit mihi amplius talis Magister quod ⁶⁰
 tempore suo fuerunt bene duo millia studentes in
 Liptzicgk et Erfordiae totidem, et Viennae quatuor
 millia et Coloniae etiam tot. Et sic de aliis. Nunc
 autem in omnibus universitatibus non sunt tot sup-
 posita sicut tunc in una aut duabus. Et magistri ⁶⁵
 Lipsenses nunc valde conqueruntur de paucitate sup-
 positorum. Quia poetae faciunt eis damnum. Et
 quando parentes mittunt filios suos in bursas et col-
 legia, non volunt ibi manere, sed vadunt ad poetas
 et student nequitas. Et dixit mihi quod ipse Liptzicgk ⁷⁰
 olim habuit quadraginta domicellos, et quando ivit in
 Ecclesiam vel ad forum vel spaciatum in Rubetum,
 tunc iverunt post eum. Et fuit tunc magnus ex-
 cessus studere in poetria. Et quando unus confite-
 batur in confessione quod occulte audivit Virgilium ⁷⁵
 ab uno baculario, tunc Sacerdos imponebat ei magnam
 paenitentiam. Videlicet ieiunare singulis sextis feriis,
 vel orare cottidie septem psalmos paenitentiales. Et
 iuravit mihi in conscientia sua quod vidit quod unus
 magistrandus fuit reiectus, quia unus de examinatori- ⁸⁰
 bus semel in die festo vidit ipsum legere in Terentio:
 utinam adhuc staret ita in Universitatibus, tunc etiā:
 ego non vellein ita servire hic in Curia: Quia quid

⁵⁰ noves. Sic, in [D] and [E].

⁶⁵ mag. Lips. See ii. 58.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

debemus facere in universitatibus? Nos non habemus
 85 proficuitatem. Quia socii non volunt amplius stare
 in bursis vel sub Magistris: et quando sunt viginti
 studentes, vix unus intendit procedere ad gradus. Sed
 omnes alii volunt studere in humanitate. Et quando
 90 unus magister legit, tunc non habet auditores: quia
 poetae in resumptionibus suis habent tot auditores quod
 est mirabile. Sic omnes Universitates per totam Al-
 maniam minorantur. Ergo debemus deum orare quod
 moriantur omnes poetae, quia "expedit vobis ut unus
 moriatur, etc." Id est, ut poetae quorum sunt pauci
 95 in qualibet universitate, moriantur potius quam quod
 tot universitates pereant. Vos autem scribite mihi
 posthac: vel faciam unam longam querelam de negli-
 gentiis vestris commissis. Valete. Datum Romae.

XLVII

❧ *FRATER BENEDICTUS DE SCOCLA*
M. Ortino G.

FRATERNALI et affectuosa dilectione salutis loco
 praemissa: notum facio nobis sicut petitis, quod
 5 epistola vestra est mihi praesentata in festo s. Mihaelis,
 et volo respondere ad proximas vestras articulariter.
 Primo quaeritis quare nos fratres praedicatores cantamus
 grossiori voce quam alii religiosi. Dico quod non ob
 aliam rationem puto nisi quod scribitur Esaiae .LIX.
 10 "Rugiemus quasi ursi omnes, et quasi columbae geme-
 mus." Et propterea credo quod sanctus Dominicus
 voluit Implere istam prophetiam. Secundo quaeritis
 quid teneo, an sanctus Thomas vel sanctus Dominicus

⁹³ *exped.*: John xi. 50.

⁸ *grossiori voce*: "[The Dominican] barks at midnight, with a hoarse and unpleasant voice." *John Physio-philus's Spec. of the Nat. Hist. of Monks*, Lond., 1783, p. 20.

⁹ *Es.* .LIX.: v. 11. The Vulg. inserts "meditantes" after columbae. "Wee shul roren as beres alle, and as culueres bethenkende we shul weilen." Wickl.

¹³ *an. s. Thom.*: In the anonymous "Manuale Scholarium qui studentium universitates aggredi, et postea proficere in eisdem intendunt:" s. l. et a. [Hain, 10735 ff.], the interlocutors similarly contend (ch. iv.) concerning S. Thomas and Albertus Magnus, upholding respectively the sanctity of the former and the learning of the latter.

est sanctior. Dico quod sunt variae opiniones: et doctores ordinis nostri variis modis disputant. Aliqui 15 tenent quod s. Dominicus est sanctior merito vitae, sed non merito doctrinae: et per contrarium s. Thomas est sanctior merito doctrinae, non merito vitae. Alii putant quod simpliciter s. Dominicus est sanctior, et probant duabus rationibus. Prima est quia s. Dominicus est 20 sanctior [auctor] ordinis nostri, et sic s. Thomas, qui est de illo ordine, fuit eius discipulus. Sed non discipulus super magistrum. Ergo. Secunda est quia doctrina non habet prerogativam ad vitam et gesta: et ergo licet s. Thomas fuit doctior quam s. Dominicus, 25 tamen non propterea etiam est sanctior. Alii volunt quod simpliciter s. Thomas est sanctior, quia non est alius doctor inter omnes sanctos qui appellatur "doctor sanctus" praeterquam sanctus Thomas. Et ergo sicut Aristoteles appellatur "philosophus" et Paulus "Apos- 30 tolus," sic s. Thomas propter eminentiam vocatur "Sanctus." Et ergo non solum in doctrina, sed etiam in sanctitate est maior quam s. Dominicus. Respondetur quod s. Thomas vocatur "sanctus" non quod est sanctior omnibus aliis sanctis simpliciter, sed tantum 35 inter sanctos doctores est sanctior. Et sic non est sanctior quam s. Dominicus. Etiam dixit mihi unus antiquus de ordine nostro, quod vult mihi ostendere in uno libro veterissimo, quod prohibitum est disputare de superioritate inter istos duos sanctos. Et ergo relinquo 40 hanc quaestionem et non volo eam decidere. Tertio quaeritis an etiam puto quod Ioannes Pfefferkorn perseverabit in fede christiana? Respondeo quod per deum nescio quid debeo dicere. Quia est valde periculosum. Vos bene scitis illud exemplum ad sanctum Andream 45 Coloniae: qualiter unus Decanus eiusdem ecclesiae Iudaeus baptisatus diutissime mansit in fede christiana, et vixit rectissime. Sed postea in articulo mortis iussit sibi portare unum leporem et canem, et misit eos currere: tunc statim canis apprehendit leporem. Tunc 50 iterum iussit currere unum Catum et murem: et Catus

²¹ *sanct.*: Böcking proposes
"auctor."

²² *non discip.*: Matth. x. 24. In
the Vulg. "non est . . ."

³¹ *propter emin.*: "par excellence."

³⁹ *veterissimo*. Not elsewhere
found.

⁴³ *fede*. Sic, in [D].

⁴⁵ *ad s. And.*: where the *Augen-
spiegel* was burnt.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

apprehendit murem. Et dixit multis circumstantibus
 "Videtis quod ista animalia non dimittunt naturam
 suam? Sic etiam Iudaeus nunquam dimittit fidem
 55 suam: ergo etiam hodie volo mori sicut bonus Iudaeus:"
 et mortuus est. Tunc cives Colonienses in memoriam
 facti illius fecerunt has aereas imagines quae adhuc sunt
 super murum ante cimiterium. Item audiui de alio.
 Qui similiter in articulo mortis constitutus iussit sibi
 60 portare unum lapidem magnum, et ponere eum in olla
 cum aqua et ponere ad ignem ad coquendum: et stetit
 bene tres dies apud ignem: tunc quaesivit an esset
 coctus. Responderunt quod non, quia non est possibile
 quod unus lapis deberet coqui. Tunc respondit ipse:
 65 "Sicut iste lapis nunquam fit mollis apud ignem. Ita
 etiam nunquam aliquis Iudaeus fit recte christianus.
 Sed faciunt hoc propter lucrum vel propter timorem vel
 propterea quod possint facere unam proditionem. Et
 ego hodie volo mori sicut fidelis Iudaeus." Ergo per
 70 deum, M. Ortvine, timendum est valde de Ioanne
 Pfefferkorn, quamvis spero quod dominus deus dabit ei
 specialem gratiam et conservabit eum in fide; et nos
 debemus utique semper dicere quod pro certo semper
 manebit christianus propter Ioannem Reuchlin et suos
 75 adhaerentes. Quarto interrogatis quid teneo de propriis
 nominibus: an carent plurali numero sicut tenent an-
 tiqui gramatici, Alexander et alii, an vero habent
 pluralem sicut opinantur moderni et novi, ut Diomedes
 et Priscianus. Respondeo, quod dicendum est, quod
 80 propria careant plurali in quantum propria. Sed ali-
 quando tamen declinantur in plurali, et tunc debent
 exponi per appellativa, ut duo Iacobi, id est duo apos-
 toli qui fuerunt nominati Iacobus; duo Catones, id est
 duo reges vel sapientes Senatores Romani vocati taliter.
 85 Tres Mariae, id est tres mulieres habentes tale nomen.
 Respondi vobis pro posse meo. Si scirem melius, etiam
 melius responderem vobis. Et ergo accipiat in bonam
 partem. Et salutate mihi plurimum M. nostrum Ar-

⁵⁷ *imagines*. No longer existing. It seems that the story was originated to account for them.

⁷⁷ *gram.* Sic, in [D].

⁷⁷ *habent pluralem*: "Quaedam

[nomina] propria sunt et appellativa." *Diomedis Grammatici Opera*. Hagenaui, 1526, 20 (verso).

⁷⁸ *Diomedes*. See ii. 35, n.

noldum de Tungari praeceptorem singularissimum. Et
Valete. D. Sundis.

90

XLVIII

¶ IOANNES KALP

M. Ortino Gratio.

SALUTEM amicabilem. Honorabilis domine, Vene-
rabilis magister, Sciatis quod miror valde, quomodo
sic potestis me tribulare scribendo mihi semper "Scri-
batis mihi tamen aliquid novi." Et semper vultis scire
novalia, cum tamen ego habeo alia ad agendum. Et
ergo non possum multum curare de novitatibus, quia
oportet me currere hincinde et sollicitare, si non volo
perdere sententiam et venire de beneficio illo. Sed
tamen si vultis esse contentus, tunc semel volo scribere
vobis, ita quod postea permittatis me in pace cum
novitatibus. Vos bene audivistis qualiter papa habuit
unum magnum animal quod vocatum fuit Elephas.
Et habuit ipsum in magno honore, et valde amavit
illud. Nunc igitur debetis scire quod tale animal est
mortuum. Et quando fuit infirmum, tunc Papa fuit
in magna tristitia. Et vocavit medicos plures, et dixit
eis: "Si est possibile, sanate mihi Elephas." Tunc
fecerunt magnam diligentiam et viderunt ei urinam, et
dederunt ei unam purgationem quae constat quinque
centum aureos: sed tamen non potuerunt Elephas facere
merdare: et sic est mortuum. Et papa dolet multum
super Elephas. Et dicunt quod daret mille ducatos
pro Elephas. Quia fuit mirabile animal habens longum

⁹⁰ *Sundis*: in [E] merely "S." Perhaps an error for Suollis (Zwoll).

¹ *Kalp*: in the second edition "Kalb"; suitable to the bucolic character of the writer. It may be observed that the commentary of "Jehan le Veau" was one of those studied by Gargantua under Master Tubal Holofernes. Rabelais, *Garg.*, I. xiv.

¹⁴ *Elephas*: Indecl. throughout the Ep., and probably intended as a

proper name. "Portugal . . . sent an embassy to the Pope (Leo V.), one member of which was Tristão da Cuiha, laden with gifts from India, and bringing a tame elephant and other strange animals." W. Miller, *Mediaeval Rome*, p. 268. Cf. F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, 1896, Bd. viii. p. 189. Upon this elephant Leo X. caused the poetaster Boraballo to ride in mock triumph. P. Van Dyke, *Age of the Renaissance*, 1897, p. 322.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

rostrum in magna quantitate. Et quando vidit Papam, tunc geniculavit ei et dixit cum terribili voce "bar, bar, bar." Et credo quod non est simile animal in mundo. Dicunt quod rex Franciae et rex Karolus fecerunt
 30 pacem ad multos annos et iuraverunt invicem. Sed videtur aliquibus quod talis pax est Cautelosa, et non durabit diu. Ego nescio quomodo est. Etiam non multum curo. Quia quando venio iterum ad Almaniam, tunc ibo ad pastoriā meam et habebo bonos dies.
 35 Quia habeo ibi multas aucas et gallinas et annetas, et possum habere in domo mea quinque vel sex vaccas, quae dabunt mihi lac quod facio caseos et butirum. Quia volo habere Cocam quae facit mihi talia. Et debet esse antiqua. Quia si esset iuvenis, tunc faceret
 40 mihi tentationes carnis, ita quod possem peccare. Ipsa etiam debet mihi nere, quia emam ei linum. Et volo habere duos vel tres porcos et volo eos impinguare quod faciunt mihi bonum lardum. Quia ante omnia volo in domo mea habere bona coqualia. Etiam volo semel mac-
 45 tare unum taurum, et dimidium volo vendere rusticis, et dimidium volo suspendere in fumo. Et retro domum habeo hortum, ubi volo seminare allium, cepes, petrosilium, et volo habere olera et rapas et alia. Et ego volo in hieme sedere in stuffa mea et studere quod
 50 possim rusticis praedicare in sermonibus Parati vel Discipuli, vel etiam in Biblia, ita quod ero habituatus ad predicandum. Et in aestate volo ire piscatum vel

²⁷ *bar.* Cf. "An elephant that out of reverence for the pope his master would barr and bend the knee." Urquhart, *Rabelais*, III. xiii.

³⁰ *pacem.* This treaty between Francis I. and Charles V. was signed at Noviodunum (Noyon), Aug. 13, 1516. By it certain territories lost by Venice were restored to her, and Charles became betrothed to the infant daughter of the French king. H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, vii. 456.

⁴⁴ *coqualia.* Not elsewhere found.

⁴⁶ *retro:* prepn. "behind." Cf. "retro januam" (i. 21).

⁴⁷ *cepes:* for *cepas*.

⁴⁹ *stuffa:* Ger. *stube*, chamber, study. Cf. ii. 52, where the meaning is clearly brought out. Not to be confused with *stufa*, stove (ii. 12).

⁵⁰ *Parati vel Discipuli.* The *Paratus* is an anonymous work very popular in its time, entitled *Sermones parati de tempore et Sanctis*. This contains 157 short sermons for the Sundays of the Christian year and 81 for festivals. There is a very early example of an index (*Tabula*) appended, "qua bene intuita habendus sermo celeriter inveniri poterit." There are seven edd. in the Brit. Mus. from 1480 (?). The *Discipulus* was the anonymous work of Johann Herolt, a Dominican, who entitled his compilation *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*, in allusion to their simple character. H. also wrote *Liber discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium*. Both works belong to the end of the XVth Cent., but nearly all edd. are *s. l. et a.*

laborare in horto. Et non volo curare de bellis, quia volo esse pro me, et dicere orationes meas et legere missas, et non curare ista mundana negocia quae afferunt 55 perditionem animae. Valete. Datum Romanae Curiae.

XLIX

☛ *PHILIPPUS SARTORIS DE ERFORDIA*
M. Ortvino Gratia

SALUTES honorabiliter optandas honorabilitati vestrae. Venerabilis domine Magister, Sicut nuper scripsistis mihi quod quidam poeta in Almanica dictus 5 Erasmus Roterodamus componit multos libros, et praecipue composuit unam epistolam ad Papam, in qua commendavit Iohannem Reuchlin: Sciatis quod vidi illam epistolam. Sed adhuc vidi unum alium librum magnum qui intitulatur "Novum Testamentum," et misit 10 illum librum ad Papam: et credo quod libenter vellet quod Papa autenticaret illum librum. Sed spero quod non fiet. Quia Magister sacri Palatii qui est vir notabilis et magnae reputationis, dixit, quod vult probare quod Erasmus ille est haereticus. Quia in quibusdam 15 passibus reprehendit doctorem sanctum et nihil tenet de Theologis. Et cum hoc scripsit unam materiam quae vocatur Moria Erasmi, quae habet multas propositiones scandalizativas et parum reverentiales, et aliquando continet apertas blasphemias. Quapropter 20 Parrisienses volunt cōburrere talem librum. Ergo etiam

⁵⁴ *pro me.* Cf. "Erasmus est homo pro se;" ii. 59, n.

⁷ *epist.*: dated London, Ap. 29, 1515. Reuchlin, says E., has almost equal skill in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and is deservedly honoured in Germany as a very phoenix. *Erasmi, Epp.* No. clxxiv., 1706.

¹⁰ *Nov. Test.*: the Greek text, with a new Lat. transl. and notes. Dedicatory epistle, dated Basle, Feb. 1, 1516. "The effect was a spiritual earthquake. . . . A single candle shone in the universal darkness.

That a Pope should have been found to allow the lighting of it is the most startling feature in Reformation history." J. A. Froude, *Life and Lett. of Erasmi*, 1894, p. 128.

¹³ *Mag. sac. Pal.*: Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, Instructor of the Papal Household; ob. 1523, a Dominican, who died General of his Order. It was his duty to license the publication of books. See W. Roscoe, *Leo the Tenth*, 1876, ii. 94. For the controversy between Prierias and Luther, see P. Bayne, *Martin Luther*, i. ch. ix.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

non credo quod Papa autentitabit illum magnum librum. Etiam Magister noster Iacobus de alta platea est in bona sperantia. Heri invitavit me ad collationem, et
 25 dixit mihi veraciter quod Cardinalis dixit sibi, quod debet habere sententiam pro se. Sed Iohannes Wick qui est Procurator Iohannis Reuchlin, facit ei magnam instantiam: ego semel affui quod M. n̄r Iacobus dixit ad eum "Ecce tu iam es contra me, et credas mihi
 30 firmiter, si habuero victoriam, ego tribulabo te ita quod in tota Almaniam non eris securus." Et iterum dixit ad eum: "ego scio [quod] Reuchlin non habet tibi dare pecuniam, et tu es ita temerarius quod vis tibi totum ordinem ad inimicitiam facere?" Postea est unus alius,
 35 scilicet doctor Martinus Groningen qui debet transferre Speculum Oculare. Ego intellexi quod Magister noster Iacobus debet ei centum ducatos in occulto, quod falsificabit Speculum oculare: et si faciet, tunc eritis victores. Et spero quod ille doctor faciet. De talibus
 40 quicquid scitis debetis mihi scribere.

Valete ex ROMA.

L

❧ M. ADOLFUS CLINGESOR *Magistro*
Ortvino Gratio S. P. D.

SICUT nuper intellexistis de me quod solent hic
 5 mecum disputare de Iohanne Reuchlin et causa fidei: Sciatis quod postquam misistis mihi illum librum Iohannes Pfefferkorn qui intitulatur "Defensio Io. P. contra famosas," tunc ivi ad quendam qui semper tenet mihi oppositum, et ostendi ei in illo libro circa finem scilicet O ij, ubi sic scribitur "Ante .XX. annos, si

²⁵ *Card.*: Bernardino de Caravajal, Card. of S. Croce; *ob.* 1522. His *Oratio de eligendo summo Pontifice*, Aug. 6, 1492, immediately preceded the election of Rodrigo Borgia as Alexander VI., by whom he was made Cardinal. See Martène et Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecdotorum*, 1717, vol. ii.

²⁶ Wick; Johann von der Wick,

afterwards Syndic of Bremen and Munster, and ultimately (1533) a martyr in the cause of the Reformation. See Erasm., *Ep.* mdcxx. *J. Cuesarius to Erasm.*, Cologne, July 30, 1517.

³⁵ *Gron.* See ii. 10, n.

¹ *Clingesor.* See ii. 25.

bene memini, nobis Coloniensibus a Iohanne Lichten- 10
berger sive peregrino Ruth heremita (cuius prognostica
Moguntiae tam latine quam teutonice impressa sint),
vaticinata fuisse." Sic enim scribit folio .XVI. "Atten-
dite, o vos Philosophi Colonienses, ne lupi rapaces
introeant in ovile vestrum: Nam temporibus vestris 15
exurgent nova et inaudita in ecclesiis vestris quae almi-
potens avertat." Cum ille legisset, stetit modicum, et
pensavit. Deinde dixit: "Ego miror stultitiam Theo-
logorum. Creditis quod omnes homines sunt pueri,
quod possitis eis persuadere talia. Sed quia Theologi 20
Colonienses volunt ita subtiles videri, ego ostendam
vobis unam prophetiam de Io. R. quae magis erit ad
propositum. Et postea demonstrabo etiam illam pro-
phetiam quam illi ponunt, quod est pro Reuchlin et
non contra eū videatis igitur Sophoniae primo, ubi 25
propheta sic dicit: 'Et erit in tempore illo, scrutabor
Hierusalem in lucernis et visitabo super defixos in faeci-
bus suis, qui dicunt in cordibus suis etc.' Nunc quia
vos Colonienses praetenditis scripturas trahere ad placi-
tum vestrum: Audiatis quomodo etiam ego possum 30
exponere verba prophetae. Dicit ergo dominus per os
prophetae: 'Et erit in die illa, scrutabor herusalē,' id
est visitabo ecclesiam meam, cogitans reformare eam,
et tollere errores si sunt aliqui in ea; et 'hos faciam in
lucernis,' id est mediantibus doctissimis viris, sicut 35
sunt in Almania Erasmus Roterodamus et Iohannes
Reuchlin, et Mutianus Ruffus et alii: 'et visitabo
super viros,' id est Theologos, 'defixos,' id est obsti-
naciter induratos, 'in facib² suis,' id est in quedam
sordida et tenebricosa et inepta Theologia, quam 40
ante pauca saecula usurpaverunt sibi, relinquentes

¹⁰ *Ioh. Licht.* A facsimile of the *Pronosticatio in Latino* of the astrologer J. L. has been edited for the Holbein Society by W. H. Rylands (1890). The work was extremely popular, and appeared in many forms. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. of the "Ruth" (German), with coloured woodcuts (1497). Copinger, II. i. 3577.

¹³ *fol. xvi.* The quot. is from chap. xiv. The woodcut on the preceding page shows the Bps. of Trier and

Cologne holding a pastoral staff, which a bear and a wolf gnaw.

²⁵ *Soph.* Zeph. i. 12.

³⁷ *Mut. Ruf.*: Conrad Muth, 1472-1526, pupil of Hegius at Deventer, the leader and guide of the Erfurt circle. "Pessimus omnium illorum qui sunt pro Reuchlin" (ii. 59). See *Der Briefwechsel des M. Rufus. Gesam-melt und bearbeitet von Dr. C. Krause*, Kassel, 1885, and Introd.

³⁹ *facib.* *Sic*, in [D] and [E].

³⁹ *qued.* *Sic*, in [D] and [E].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

illos antiquos et literatos Theologos qui in vera luce scripturarum ambulaverunt. Ipsi autem non sciunt neque latinas neque graecas neque hebraicas
 45 literas, ut possint scripturas intelligere. Et ergo re-
 licta vera et origenali Theologia, nihil amplius faciunt nisi quod disputant et argumentantur et movent inu-
 tiles quaestiones. Et ista faciendo dicunt se defendere
 fidem Catholicam, cum tamen neminem apud se habeant
 50 qui pugnat contra fidem. Et sic inutiliter perdunt tem-
 pora et non conferunt aliquam utilitatem in ecclesia dei. Sed si disputationes eorum haberent aliquam
 utilitatem, tunc possunt illam vertere ad commodum
 ecclesiae fidei Catholicae eundo per mundum et prae-
 55 dicare verbum dei sicut Apostoli, et disputare contra
 Graecos quod redeant in unionem cum ecclesia Romana. Vel si non vellent longe abire, saltem irent in Boemiā
 concludentes Illam gentem cum Argumentis et Syllo-
 gismis suis. Sed hoc non faciunt. Verum ibi dispu-
 60 tant ubi non est opus: ‘Ergo visitabit eos dominus’ et
 mittet quosdam alios Doctores graece, latine et hebraice
 doctos, qui ‘eiectionis illis faecibus,’ Idest ablatis illis
 ineptis Cavillationibus et adulterinis Theologiae et ob-
 scuris commentationibus, adducent lucernas suas et
 65 illustrabunt scripturas, et restituent nobis antiquam
 et veram Theologiam, sicut nuper ille praenominatus
 Erasmus emendavit libros sancti Hieronimi, et fecit
 eos Imprimi. Etiam emendavit novum testamentum,
 quod ego credo esse maiori utilitati quam si viginti
 70 milia Scotistae vel Thomistae centum annos disputarent
 de Ente et essentia.” Postquam dixit talia, Respondi
 ego: “Custodiat me dominus deus, quid audio? Vos
 de facto estis excommunicatus”: et volui abire ab eo
 tunc tenuit me dicens “Audiatis tamen finem.” Res-
 75 pondi “Nolo audire finem.” Tunc dixit “Audiatis
 ergo solum quomodo exponam vestram prophetiam.”
 Et cogitavi mecum quod volo audire: quia nihil nocet
 audire unum excommunicatum, dummodo aliquis non
 bibit vel comedit secum. Tunc incepit sic: “‘Atten-
 80 dite, o vos philosophi Colonienses:’ Non dixit ‘Theo-

⁶⁷ *Hieron*: publ. by Froben in 1516. “St. Jerome is to appear complete at the next Frankfurt Fair.” *Erasmus to Fisher*, Ep. cclv.

⁶⁸ *nov. test.*: publ. in Feb. 1516 by Froben, with dedication to Leo X.

logi,' sed 'philosophi': quia theologia Coloniensium potius est philosophia, idē Ars Sophistica, quam Theologia dicenda, quia nihil aliud est quam garrulitas diabolica et inanis loquacitas. 'Ne lupi rapaces,' scilicet Iacobus de Hochstraten, Arnoldus de Tungari et similes, qui falsitate et fraudibus suis violenter et ferociter 85 invadunt innocentes oves, qualis sunt et fuerunt Petrus Ravennas et Iohannes Reuchlin, volentes eos declarare haereticos propter doctrinam et laudem suam cui ipsi invident. Et quia vident quod ipsi non possunt talia 90 efficere qualia isti doctissimi viri: ergo vellent libenter perdere eos. Hi sunt igitur lupi rapaces qui insidiantur famae ac vitae innocentum. Et sic per septem iam annos rapuerunt et tracraverūt hincinde miserum senem Iohannem Reuchlin: et nisi omnipotens deus avertisset 95 illud malum, omnino devorassent eum. Et non potest exponi, quod Reuchlin sit ille lupus rapax: quia in tota vita sua neminem rapuit, id est neminem falso accusavit vel contra vitam aut famam eius dictis vel scriptis egit. Sed attendatis, quid sonant sequentia verba: 100 'Introivit in ovile vestrum.' Quia ille bonus Reuchlin nunquam intravit studium Coloniense. Immo nunquam habuit curam de Theologis Coloniensibus vel ecclesia Coloniensi, sed habuit alia agere maioris utilitatis: Ergo ipse non potest dici unus ex illis lupis 105 rapacibus, de quibus Lichtenberger sentit, qui debet esse ex ovili Coloniensi. Consequenter: 'Nam temporibus vestris exurgent nova et inaudita.' Bene 'nova et inaudita,' Quia neque oculus vidit neque auris audivit, neque in cor hominis descendit, quod ita 110 doctus et probus vir, qui tam multis profuit et nemini unquam nocuit, in summa senectute sua debet ita crudeliter et perfide vexari et conturbari et persecutionem pati. Et ergo sequitur 'in ecclesiis vestris': quapropter non potest de Reuchlin allegari, quia ipse 115 benignissime vivit extra ecclesiam Coloniensem, scilicet in Episcopatu Constantiensi. 'Et sic spero quod venient Canes,' id est fideles Custodes ovium: que sine invidia et malevolentia humiliter et fideliter pascent

⁸² *idē*. Sic, in [D] and [E]; for
"id est" (?)

⁸⁷ *qual*. Sic, in [D] and [E].

⁹⁴ *trac*. Sic, in [D].

¹¹⁸ *que*. Sic, in [D].

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

120 oves Christi, id est populum Christianum, ‘et delacera-
bunt illos lupos qui vastaverunt ovile dei, et purgabunt
Ecclesiam dei,’ id est eiicient illos sordidas et faecu-
lentos theologos qui nihil sciunt et omnia scire preten-
dunt.” Postquam talia dixit, recessi ab eo, et Iuravi
125 ad sancta sanctorum quod volo scribere ad Coloniam.
Peto ergo humiliter quod velitis ista dicere Magistris
Nostris et Iohanni Pfefferkorn qui est quasi scriptor
Coloniensium et scit mirabiliter componere, ut bene
vexet eos scriptis suis. Ille qui dixit ista, est natus
130 ex Perlin. Si vultis nomen eius scire, tunc scribatis
mihi, et dicam vobis. Ipse stetit Bononiae, ubi fuit
bene castigatus: sed tamen adhuc loquitur contra
Theologos et est male Christianus: et manet in pravi-
tate sua, et ergo morietur in gehenna, a qua dominus
135 deus conservet vos et Theologos et fratres Praedicatores
per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Datum Franck-
fordiae apud Oderam.

LI

❧ IOHANNES HELFERICH *Latine*
IUPPITER M. Ortino

SALUTEM cum humillima commendatione sui.
Venerabilis domine Magister, sicut scribitis mihi
5 quod habetis admirationem abinde quod voco me
iuppiter, Sciatis quod quando steti Viennae, tunc
audivi lectiones in poetria, et fuit ibi quidam iuvenis
poeta qui fuit discipulus Cunradi Celtis et vocatur
Georgius Sibutus. Ipse fuit socius meus et semper
10 fuimus una. Et dixit mihi “tu debes vocari Iuppiter,
quia Iupiter latine est idem quod Helferich teutonice.”
Et sic vocant me nunc Iuppiter. Sed ille poeta nunc
est Wittenbergk, et ibi accepit unam antiquam vetu-
lam quae vixit annis septuaginta octo vel paulo plus.

¹²⁰ *delac.* Sic, in [D] and [E].

¹²² *sord.* Sic, in [D] and [E].

¹²⁶ *hum.* Sic, in [D].

¹³⁰ *Perlin.* See ii. 22.

⁶ *iuppiter*: for the notion that J.

is derived from “juvans pater” it is not necessary to refer to the *Catholicon*. Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, ii. 25.

⁹ *Sibutus*. See i. 3, n.

Ego fui semel in domo eius, quando ambulavi ex 15
 Prussia. Tunc Illa vetula sedit retro fornacem. Tunc
 dixi ei "Est ista Mater vestra?" Respondit "Non,
 sed est Femina et Uxor mea." Et dixi ei: "Quare
 sumpsistis ita antiquam vetulam?" Respondit quod
 est adhuc bona in fornicatione. Et etiam habet 20
 multum pecuniae et scit facere bonam Cerevisiam, et
 postea vendit eam et colligit pecuniam." Tunc dixi:
 "bene fecistis." Et interrogavi "quomodo vocatur
 Femina vestra?" Respondit. "Et ego voco eam Carinna
 mea, Lesbia mea, et Cynthia mea." Sed transeant illa. 25
 Scribitis quod videtur vobis quod statim erit extre-
 mum iudicium. Quia mundus ita nunc est peioratus
 quod non est possibile quod potest amplius peiorari,
 et homines habent sic malos gestus quod est mirabile.
 Quia iuvenes volunt se aequiparare senibus, et discipuli 30
 magistris, et Iuristae Theologis: et est magna con-
 fusio, et surgunt multi haeretici et pseudo Christiani,
 Iohannes Reuchlin, Erasmus Roterodamus, Bilibaldus
 nescio quis, et Ulrichus Huttenus, Hermannus Buschius,
 Iacobus winphelingus qui scripsit contra Augustinen- 35
 ses, et Sebastianus Brant qui scripsit contra Praedica-
 tores (quod sit deo conquestum) et temerarie vituperat
 eos. Et sic multa scandala surgunt in fide, et bene
 credo vobis, quia legi quod talia debent immediate

²⁴ *Car. Sic*, in [D] and [E].

³³ *Bilibaldus*: Wilibald Pirckheimer (1470–1528), one of the most notable figures of the period. Born at Nuremberg, he spent seven years of his life in Italy. On his return to N. he led the life of a wealthy scholar, patron of art and literature, and man of affairs. Not an extremist, he lamented the faults and excesses of both the defenders and assailants of the Church. The fatuous "nescio quis" is a quotation from Pfefferkorn's *Defensio*. See F. Roth, *Wil. Pirckh.*, Halle, 1887.

³⁵ *winpheling.*: Jacob Wimpheling (1450–1528) was born and died at Schlettstadt, in Elsass. He was an ardent educational reformer, of the school of Gerson, but no supporter of the Reformation. His treatise, *De Integritate*, in which he assailed monkish pretensions, and incidentally

remarked that Augustine was not a Regular, brought down on him the wrath of the Augustinians, just as his poem in honour of the Immaculate Conception did that of the Dominicans. W. was a friend and collaborator of Sebastian Brant. The chief educational works of W. are *Isidoneus Germanicus* (1496) and *Adolescentia* (1498). See P. V. Wiskowatoff, *J. W. sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Berlin, 1867; B. Schwartz, *J. W.*, Gotha, 1875.

³⁶ *Brant*: Sebastian Brant (or Brandt) (1457–1521), a native of Strasburg, and the author of the famous *Narrenschiff*, which has passed into English literature in the form of Barclay's paraphrase, *The Ship of Fools of the World*, 1509. The allusion in the text is to B.'s association with Wimpheling in the Immaculate Conception controversy.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

40 praecedere extremum iudicium. Sed adhuc aliud volo
significare vobis quod audiui et dictum est mihi vera-
citer ab uno religioso patre, quod dicitur pro certo
quod Anti-Christus est natus: sed est adhuc parvus.
Etiam dixit quod facta est quaedam revelatio cuidam
45 Ordinis Carthusiensium. Qui quando semel dormivit
in cella sua, audivit unam vocem de caelo dicentem:
“Peribit mundus, peribit mundus, peribit mundus.”
Tunc ille religiosus timuit et voluit aliquid dicere,
sed occulte fecit Orationes suas contra tentationes
50 diaboli. Tunc incepit iterum clamare vox illa: et
etiam tertio incepit. Tunc ipse intelligens in spiritu
quod esset vox domini, respondit: “domine, quare?”
Respondit vox illa: “Propter peccata sua.” Tunc
iterum dixit religiosus; “Domine, quando?” Re-
55 spondit vox illa: “adhuc in .X. annis.” Propterea
timeo valde. Et quando ambulavi per Bononiam,
audiui quod est ibi unus Civis qui habet spiritum, qui
vocatur Rilla: et ille spiritus mirabilia dicit et de
rege Franciae et Imperatore et Papa, et de fine mundi.
60 Ego legi prophetias eius. Sic scripsi vobis quid ego
scio. Cum hoc sitis commendatus domino deo.

D. R. C.

LII

❧ HENRICHUS SCHLUNTZ

M. Ortvino Gratia

A MICITIAM et servitutum dominationi vestrae a
parte ante semper, et quicquid possum pro domina-
5 tione vestra hic et ubique et in omnibus locis et
honestis. Venerabilis domine Magister, mitto domina-

⁴³ *Anti-Christ*. In 1190 the Abbot Joachim declared that “Antichrist is already born, yea born in the city of Rome.” See Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*. For the whole subject, see Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Eng. trans., 1896).

⁵⁸ *Rilla*. The allusion remains in obscurity.

¹ *Schluntz*: the name of a strong and heavy Erfurt beer; “stingo.”

“Ah pereat crassam praestat quicunque sodali

Schluntz Reydgern: nunquam vina meraca bibat.”

—*De Gen. Ebrios*, Frankft., 1643, p. 453.

tioni vestrae hic unum notabilem et multum proficuealem librum. Et videtur mihi quod talis liber est compositus multum artificialiter, habens in se propositiones valde Magistrales: et vocatur "Rationale divinorum": 10 ego emi hic quando fuit in nundina et dixi "iste liber est pro Magistro Ortvino: laudetur deus quod inveni eum. Quia volo ei mittere, sicut ipse nuper misit mihi librum Iohannis Pfefferkorn qui intitulatur "Defensio Io. Pfefferkorn contra Famosas," quem talis 15 vir composuit intentionaliter defensorium Sacrae fidei Catholicae contra Iohannem Reuchlin et sequaces, dando eis bonas scommas. Sed possetis dicere: "Quare talis mittit mihi talem librum? Credit quod non met habeo libros satis?" Respondeo quod non facio propterea. Et quando putatis quod misi vobis talem librum propterea, tunc facitis mihi iniuriam, quia feci cum bona opinione. Et non debetis credere quod parvipendo vos, quod habeatis paucos libros: quia scio quod habetis multos libros. Quia vidi bene quando fui in 25 stuffa vestra Coloniae, quod habuistis multos libros in magna et in parva forma. Et aliqui fuerunt ligati in asseribus, aliqui in bergamenibus. Et aliqui fuerunt per totum cum Coreo rubeo et viridi et nigro, aliqui pro dimidio supertracti. Et vos sedistis habens flabellum in manu ad purgandum pulveres abinde. Tunc ego dixi "Magister Ortvine, Vos per deos habetis multos pulchros libros et tenetis eos in magno honore." Tunc dixistis mihi, quod ita debeo cognoscere quando aliquis est doctus vel non. Quia qui honorat libros, 35 honorat etiam scientias. Et contra qui non honorat libros, etiam non honorat scientias. Et tenui in corde

⁷ *proficuealem*. Not in Du Cange, but "*proficueus* = utilis."

¹⁰ *Rationale*; the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Guillaume Durand (1237-1296), Bp. of Mende. It was one of the first printed books (Mainz, 1459), and is a work of great importance in liturgical history. "Le dernier mot du moyen âge sur la mystique du culte divin." See Ul. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, 1883.

¹⁸ *scommas*: (σκῶμμα) correctly used

as a neuter in the title of the second edition of vol. ii. of the E. O. V.

²⁶ *mult. lib.*:—

"Ædibus in nostris librorum culta suppellex, Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola."

—*Stultifera Navis*.

²⁸ *bergamenibus*. Not in Du Cange; Germ. (obs.) *pergamen*.

²⁹ *Cor.*: for corio.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

meo tale dogma et tenebo per omnia seculorum secula
Amen. Datum in Neumberga.

LIII

❧ IOHANNES SCHLUNTZICK
M. Ortvino Gratio

SCRIPSISTIS mihi noviter unam lřam valde vitu-
perativam et criminatis me quod non scribo vobis
5 quomodo stat in causa fidei cum Io. Reuchlin. Et
quando legi illam litteram, fui valde iratus et dixi:
“Quare scribit mihi talia, cum ego scripsi ei duas
litteras et non est adhuc medius annus? Sed nuncii
non praesentaverunt sibi: quid ego possum facere?”
10 Et debetis mihi firmiter credere quod scripsi vobis
singulariter et articulatim quicquid sciivi. Sed est
bene possibile quod nuncii non presentant vobis. Et
praecipue scripsi vobis quod quando equitavi ex
Florentia versus Romam, tunc in via inveni reveren-
15 dum patrem F. Iacobum de Hochstraten, M. nostrum
et her. pr. Inquis., venientem ex Florentia, ubi impe-
travit aliquid in causa vestra per regem Franciae. Tunc
detracto pileo meo dixi “Pater reverende, estis vel non
estis?” Tunc respondit “Ego sum qui sum.” Tunc
20 dixi “Vos estis dominus meus Ma. no. Iacobus de alta
platea, Inquisitor her. pra.” Respondit “Sum utique.”
Et dedi ei manum dicens: “O deus, quomodo venit
quod inceditis per pedes? Est scandalum quod talis
vir debet pedibus suis ambulare per merdam et per
25 lutum.” Respondit ipse: “hi in curribus et hi in
equis: nos autem in nomine domini venimus.” Dixi
ei: “Sed nunc est magna pluvia et frigus.” Tunc
levavit manus suas ad caelum dicens: “Rorate caeli,
desuper, et nubes pluant iustum.” Et cogitavi mecum:
30 “O deus, non est magna miseria quod talis Magister
noster debet habere malam fortunam: ante duos annos

²² *Neumberga*. Perhaps Nuremberg
is meant.

²⁵ *hi in curr.*: Psal. xix. 8.

²⁸ *Rorate*: Is. xlv. 8.

ego vidi eum venire Romam cum tribus equis, et nunc vadit per pedes." Et dixi ei: "Vultis equum meum?" Respondit ipse metricè:

Qui dare vult aliis, non debet dicere "Vultis"?

35

Tunc dixi: "Per deum, eximie domine, Ego habeo unam vacantiam, et propterea oportet me velociter ire: alias vellem vobis dare equum meum." Et sic dereliqui eum. Ecce nunc scitis quomodo stat. Et videtis quod ille magister noster est in magna miseria, propterea⁴⁰ procuretis ei pecuniam, vel Causa male stabit. Quia procurator Iohannis Reuchlin Ioannes von der Wick facit maximam diligentiam, et currit et recurrit. Et nuper imposuit quaedam scripta contra M. nostrum Iacobum, ita scandalosa quod ego miror quod deus non aperte plagat eum. Ipse etiam nuper vituperavit⁴⁵ praefatum M. nostrum in faciem, dicens: "Ego efficiam auxilio veritatis, quod tu morieris in scandalo et miseria et tristitia, et Io. Reuchlin triumphabit. Et omnes Theologi debent hoc videre, etiam si deberent rumpi."⁵⁰ Et sic video quod iste praedictus Iohannes de Wick praetendit esse inimicus omnium Theologorum et est homo valde audax. Et est ita temerarius quantum est possibile. Ego audiui a Magistro nostro Iacobo quod dixit: "Nisi fuisset iste, ego habuissem sententiam pro⁵⁵ me statim quando veni Romam." Et est verum, quia etiam ab aliis audiui, quod quando M. N. Iacobus primum venit ad Romanam Curiam, tunc fuit ita terribilis quod omnes Curtisani timuerunt eum. Et nullus procurator voluit esse pro Iohanne Reuchlin,⁶⁰ quia timuerunt talem magistrum nostrum, et Iacobus de Questenbergk qui est etiam Amicus Reuchlin, quaesivit per totam Romam invenire unum procuratorem: et non potuit invenire, quia omnes dixerunt quod vellent ei in aliis complacere, sed in negotio fidei⁶⁵ timerent ne M. N. Iacobus inquireret eos ad ignem. Istis sic stantibus venit ille doctor (si est dignus) Io. de Wick et dixit ad Iaco. de Questenberg: "Ego sum paratus offerre me contra furorem illius monachi"

⁴² Wick: ii. 49, n.

⁶⁹ cont. Sic, in [D].

⁶⁸ Questen.: ii. 10, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

70 Tunc Ma. no. Iac. aperte minavit ei dicens: "Ego volo
facere quod paenitebit te quod unquam dixisti unum
verbum pro Reuchlin." Et audiui ab ore eius tunc
temporis quod dixit, Quando haberet sententiam contra
Reuchlin, tunc statim vellet illum doctorem de Wick
75 citare et declarare eum haereticum: quia ex verbis eius
collegit aliquos articulos haereticos. Sed nunc est
aliud. Et credatis mihi quod non bene stat negotium:
quia nunc semper sunt X fautores Io. Reuchlin, ubi
non est unus Theologorum. Et quando fuit post dis-
80 putatum a Theologis votatum, tunc fuerunt XVIII
qui votaverunt pro Reuchlin et solum septem pro
Theologis. Et ad huc illi septem non dixerunt
quod deberet comburi Speculum Oculare, sed limi-
taverunt verba sua. Ergo non habeo bonam speran-
85 tiam. Vos debetis omnia facere quae potestis quod
moriatur ille Io. de Wick, quia ipse est causa quod
Reuchlin bene stat et Theologi male. Et nisi ipse
fuisset, talis non fuissent perpetrata. Et sic credo
quod bene expediui me scribendo quod postea non
90 potestis mihi scribere talia vituperia. Ergo Valet.
Datum Romanae Curiae.

LIV

❧ *WILHELMUS BRICOT*
M. Ortvino Gratia

QUIA semper petitis quod volo vobis nova scribere,
et ego tamen saepe scribo vobis, sed non iuvat:
5 ergo iterum scribere vobis volo, et credo quod sufficiet.
Venit mihi in litera ex Romana Urbis Curia quod
Matthaeus Finck singularissimus fautor vester est
mortuus, et aliqui Curtisani lansmanni sui habuerunt

⁸⁰ *votatum*. Not elsewhere used in this sense.

¹ *Bricot*. Thomas Bricot was a commentator, many of whose works are extant. See Hain, 3966 *sqq.*

⁷ *Finck*: to whom ii. 8 is attributed. "Mathias Finck, nat. Tent., patria Haynoviensis . . . bonarum Art. Mag., Phil. or., et Poet. insignis." J. J. Maderus, *Script. Insig.* . . . *Centuria*, Helmstadt, 1660; lxxv.

me rogatum quod volo ei componere Epitaphium.
Quod feci sic :

10

Hic inacet extinctus quondam venerabilis Finckus
In rubea toga : pro eo deum roga :
Cuius olim venter bibit Cursica vina libenter :
In fide syncera et Charitate vera.

Unum rogo de vobis quod velitis me tamen instruere 15
quomodo debeo intelligere quod Parrhisienses quando
sententitā super Speculum oculare, ponunt ista verba
“ citra tamen autoris ipsius notam, quem ob humilem
eius submissionem et alia eius laudabilia scripta pro
Catholico habemus : ” Quia non scio quid est, quod 20
Speculum oculare debet comburi tanquam liber haere-
ticus sine infamia Iohannis Reuchlin qui composuit et
adhuc defendit eum. Quia videtur quod aliquis artifex,
qui est causa efficiens, magis debet habere culpam quam
res illa quam facit. Etiam vellem quod Louoniēses in 25
Epistola ad papam non scripsissent, quod Sententia
Parrhisiensium et Condemnatio speculi Ocularis attulit
ipsis multum Spiritualis iocunditatis, quia Sanctissimus
dominus Papa Cogitabit : “ Ecce nunc video quod nihil
est in Theologis nisi pura Invidia : Si enim essent 30
Theologi, Immo si essent Christiani, deberent potius
compassionem habere de malis alicuius Christiani quam
gaudere et exultare. ” Et credatis mihi quod hoc
multum promovebit causam Io. R. et omnes credent
quod ex invidia tribulatur : quod tamen in rei veritate 35
nunquam compertum est. Quia ille adversarius noster
seu potius in Christo amicus, et sui Philocapniones,
id est Filii Io. R. fecerrūt iniuriam Io. Pfefferkorn, qui
defendit se et scripsit veritatem. Et ipsemet petit
quod moriatur si vel minimum mēdatiū scripsit. 40
Quamvis Psalmista dicit “ Omnis homo mendax. ”
Nec debet obstare quod Io. Pfeff. in nequitiiis et
Criminib⁷ a puerili proch dolor Aetate (ut ipsemet scribit
in defensione sua contra Famosas) exercitatus est.
Quia licet aliquis etiam per longum tempus sit malus 45
et nequitiosus, tamen bene iterum potest fieri probus :

¹³ *Cursica*. See ii. 5.

³⁷ *Philocap.*: the writer mistakes
φίλος for *filius*.

¹⁷ *sent.*: for *sententiant*; later edd.
give “sententiam ferunt.”

³⁸ *fec.* *Sic*, in [D].

⁴¹ *Psal.*: cxv. 11.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sic pie credendum est de Io. Pfeff. qui regeneratus est per gratiam spiritussancti mediante baptismo : et ergo nunc est probus sicut non dubito. Et manebit Chris-
50 tianus usque ad finem seculi. Etiam intellexi quod quidam valde infamavit vos ubique dicens quod estis filius presbiteri et non estis legitimus. Miror istos ribaldos quod non habent verecundiam et sunt ita audaces. Tamen habetis lras legitimisationis vestrae.
55 Ergo vellem eos citare qui dicunt talia. Et rogo vos quod in Causa fidei velitis habere magnam diligentiam, quod ille haereticus eat ad patibulum et sic Valete. Datum Wormaciae.

LV

¶ *M. SYLVESTER GRICIUS*

M. Ortino Gratio

QUONIAMQUIDEM ego sum iuratus quod volo defendere facultatem meam, et promovere eius
5 utilitatem in omnibus: Ergo volo vobis articulariter scribere qui sunt hic qui favent theologis et qui favent Ioanni Reu., ut dicatis Theologis quod possent se dirigere secundum hoc. Primum sunt quidam Commensales in hospitio Coronae qui semper faciunt summas
10 nequitias Magistris nostris et fratribus de Ordine praedicatorum, facientes quod nemo in isto hospitio dat Elemosynam praedicatoribus. Ego scio nomina aliquorum: unus vocatur Magister Philippus Keilbach: Qui semper loquitur de Reuchlin commendans eum, et
15 semel M. nř Petrus Meyer plebanus in Franckfordia dedit ei bonam scommam; unus Ulrichus de Hutten qui est valde bestialis, qui semel dixit, si fratres praedicatores facerent sibi illam Iniuriam quam faciunt Iohanni Reuchlin, ipse vellet fieri inimicus eorum et
20 ubicunque reperiret unum monachum de hoc Ordine, tunc vellet ei amputare nasum et aures. Iste etiam habet multos amicos in Curia episcopi qui etiam bene

¹³ *Keilh.* One of Murner's treatises was dedicated to "that learned man," P. K. (Panzer, xi. p. 415).

¹⁵ *Meyer*: i. 5, n.

favent Io. Reuchlin. Sed nunc abivit (deo gratias) ad
fiendum doctor, et in uno anno non fuit hic. Diabolus
auferat eum. Deinde sunt duo fratres Nobilitares Otho ²⁵
et Philippus de Bock, ipsi vexant omnes Theologos.
Et semel in illo sacro actu quem magistri nostri cele-
braverunt in Maguntia contra Speculum Oculare, tunc
M. Iacobus de Hochstraten ex officio suo dedit indul-
gentias omnibus qui interfuerunt huic actui. Tunc isti ³⁰
duo fratres cum aliis bufonibus sedendo in conspectu
Theologorum qui fuerunt ibi in hospitio, luserunt cum
talis pro illis indulgentiis. Adhuc est ibi unus qui
vocatur Ioan. Huttichius qui etiam est inimicus vester.
Et alias est quidam noviter promotus in doctorem ³⁵
in Iure, nominatus Cunradus Weydman : ipse iuvat
omnes qui faciunt aliquid contra vos. Et alius doctor
qui olim fuit Artista de via modernorum, et vocatur
Eucharis. Et cum hoc Nicolaus Carbachius qui
legit in poesi. Item Henrichus Brumannus qui est ⁴⁰
vicarius in summo et est bonus Organista. Et
dico semper ei : “ Vos deberetis respicere organa
vestra et dimittere Theologos in pace.” Sed ante
Cononici fere omnes sunt pro Reuchlin ; praeterea
multi alii magistri qui amant poetriam, quorum ⁴⁵
nomina non teneo. Nunc scribam vobis de Amicis et
fautoribus. Vos habetis hic unum Amicum qui est
vir multum excellens : et vocatur dominus Adularius
Schwan : ipse est nobilis et habet unum Calicem in
clypeo : pater eius fuit Campanifex, Et est subtilis ⁵⁰
disputator in via Scotistarum, et facit bona Argumenta :
et dicit quod statim vellet concludere Io. Reuchlin,
si deberet cum eo disputare. Alius est fautor vester
singularissimus, dictus Henricus Han, alias Glocken-
heintz, quia libenter campanisat. Ille est homo valde ⁵⁵
inventivus, et habet mirabilem intellectum, et ita
profundum ingenium quod non creditis, et libenter
disputat : et quando disputat, tunc ridet : et ridendo
concludit unum. Talis quando vidit Articulos haere-

²⁶ *de Bock*. Nothing is known of these.

³⁴ *Huttich*. : c. 1480-1544. Antiquarian writer.

³⁶ *Weyd*. : friend and pupil of Zazius.

³⁹ *Euchar*. : perhaps Euchar. Gallinarius, Canon of Spiers.

³⁹ *Carbach*. See ii. 9.

⁴⁴ *Con*. : for *canonici*.

⁴⁹ *Schwan*. Unknown.

⁵⁴ *Han*. Unknown.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 60 ticales Io. Reuchlin, tunc dixit, quod propter unum
ex istis articulis [Iohannes] Reuchlin deberet comburi.
Postea habetis etiam de vestra camponia : unum nobilem
domicellum et armigerum qui dicitur Matthias de
Falckenberg : et est vir multum bellicosus et portat
65 semper arma secum et est equestris : ipse semper in
mensa sedet ante et nunquam retro : quia dicit quod
quando sederet retro et fieret bellum, tunc non posset
ita statim surgere et percutere inimicos suos. Et cum
hoc est argumentator multum subtilis de via anti-
70 quorum : ipse dicit, si Reuchlin non vult cessare, tunc
vult venire cum centum equis ad auxiliandum vobis.
Adhuc est unus civis Moguntinensis qui nominatur
Wigandus de Solmsz. Ille est iuvenis, sed ita doctus,
quod potest aequivalere unum magistrum nostrum :
75 ipse dicit quod vellet cum Reuchlin disputare pro X
florenis. Et nuper superdisputavit Iohannem Hut-
tichium ita quod fuit conclusus et nihil scivit re-
spondere. Cum ille est etiam de via vestra dominus
Wernherus qui est mirabiliter cursivus in Summa
80 Thomae contra gentiles, et scit mentetenus formalitates
Scoti. Qui dicit, si M. noster [de] Hochstraten non
esset in Curia, tunc ipse vellet intrare et concludere
Io. Reuchlin. Isti socii vestri iam nominati singulis
septimanis semel conveniunt in domo excellentis viri
85 domini Magistri nostri Bar. qui est caput omnium
amicorum vestrorum : ibi [t]raetant materias multum
subtiles. Et opponunt sibi invicem Et unus tenet
opinionem Reuchlin et alii arguunt contra eum, et
habent notabiles disputatiões de aliis qui sunt hic de
90 parte vestra, non scio, quia non sunt mihi noti. Sed
quando scio, tunc volo vobis scribere. Pronunc com-
mendo vos deo. D[at]um Ma[guntiae].

⁶² *camp.* : for *compania*.

⁶⁴ *Falck*. See i. 44.

⁷³ *Solmsz*. Unknown.

⁷⁹ *Wernher*. Prior of the Domini-

can Order at Basle ; took part in the
controversy that culminated in the
Jetzer scandal.

⁸⁵ *Bar.* : i.e. Zehender. See i.
27, n.

¶ *GILBERTUS PORRETONIUS artiū
M. et utriusque iuris bacu. M. Ortv. G.*

SALUS vobis et bona dies, venerabilis vir. Legi literam vestram quam misistis mihi ad Ingelstat. Et intellexi bene opinionē vestram. Vos dicitis quod ⁵ multum gaudetis quod ego sum prius Theologus, et nunc etiam studeo in iure: quia est valde bonum quod aliqui Theologi sunt experti in Iure, ut possint disputare cum iuristis. Et scribitis mihi de quibusdam terminis volens scire quid significant: quia videtur vobis quod sunt ¹⁰ iuristici. Et bene sunt etem. Et habetis hic expositiones eorum ex glosis et Accursio. Et sic potestis videre quod habeo bonum fundamentum in iure. Latus clavus est nomen dignitatis: vel dic quod erat clava de metallo quam proiciebat tribunus in confertissimos ¹⁵ hostes et sic ceteri omnes fortiter pugnabant ita, quod clavam illam recuperabant. Epistographum est tabula lignea in qua erant scripta debita, ut hodie fit: et dicitur Epistographum ab opibus et graphia, quod est scriptura, quasi scriptura suarum opium. Abaces ²⁰ dicuntur vasa preciosa. Corinthia dicuntur vasa de vili materia ut de palea vel herba palustri, quales venduntur Bononiae. Balnea est vas lucens, vel quasi baiulans lucem vel lancem. Prothyrum a thyros, quod est magister, et nescitur quid sit dicere. Vel dic quod ²⁵ est illud quod procul trahitur, ut aqua vel aliquid aliud, ut in domo Accursi Cyrella. Obsonatores sunt qui custodiunt dominum in lecto. Vel obsonatores qui resonant et cantant domino in mensa. Hypocaus-

¹ *Gilb. Porr.*: Gilbert Porretanus was a Bp. of Poitiers in the XIIth Cent., author of a commentary on Aristotle.

¹² *Accursio*: Francesco Accorso, c. 1180–1260, Professor at Bologna, a famous Italian jurist. His chief work was a collection of glosses on the Roman Law, known as "The Great Gloss." All the derivations

given in this Ep. are to be found verbatim in the glosses.

¹⁷ *Episto.*: for Opistographum.

²⁰ *Abaces*. See Forcellini, s.v.

²¹ *Corinthia*. See Forcellini, s.v.

²³ *balnea*: an error, accidental or intentional, for *baluca*.

²⁴ *prothyrum*: *πρόθυρον*. See Forcell., s.v. *diathyrum*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- 30 tum [est] locus ubi stant aegroti qui quandoque indigent igne. Gallus gallinacius dicitur Gallus castratus et sic vilis, quem dicunt fortius pugnare cum serpente. Vel dic Gallus gallinacius, quia amat gallinas, ut vir uxorius qui feminas diligit. Ut in Odis
- 35 Horatii. Diaeta est locus in aulis, ubi domini stant ad ignem. Chorus est multitudo servorum cantantium cum quodam instrumento musico quod dicitur Chorus. Centumviri sunt Senatores qui centum numero erant. Patritius dicitur quasi principis pater. Unde Salustius
- 40 "O patres Conscripti." Nam scripta erant eorum nomina in aliquo loco, vel in Corona capitis eorum vel alias. Semper quando habetis aliqua dubia in utroque iure, tunc debetis significare mihi, et exponam vobis ita bene sicut Iohannes Reuchlin vel aliquis
- 45 Iurista qui sunt in mundo. Et cum hoc Valeatis. Datum Ingolstadt.

LVII

❧ GALIENUS PADEBORNENSIS

M. Ortvinio Gratio Sa.

- VENERABILIS M., terribilis fuit mihi valde una loquela quae pervenit ad me faciens mihi surgere
- 5 Crines superius. Est autem talis: Omnes fere studentes et clerici qui veniunt ex Colonia, dicunt quod est murmur, quod fratres praedicatores antequam volunt quod Io. Reuchlin debet eos vincere in causa fidei, ipsi volunt potius Praedicare unam aliam fidem. Et dixit quidam
- 10 quod est possibile quod quando Papa facit sententiam contra eos, quod ibunt in Bohemiam et hortabunt haereticos ad credendum contra Ecclesiam et Papam, et sic vindicabunt iniuriam. O bone domine Ortvine, consulatis eis quod non faciunt: quia esset magna
- 15 haeresis. Ego spero quod non est verum. Et cogitavi mecum: "Forte quod Praedicatores minantur sic papae, volentes eum terrere, quod debet cogitare 'Ecce

³⁵ Horat: Car. i. 2, "uxorius amnis."

³⁶ chorus: "Instrumenti musici species." Du Cange.

¹¹ Bohem. See ii. 50.

si ego non dabo Sententiam pro ipsis, tunc ipsi erunt in maximo contemptu et despectu, Et totus mundus erit inimicus eorum, et nemo dabit eis Elemosynas, et destruuntur monasteria eorum: tunc ibunt in Bohemiam vel etiam in Turciam et praedicabunt, quod fides Christiana non est vera: et erit magnum malum.’” Sit quidquid vult: Ego vellem quod haberetis patientiam et non faceretis contra papam vos Theologi, ne omnes Christiani sint inimici vestri. Et valet in nomine unigeniti filii dei. Datum Bremen.

LVIII

❧ *M. IRUS PERLIRUS*

M. Ortvinio Gratio

SALUTIS copiam. Venerabilis vir. Venerunt huc scripta vestra ad Universitatem quae composuistis contra Iohannem Reuchlin: quae antiqui Magistri hic valde laudant, sed novi et iuvenes non tenent aliquid de eis, dicentes quod ex invidia vexatis bonum Reuchlin. Et quando habuimus consilium an etiam vellemus concludere contra Speculum Oculare, tunc illi novelli qui non sunt adhuc satis experimentati, tenuerunt oppositum antiquis illis, dicentes quod Reuchlin est innocens et nunquam scripsit aliquid haereticum. Et sic usque adhuc impediverunt: nescio quod fiet postea. Ego Credo quod Universitas adhuc scribit [peribit] propter illos poetas qui sunt ita multi quod est mirum. Et noviter advenit unus huc qui vocatur Petrus Mossellanus qui est graecus. Et alius est hic qui etiam legit in Graeco, vocatus Ricardus Crocus, et venit ex Anglia. Ego dixi nuper: “Diabole, venit iste ex Anglia? Ego credo quod si esset unus poeta ibi ubi piper crescit, ipse etiam veniret Liptzick.” Et ergo Magistri habent ita

¹ *Ir. Perl.*: *Irus*, the voracious beggar of the Odyssey; *perlirus*, perhaps *Durchleierer*, a hurdy-gurdy player.

¹⁴ *scrib.* *Sic*, in [D] and [E].

¹⁵ *Mossell.*: Peter Schade, of Bruttig,

or Pruttig, on the Mosel (1493–1524): succeeded Richard Croke as teacher of Greek at Leipsic, 1517. See O. G. Schmidt, *Petr. Mosellanus*, Leip., 1867.

¹⁸ *Crocus*: i. 35, n.

²⁰ *piper*: i. 25, n.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

paucos domicellos quod est scandalum. Et ego recordo adhuc, quod quando unus magister ivit olim ad balneum, ipse habuit plures domicellos retro se, quam
 25 nunc in diebus festis quando vadunt ad ecclesiam. Supposita etiam tunc fuerunt ita discreti sicut angeli. Sed nunc currunt hincinde et non curant aliquid magistros: et volunt omnes stare in Civitate et comedere extra Collegium, et magistri habent valde paucos comensales.
 30 Item in proxima promotione fuerunt promoti tantum X bacularii. Et quando habuimus examen, tunc tractaverunt magistri quod volūt aliquos reiicere. Tunc ego dixi: "nullo modo: Quia si reiicitis unum, tunc postea nullus intrabit amplius
 35 examen, vel studebit pro gradu, sed ibunt ad poetas. Et sic dispensavimus cum ipsis. Fit autem dispensatio in tribus: Primum in Aetate, quia oportet quod unus qui vult promoveri in bacularium, sit et minus XVI annorum, in magistrum [autem] viginti. Si non sunt
 40 autem satis senes, tunc dispensatur cum eis. Secundo fit dispensatio in moribus: Quia quando supposita non exhibuerunt debitam reverentiam magistris et graduatis, tunc reiiciuntur, nisi mediante dispensatione admissi fuerunt. Et cum hoc quaeretur de excessibus, scilicet
 45 si querunt [fuerunt] in plateis sine discretione, vel fuerunt apud meretrices, vel portaverunt arma, vel tibusaverunt unum magistrum vel presbiterum, vel fecerunt tumultum in lectoriis vel collegiis. Tertio fit dispensatio in Artibus, quando non sunt bene habituat
 50 tuati in scienciis, et non satis compleverunt. Nuper in examine quaesivi unum: "Dic mihi quomodo tamen venit quod tu nihil respondes? Dixit ille, quod esset ita timax. Respondi ego, quod non crederem quod esset ita timax, sed bene crederem quod esset ita
 55 ignorax. Tunc dixit "per deum, non, domine Magister: ego habeo magnam scientiam intus, sed non vult exire." Et sic dispensavit cum eo. Ita videtis quod universitates valde minorentur. Ego habeo unum domicellum quem nuper interrogavi super unum excessum: tunc rebellavit mihi et statim tibusavit me.
 60

³⁶ *dispensatio*: for details of all the university regulations referred to in this Ep., see F. Zarneke, *Die Statutenbuch d. Univ. Leipz.*, 1861.

³⁷ *disp. Sic*, in [D] and [E]; evidently for *dispensari*.

Et dixi ei: "hoc ego volo servare usque ad promotionem," innuens quod deberet pati reiicionem. Respondit ipse: "ego merdarem vobis super vestros baculaureatus, et ibo ad Italiam, ubi praeceptores non decipiunt sic suos discipulos, et non habent in usu 65 istas fantasias facientes bacularios. Sed quando aliquis est doctus, tunc habet honorem: quando autem est indoctus, habetur sicut alius asinus." Et dixi ei: "Tu ribalde, velles tu parvipendere gradum bacalariatus qui est magna dignitas?" Tunc respondit, quod etiam 70 non curaret magisterium. Et dixit: "ego audiui ab amico meo quod quando stetit Bononiae, tunc vidit quod omnes magistri artium ex Almaniam deponerentur tanquam beani, Et simplicia supposita non: Quia in Italia habetur pro vituperio quando aliquis est pro- 75 motus in Almaniam in magistrum vel bacularium." Ecce talia scandala fiunt. Ergo vellem quod omnes universitates facerent in simul et concluderent simul omnes poetas et humanistas, quia destruunt universitates. Magister Langschneyder et magister Negelin 80 et M. Kachelofen et M. Arnoldus Wustenfelt et doctor Ochsenfart mittunt vos salutare. Valet. Da. Liptzick.

LIX

❧ IOHANNES COCLEARILIGNEUS

M. Ortvino Gratio Su.

COMMISISTIS mihi quod quando est hic missa, tunc debeo interrogare ab omnibus kauffmannis qui veniunt ex diversis partibus, de illa coniuratione, 5 de qua scriptum est vobis, quia debent esse aliqui poetae et iuristae qui fecerunt coniurationem, quod volunt Io. Reuchlin defendere et contra Theologos Colonienses et fratres praedicatores scribere, nisi statim dimittunt praedictum Io. Reuchlin: Sciatis quod feci 10

⁸⁰ *Langschneyder* : i. 1.

⁸⁰ *Negelin* : i. 18.

⁸¹ *Kachelofen* : i. 38.

⁸¹ *Wusten.* : thrice Rector of Leips. Univ.

⁸² *Ochsen.* : Vice - Chancellor of Leips. Univ. in 1508.

⁸² *mitt.* : for *mittunt*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

magnam diligentiam quaerendo et interrogando et ultimo veni ad unum librivendum de partibus superioribus. Ipse dixit mihi mirabilia, Et nominavit mihi multos et dixit quod vidit scripta eorum quae mittunt
 15 sibi ad invicem. Et dixit primo de doctore Murner qui est quasi caput illius societatis, quod scit perfecte quod ipse composuit unum librum de scandalis praedicatorum et unum alium in defensionem Reuchlin. Postea nominavit Hermannum Buschium, dicens quod
 20 vidit epistolam eius in qua promittit sociis suis, quod non vult esse minimus, et audacter vult stare pro Reuchlin. Item deinde dixit quod etiam est in illa Coniuratione Comes de nova Aquila Coloniensis Canonicus, et quod talis composuit mirabilia de Theologis
 25 quae vult statim imprimere: Et ipse habet multos alios amicos et nobiles quos ipse etiam instigat scriptis suis quod debent favere Iohanni Reuchlin. Item Bilibaldus nescio quo [quis], qui debet esse in Nurmberga: ipse fecit multas minas dicens quod realiter vult expedire
 30 Theologos scriptis suis. Tunc ego dixi: "Qui moritur minis, Ille compulsabitur bombis," teutonice 'Wer von trewen stirbt, den sol man mit furtzen zum grab leutten.' Nominavit mihi postea unum poetam in Erfordia qui vocatur Eobanus Hessus et debet esse
 35 iuvenis et expertissimus poeta: et talis habet unum socium ibidem dictum Petreium Aperbachium: ipsi componunt iam libros quos volunt statim imprimere nisi Theologi faciunt concordiam cum Reuchlin. Cum hoc debet esse Liptzick unus Anglicus nescio quomodo
 40 dictus. Sed credo quod est ille qui fuit ante duos annos Coloniae, qui est etiam unus. Et Vadianus Viennae, de quo dicunt quod est terribilis poeta. Item in Curia Cardinalis est quidam Caspar Ursinus qui scit

¹² *libriv.*: Froben of Basle (?).

¹⁵ *Murner*: ii. 3, n.

¹⁹ *Busch.*: i. 9, n.

²³ *Nov. Ag.*: Hermann, Graf von Neuenar, c. 1491–1530; pupil of Caesarius, with whom he visited Italy. Himself a man of letters, and Dean of the Canonical Chapter at Cologne, he was a liberal patron of the humanists of his day, and a strenuous upholder of Reuchlin. By many

of the earlier critics he was believed to have had a hand in the E. O. V.

²⁷ *Bilibald.*: ii. 51, n.

³⁴ *Eobanus*: i. 38, n.

³⁸ *Aperb.*: ii. 45.

³⁹ *Angl.*: i.e. Croke. See i. 35, n.

⁴¹ *Vadian.*: ii. 30, n.

⁴³ *Card.*: Matth. Lang, Abbp. of Salzburg.

⁴³ *Ursinus*: Caspar Ursinus Velius, 1493–1538, a precocious scholar who

facere graeca Carmina et promisit Reuchlin auxilium suum, et vult esse inter socios. Item ipse dixit quod 45
 audivit quod Philippus Melauchton et Iacobus winphelingus et Beatus Rhenanus et Nicolaus Grebellius sunt etiam tales. Et dixit ipse quod scriberent literas ad Ulrichum Huttenum qui studet Bononiae, quod etiam 50
 debet esse unus ex eis. De aliis [autem] ipse non audivit. Tunc quaesivi ab aliis, an etiam Erasmus Roterodamus esset cum eis. Respondit mihi quidam kauffmannus dicens: "Erasmus est homo pro se: Sed 55
 certum est quod nunquam erit Amicus illorum Theologorum et fratrum, et quod ipse manifeste in dictis et scriptis suis defendit et excusat Iohannem Reuchlin, etiam scribens ad papam." Et ab aliis audivi quod Paulus Ritius est etiam de hoc numero. Et dicunt quidam quod Iohannes Cuspinianus et Cunradus Beutinger qui sunt in magna gratia Imperatoris, ipsi 60
 copulant istos socios et faciunt omnia quae possunt contra Theologos Colonienses in honorem Iohannis Reuchlin. Et quidam studens Erfordiensis qui est mihi notus, dixit quod Cunradus Mutianus est pessimus omnium illorum qui sunt pro Reuchlin, et est ita 65
 inimicus Theologis quod non potest audire quod aliquis nominat Theologos Colonienses. Et talis studens dixit quod vidit bene viginti Epistolas illius, in quibus ipse rogat quosdam socios quod volunt esse Reuchlinistae. Talia audivi pro nunc, sed quando scio plura, tunc volo 70
 vobis scribere. Valet in Christo. Datum Franckfordiae.

wrote Latin and Greek verse fluently in his boyhood. There are frequent references to his accomplishments in the letters of Erasmus, and he was laureated by Maximilian. He was author of a biographical work, *Chronicorum mundi epitome*, 1534; and *C. U. V. Poematum libri quinque*, 1522. V.'s life came strangely to an end; he was missing one morning, and was never seen again. Eder, *Catal. Rect. Vienn.*, p. 74.

⁴⁶ *Melauch. Sic*, in [D]. See ii. 9. It was on Reuchlin's recommendation that M. was appointed Prof. of Greek at Wittenberg.

⁴⁶ *winph.* : ii. 55, *n.*

⁴⁷ *Beatus* : i. 30, *n.*

⁴⁷ *Gre.* : for *Gerbellius*.

⁵³ *homo*, &c. : these five words probe E.'s character to the core. See *Edin. Rev.*, vol. liii. 202, *n.*

⁵⁸ *Ritius* : ii. 12, *n.*

⁵⁹ *Cusp.* : ii. 30, *n.*

⁵⁹ *Beutinger* : Conrad Peutinger, 1465-1547, antiquary and scholar : citizen of Augsburg and Keeper of its Archives ; his name is perpetuated in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman military map of the IIIrd Cent. A.D., now in the Imp. Library at Vienna.

⁶⁴ *Mutian* : ii. 50, *n.*

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

LX

❧ *M. WERNHERUS STOMPFF*

M. Ortvino Gratio Sahu.

SCIATIS, magnifice vir, quod quando accepi vestram literam, ego fui ita perterritus quantum est
 5 possibile et fui rubeus in facie, et crines surrexerunt mihi. Et credo quod vix tantum fui in timore quando fui in rubea Camera Coloniae, intendens fieri bacularius et subiiciens me examini: Quia tunc etiam valde timui, quod reicerent me domini examinatores. Scribitis
 10 mihi quod causa fidei male stat Romae. Sancte deus, quid debemus dicere. Isti iuristae et poetae volunt destruere totam facultatem Artistarum et Theologorum: Quia etiam hic in nostra universitate ipsi praetendunt multa contra Magistros et Theologos. Et quidam nuper
 15 dixit quod unus bacularius Iuris deberet in processione ire super unum magistrum in Artibus. Dixi "hoc non est possibile. Quia volo probare quod Magistri in artibus sunt super doctores in iure. Quia doctores in iure sciunt tantum unam Artem, scilicet artem Iuris,
 20 Sed magistri sunt Magistri in septem artibus liberalibus: et sic sciunt plus." Tunc ille dixit: "Vade in Italiam, et dic quod es Magister Lipsensis, et videbis quomodo vexabunt te ibi." Tunc dixi, quod possem adhuc ita bene defendere magisterium meum sicut unus ex Italia.
 25 Et abivi ob [ab] eo cogitans mecum quod facultas nostra multum parvipenditur, et est malum: quia magistri in artibus deberent regere universitates, nunc Iuristae praetendunt eas gubernare, quod est valde indecenter. Et volo vos consolare quod non debetis disputare in
 30 causa fidei. Quia spero quod deus bene providebit vos. Et cum hoc Valete tam diu donec Pfefferkorn manet Christianus. Datum Liptzick in Collegio Principis.

⁷ camera: the examination-room.
 See i. 17, n.

²⁹ disputare: Böcking proposes
 desperare.

¶ *PETRUS CHARITATIS Cursor in Grāmatia
et professor in loyca S. D. M. Ortvinio*

REVERENDISSIME domine Magister. Quia hic ante picem sive Harzonem est Consuetudo Quod in die habent semper duas zechas, Una vocatur Civium 5 zecha Et incipit hora duodecimo, et manet usque ad horam quartam sive quintam; Altera vocatur nocturnal- alis et post zecha, q̄ a quinta hora incipit et durat Interdum ad octavam, nonam, et etiam decimam horam, interdum etiam durat usque ad duodecimam et ad primam horam: 10 Et divites cives, et etiam consules, et Magistri civium quando in prima zecha sederunt et satis biberunt, tunc solvunt et vadunt ad domum. Sed iuvenis bursa et illi socii qui non multum curant quid solvit trititicū. Isti manent sedere in illa postzecha et bibunt ac si 15 corpus et animam solveret. Nuper ergo cum sic etiam sederemus in una post zecha, ego et dominus Petrus monachus ordinis praedicatorum qui vobis multum favet propter Iacobum Hochstraten haereticorum magistrum in Colonia: tunc erat infra decimam et undecimam in 20 nocte: tunc multa disputavimus de ratione nominis vestri. Et ego tenui istam opinionem de Grachis Romanis vos esse nominatum. Sed dominus Petrus qui etiam est aliquialiter in arte humanitatis bene tentus, dixit non convenire, sed quod a gratia supernali nomi- 25 naremini Gratius. Tunc fuit ibi unus trufaſ qui fecit valde crispum latinum, quod ego non omnia bene intellexi: ille dixit quod neque a grachys neque a gratia essetis dictus Gratius; et fecit tam multa inutilia verba quod ego dixi: “Unde ergo dicitur Gratius tamen alii 30 viri valde profundi habuerunt desuper latam examinationem et concluderunt Quod vel grachys vel a gratia est dictus Gratius.” Tunc ipse dixit “Isti qui hoc disputaverunt, fuerunt amici M. Ortvini Gratii, Et

¹ *Gram.* Sic, in [D].

³ *hic*: in the district of the *For-*
harz.

⁴ *picem*: here “resin”; Ger. *Harz*.

¹⁴ *qui non mult.*: “who live from
hand to mouth.”

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

35 interpretati sunt illud nomen quilibet secundum suam
opinionem in meliorem partem: Sed tamen iste opini-
ones non praeiudicant veritati.” Tunc dominus Petrus
interrogavit “quid est veritas?” et putabat quod ipse
deberet tacere, sicut fecit dominus noster quando Pilatus
40 eum interrogavit. Sed ipse non tacuit et dixit “Est
in Halberstat unus suspensor qui vocatur magister
Gratius, et ille est Ortvinus avunculus maternus et ab
illo Gratio suspensore vocatur Gratius.” Tunc ego
non potui me servare et dixi “Ohe socie, illa est una
45 magna iniuria et ego protestor: M. Ortvinus non debet
sic mittere transire: ego scio vos dicitis haec ex invidia,
Quā habetis adversus dominum Ortvinum. Quia omnis
progenies accepit nomen et cognomen a patre et non a
matre: quare ergo deberet ille bonus magister ab matre
50 et ab avunculo materno nominari, et non a patre sicut
alii Tunc ipse respondit et dixit adacter quod omnes
audirent: “Est bene verum et deberet sic esse ut
dicitis: sed ipse non audet patrem suum cum honore
nominare: Quia pater suus est prespiter: si ergo se
55 nominaret a patre, tunc omnes intelligerent quod ipse
esset sacerdotis et meretricis filius, qui proprie vocantur
spurii.” Tunc ego iterum valde adacter clamavi et
dixi “Quomodo potest hoc verum esse? Tamen ipse
est magister Coloniensis: Sed alma universitas habet
60 unum statutum quod neminem promovent nisi sit legit-
timus: Et ergo,” etc. Tunc respondit “sive promovet
legittimos sive illegittimos, tamen M. Ortvinus est
spurius et manebit spurius in aeternum.” Tunc ego
iterum dixi “Quid tunc si forte Papa dispensasset
65 secum tunc ipse tamen esset legittimus, et tu graviter
peccares dicendo contra Romanam ecclesiam.” Tunc
ille dixit “etiam si millies esset secum dispensatum,
tamen non esset legittimus.” Et dixit unum exem-
plum: Quemadmodum esset cum Iudaeo qui baptizaretur
70 ex aqua sive baptismate, si ibi tamen non esset
spiritus sanctus, tunc illa aqua nihil proficeret, sed
esset adhuc Iudaeus: “Sic etiam est cum istis spuriiis
qui sunt sacerdotum et meretricum filii: Quia isti
sacerdotes non possunt in iure meretrices matrimoni-

⁴¹ *Suspensor*: the writer of ii. 62.

⁵¹ *adac.*: for *audacter*.

⁵⁴ *pres.* *Sic*, in [D].

aliter habere, et ergo non potest dispensatio filiis eorum 75
 proficere." Tunc ego iterum interrogavi "Quid ergo
 servas de Domino Iohanne Pfefferkorn." Tunc re-
 spo[n]dendo dixit "Ego firmiter teneo quod adhuc
 est Iudaeus," et Replicando allegationes supra tactas
 allegavit etiam evangelium Mathaei .iij. ubi stat 'Nisi 80
 quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non intrabit In
 vitam aeternam.' Sed quia Pfefferkorn nunquam fuit
 renatus ex spiritu, Ergo illa aqua nihil profecit, sed ipse
 manebit Iudaeus in aeternum." Tunc ego non potui
 ei ultra respondere, et surreximus, Ego et dominus 85
 Petrus, et ivimus dormitum. Nunc autem audio quo-
 modo iste nequam gloriatur quod nos disputando vicit,
 et quod sit doctior quam ego et dominus Petrus.
 Quare oro vestram dominationem ut velitis mihi
 rescribere quomodo ego debeam illa argumenta de 90
 dispensatione, similiter de baptismo domini Iohannis
 pfeff. solve, et illi leccatori ad suum rostrum adligare.
 Quod volo per omnem vitam promerere. Valete.

LXII

¶ *MAGISTER GRATIUS Zisaniae Extirpator hoc
 est furum suspensor proditorum quadruplicator
 falsariorum et calumniatorum virgator haereti-
 corum combustor et multa alia Magistro Ortvinio
 avunculo materno salutē D. P.* 5

CHARISSIME avuncule nec non reverendissime
 domine Magister. Quia iam sunt multi anni
 elapsi et non vidimus nos invicem, Cogitavi quod
 bonum esset, quod vobis unam litteram scribere.
 Audio enim multa mirabilia de vobis, quomodo sitis 10
 magnae famae, Et dicunt quod iam estis omnibus etiam
 mediocriter doctis notus, non solum in Colonia, sed
 etiam ultra Albim et Rhenum, et etiam in tota

⁸⁰ *Mathaei* : John iii. 5. "Nisi . . . spiritu sancto, non potest introire in
 regnum Dei." *Vulg.*

⁵ *avunculo* : nephew.

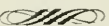
EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Italia et Francia. Colonienses tamen praecipue colunt
 15 vos propter egregiam doctrinam, quam scribitis in fide
 catholica contra quendam doctorem et poetam saecula-
 rem Iohannem Reuchlin Et ita vos inspiciunt et
 admirantur Quod quocunque eatis in platea, tunc
 20 monstrant cum digitis super vos, dicendo "hic est M.
 Ortvinus qui ita vexat poetas." Credo si scirent quod
 essetis avunculus meus, tunc magis hoc facerent.
 Nam ego hic sum etiam magnae famositatis, Et exer-
 ceo artem meam in maxima populi frequentia, et
 homines faciunt mihi eundem honorem, et quando eo
 25 in plateis, etiam monstrant cum digitis super me, sicut
 faciunt in Colonia super vos. Quare ego valde laetor,
 quod homines servant aliquid de vobis et me. Audio
 etiam alios viros esse in Colonia qui sunt vestri amici,
 et etiam vobiscum scribunt contra Doctorem Reuchlin:
 30 videlicet Iacobum de alta platea haereticorum magis-
 trum, et magistrum Arnoldum de Tungari regentem
 in bursa sancti Laurentii. Et omnes homines credunt
 quod vos tres estis vere illuminati in fide catholica, Et
 servant vos tanquam tria magna candelabra sive lucernas.
 35 Et aliqui addunt quartum velut unam lampadem sive
 pendens lumen quod non tam clare splendet, scilicet
 dominum Iohannem Pfefferkorn. Ego credo si vos
 quatuor cum vestra scientia, mediante forti palo in aliquo
 excelso loco aridorum lignorum congerie exaedificato,
 40 essetis colligati, posset statim unum magnum lux
 mundi fieri, Et etiam clarius quam fuit illud in Berna.
 Sed haec, charissime avuncule, vobiscum pro nunc
 iocor. Spero tamen Extra iocum futurum quod vos
 quattuor eritis lux mundi fieri: Nam non est possibile
 45 ut illa magna scientia que est in vobis, deberet sic in
 merdro manere iacere. Est mihi etiam dictum quod
 nuper voluistis unam antiquam vetulam, quae vendit
 multa vitra circa fontem Coloniae, in nocte supponere,
 et ipsa clamavit et homines viderunt cum luminibus
 50 extra domum et viderunt vos: per deum, ego valde
 laudo tam bona facta vestra quae pertinent omnia ad
 meum artificium: et hoc decet etiam vos Theologos.
 Venit nuper huc fama quod esset unus poeta in
 Colonia, Ille solus teneret vos pro stulto et vocaret

⁴¹ *Berna*: the four heresiarchs, in 1509.

II. 63] IOANNES DE SCHWINFORDIA

vos Porquinum, hoc est porcis et hara dignum. Per ⁵⁵
deum, si ego scirem quis esset iste poeta, Ego vellem
eum gratanter suspendere[,] sed finaliter vos, charissime
avuncule, valde Orarem ut omnia cum magna dili-
gentia faceretis, quod fama vestra per totum orbem
terrarum fiat nota, Nisi scirem non opus esse ut vos ⁶⁰
admonerem: Vos enim per vos pulchre scitis, ab avis,
abavis, attavis et trittavis habetis, Praecipue tamen
didicistis a matre vestra charissima meaque sorore,
que audiens quod spurii semper habent meliorem for-
tunam quam legitimi. Iccirco ad sacerdotem cucur- ⁶⁵
rit et permisit se lardare, ut vos talem virum generaret,
Quem totus mundus aliquando cognosceret. Valete ex
Halberstat.

Quinta luna Obscuros viros edidit. Lector
Solve nodum  et ridebis amplius.

70

¶ Impressum ROMANAE CURIAE.

[The first ed. of the second part (D) ends here. In (E) Ep. i. 19
is reprinted before No. 63.]

LXIII

¶ IOANNES DE SCHWINFORDIA *septen-*
arum artium liberalium Magister scientifico et
mirabiliter docto atque illuminato viro Örtvino
Gratio in Daventria graecam et latinam linguam
magistraliter docenti mille salutes et paulo plus. ⁵

REVERENTIALI honore et obedientia praelibatis,
Praceptor in pluribus scibilibus experte. Scrip-
sistis mihi nuper de victoria vestra obtenta in Roma
contra istum Reuchlin qui audacter fuit contra vos, et
virum noviter deificae illuminatum in fide Christiana ¹⁰
Ioannem Pfeffer., Et quomodo Papa imposuit sibi
silentium, ita quod nihil deberet magis scribere, "ne

⁵⁵ *Porquinum*: the nearest approach
to this is "Portuinum," coined by
Glareanus (Hutt., *Opp.*, i. p. 127).

⁶⁹ *Quinta*: unlucky. Cf.

"Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna
Felicis operum. Quintam fuge."

—Virg., *Georg.*, i. 276.

⁴ *Davent.* But O. had been at
Cologne for ten years.

¹⁰ *deif.* Sic, in [E].

¹² *silentium*: the Pope enjoined
silence on both sides.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

deterius sibi aliquid contingat," ut dicit dominus noster in evangelio. Prius enim in Speculo Oculari sic scrip-
 15 sit mirabiliter quod magistri nostri non potuerunt intelligere: et tamen dixerunt quod est haereticus: ideo quia non habent sic in libris suis, sicut ille scrip- sit, neque novus eorum theologus quem deus suscitavit ex lapidibus, ut esset semen Abrahae, sicut scriptura
 20 dicit, videlicet Ioannes Pfefferkorn habet sic ex deifica visione seu manifestatione. Vel ex fide digna relatione uxoris suae: quam audiui etiam habere spiritum pro- phetiae. De quo vos melius scitis quam ego: quia saepe cum ea fuistis quando Ioannes Pfefferkorn non fuit in
 25 domo. Sed nescio per deum, quomodo Reuchlin sit per vos confusus aut per papam. Quia iam fecerunt novam facultatem ultra alias quattuor facultates, quas iam habuimus: et omnes illi laudant Reuchlin et dicunt quod sunt eius discipuli: et non curant amplius
 30 facultatem Artisticam, eo quod artistae sunt ita magni et superbi asini: quia non sciant tria aut quattuor verba latine loqui, et vah illae bestiae seducunt plures innocentes iuvenes qui postquam longam aetatem con- trivere et quasi immersi in hac omnis barbariei nequam
 35 sentina, redeunt in paternas aedes nihil praeter "Arguitur, Respondetur, Quaeritur" didicere, quo- rum dii Tateretus, Versor, Perversor, Buridanus, Brux- ellensis, et id genus similes turbae obscurae sunt. Est tamen mirum quod unus simplex studens aut cornutus
 40 vult plus scire iam in Aristotele quam baccalaureandus aut magistrandus qui audivit cursum et est bene quali- ficatus. Ipsi etiam non sunt reverentiales magistris, et quando ante unum vadunt, non tangunt birretum (sicut moris est) et semper volunt frequentare domum

¹⁵ *mirab.*: i.e. in "Middle High German."

³⁷ *Tater.*: Petrus Tartaretus, a contemporary theologian of Paris, author of many commentaries on Aristotle and his commentators.

³⁷ *Versor*: another Parisian theologian of the XVth Cent. (Tourneur?)

³⁷ *Perversor*: Reuchlin in his *Defensio*, 1513, called Ortwin, "Artium perversor, volui professor."

³⁷ *Burid.*: Jean Buridan, *ob. c.* 1358. Pupil of William of Ockham, Rector of the Univ. of Paris, 1327; a writer on philosophy, best known from his association with the sophism of "Buridan's Ass" (though a similar "case" is mooted by Dante, *Par. IV.*).

³⁷ *Brux.*: Georgius B., a XVth Cent. nominalist. See Foppens, *Bibl. Belg.*, p. 332.

⁴⁴ *dom.*: i.e. *lupanar*.

scis bene. Etiam non audiunt Consequentias Marsilii 45
neque Suppositiones aut praua [Parva] logicalia: ideo
non est possibile quod possunt esse formales et apparere
in disputationibus. Sed dimittamus ista: scribo vobis
pro novitatibus quod Iacobus Wimphelingius qui etiam
est medius Reuchlinista, realiter est expeditus per 50
quendam monachum Paulum Langium, qui realiter
scivit sibi dicere quod non recte scripsit in uno libro
qui vocatur "De integritate": videlicet quod scientia
non tantum esset in cuculla. Nam ille monachus
composuit alium librum contra, qui est apprbatus in 55
Capitulo sive sinodo Reinhartzbornensi ordinis sancti
Benedicti, Anno domini .1509. et est bonum latinum:
quia unus dixit quod esset ferme ita bonum sicut
Doctrinale Alexandri: et ego multum gaudeo quod
tanta latinitas etiam invenitur in monachis: et ipsi 60
etiam dicunt quod superexcellescat stilum Ciceronis:
sed ego hoc non credidi, quod est una nota altius.
Sed procedit doctrinaliter multum contra Wimphel-
ingium metricæ, prosaice et rigmatice: et sicut ego
puto, recte habet, quod omnis scientia est in cuculla, 65
id est in monachis: quia transeundo de inferiori ad
superius monachi scripserunt commenta in regulas
grammaticales, in Donatum, in Petrum Hispanum,
in Phisicorum, Metaphisicorum et Ethicorum, et sic
commentis suis commerda-verunt, et in omnibus sci- 70
bilibus facti sunt magistrales. Sed cum supportatione
sua ego distinguere: primo de cucullatis: quia est
terminus æquivocus ad multa. Primo ad Bohemos
qui habent cucullas ita longas ut vadunt ultra cingu-
lum abinde: et in illis non est scientia, sed potius 75
haeresis. Secundo ad Iudæos qui etiam sunt cucul-
lati: et tamen non scientifici, quia extra ecclesiam.

⁴⁵ *Marsil.*: M. ab Inghen, *ob.* 1396.
A pupil of William of Ockham, first
Rector of Heidelberg Univ. For the
"Consequentiae," see i. 17, n.

⁴⁶ *Suppos.*: apparently by Peter
Hispanus, but no separate work of his is
thus named.

⁴⁶ *Parv. log.* See ii. 17, n.

⁴⁹ *Wimphel.* See ii. 51, n., and
the *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 634.

⁵⁵ *appr.* Sic, in [E].

⁶⁸ *Donatus*: Ælius Donatus, a
grammarian of the IVth Cent., whose
Ars Grammatica was used as a school
text-book in the Mid. Ages so widely
that "Donat" became a synonym for
"grammar," or the elements of any
science. The early Donatus was the
only book-book without illustrations.

⁶⁹ *Phis.*, &c.: of Aristotle.

⁷⁰ *commerd.*: a comic perversion of
"commentaverunt."

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

Tertio ad magistros nostros qui sunt bene illuminati, sed non in superlativo. Quarto ad monachos: et illi
80 superexcellenter habent scientiam sicut vos habetis. Igitur rogo vos, iuvate illi monacho: quia etiam vos estis ex parte, id est. Tertio modo cucullatus, ut possit scripta sua defendere contra Wimphelingum. Quia ut audio quod Wimphelingus habet multos
85 discipulos, quos michi unus nuper nominavit, qui sunt in Argentina: Unus vocatur Iacobus Sturmius nobilis, et [est] ut dicunt bonus latinista. Alius Ottonmarus Luscinius qui etiam scit graecum sicut Reuchlin, et scit multum allegare Extra et Digestis, etiam
90 ex Biblia, quae non sunt mirabilia, quia studuit in Parrhisia. Item Lucas Batodius et Ioannes Ruserus, Ioannes Sapidus et multi alii, qui omnes volunt Wimphelingio iuvare contra cucullatos et eos realiter expedire in scriptis suis. Et dicunt omnes quod ille
95 Paulus non est bene fundatus in dictis suis, et bene novem modis apostatavit ab ordine et est inquietus et trifator maximus, sicut ipsemet Tritemius scripsit in una lra ad Hieronymum Tungerszheim ex Ochsenfurt: et magnum damnum est quod aliquis sic debet
100 perdere papyrus et incaustum, et etiam tempus, sicut ipse fecit. Ipsi etiam dicunt, quod sanctus Hieronymus scribit ad unum monachum sic: "Nunquam de manu tua vel oculis tuis liber Psalterii discedat:" quod si esset verum, tunc obligaret monachus semper et pro semper, quia est negativum. Et sic
105 monachi nihil aliud deberent facere quam Psalterium

⁸⁶ *Sturm.*: 1489–1553; friend and pupil of Wimpheling, who dedicated his work, *De Integ.*, to him. See Erasm., *Epp. L.B.*, 1706, col. 407.

⁸⁸ *Luscini.*: Othmar Nachtigall, 1487–? Pupil of Wimpheling. See C. C. am Ende, *Strobel. Miscell.*, iv. 8.

⁸⁹ *Extra*: the Extra-Decretals of Gregory IX.

⁹¹ *Batodius*: Lucas Hackfurt. Cf. Erasm., *Epp. L.B.* 1706, cccxli. 354.

⁹¹ *Ruserus*: another of Wimpheling's circle. See Erasm., *Epp. L.B.* 1706, cccxvii. col. 1625.

⁹² *Sapidus*: Johann Witz, 1490–

1561; nephew of Wimpheling. See *Autobiog. of T. Platter*, Lond., 1839.

⁹⁵ *Paulus*. See Bayle, s.v. *Lange*. He had taken up the cudgels on behalf of his teacher, Trithemius, whose writings Wimpheling had attacked.

⁹⁷ *Tritem.*: Johannes Trithemius (von Tritenheim), Abbot of Sponheim, 1461–1516. His Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers is historically valuable.

⁹⁸ *Tunger.*: H. Dangersheim, 1465–1540. Rector of Leipsic Univ. 1510. See J. J. Maderus, *Script. Insig.*, . . . *Centuria.*, Helmstadt, 1660; xciii.

¹⁰¹ *Hieron.*: Ad Rust. mon. Ep. cxxv. 11.

legere: sed ego credo esse mentitum. Quia sanctus Hieronymus met fuit monachus: et ideo non scripsit contra eos. Audivi etiam unam trufam et magnam ribaldriam de uno discipulo Wimphelingii qui nuper 110 quando sibi audacter ad os dixi: "Vester praeceptor Wimphelingius errat valde, quia scripsit contra dominum Abbatem Tritemium contra monachos: quia in doctrina sua et sanctitate sunt notabiles te multum utiles: et ecclesia iam non habet alias columnas nisi 115 monachos." Tunc ille dixit: "ego distinguo de monachis: quia accipiuntur tribus modis. Primo pro sanctis et utilibus; sed illi sunt in caelo. Secundo pro nec utilibus nec inutilibus, et illi sunt picti in ecclesia. Tertio modo pro illis qui adhuc vivunt, et 120 illi multis nocent, etiam non sunt sancti: quia ita superbi sunt sicut unus saecularium: Et ita libenter habent pecunias et pulchras mulieres: quia veni nuper ex Heidelberga, Ubi prope Heidelbergenses est unus magnus abbas, pinguis discolus: et iste abigavit 125 omnes monachos de Collegio s. Iacobi: et ipse dixit, quod vult eis recte bonum pulmentum praeparare: et postea cessavit ultra dicere. Sed ipsi dicunt, quod bene volunt credere quod fecerit ideo (Der gut bruder). Quia Palatinus vult unam aliam viam instituere quod 130 veniat unus Poeta ad Heidelbergam qui faciat monachos istos et alios studentes nunc latine loqui. Tunc ille pinguis abbas cito intellexit quomodo iocus vult finem accipere, et dixit 'monachi mei non debent discere latinum novum, quia postea erunt superbi 135 quod sciunt plus quam ego: tunc ego pulchre venirem inter eos ut pinguis asinus inter simias.'" Sed revera illa distinctio non est multum formalis: quia non est bimembris, et sic non potest concludere. Ego mitto vobis hunc librum, quem debetis facere im- 140 pressare, quia multa bona sunt intra contra istum Wimphelingium qui scripsit contra monachos. Quia statim erit in meta quando leget dominum nostrum Christum fuisse monachum, videlicet abbatem, et sanctum Petrum priorem, et Iudam Schariotis cele- 145

¹²⁶ *Colleg.*: in 1516 the Cistercians deserted the College of St. Jacob at Schönau, near Heidelberg.

¹⁴⁵ *cel.*: for *cellerarium*.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

rariū : et Philippum portarium et sic de aliis secundum
 sub et supra, quae omnia iste illuminatus et valde
 scientificus monachus Paulus Langius sic magistra-
 liter probat, ut Wimphelingus et sui discipuli non
 150 debent unum verbum contra rebellare sed resistit
 michi unus Wimphelingianus in faciem et dixit quod
 monachi mentiantur sicut sceleratissimi caupones, qui
 volunt Christum fuisse ita portentosum animal et
 cucullatam bestiam, et super me protestavit nomine
 155 Christi. Tunc fui ita perterritus quod perminxi et per-
 merdavi me, quod omnes nasum praetenebant : sed sit
 quomodo sit, ego hoc firmiter credo, quod omnes tandem
 erunt stare confuse tñ cum sua scientia, et dicere “ dia-
 bolus portavit illum monachum ad nos q̄s fecit eum in
 160 omnibus scibilibus ita formalem et qualificatum. Quō
 potest hoc esse nisi per scientiam infusam : quia non
 stetit in aliqua universitate, et est adhuc unus purus
 beanus : et tamen bene valet magistrandum vel etiam
 plus, cum venia eximiorum magistrorum nostrorum.”
 165 Ipse etiam Thomas Murner monachus et doctor mul-
 tum subtilis et semel solenniter praedicavit in ambone
 quod Christus dominus noster fuit monachus : et
 scivit etiam realiter defendere. Sed unus discipulus
 Wimphelingii noluit credere in Christum si esset
 170 monachus et fecit illos versus desuper :—

Non ego fallaci tecto : Tibi Christe cuculo
 Crediderim : veste hac fraus tegiturque dolus.
 Atque probat novus e Berna quaesitus, habenda,
 Franciscus, monachis quanta sit, ipse, fides.

175 Sed quid ad hoc quod non vult credeŕ. tunc erit hae-
 reticus, sicut alii qui condemnati sunt cum Reuchlin
 in Parrhisia et Colonia et in aliis Universitatibus. Oro
 etiam vos ut velitis etiam librum ponere illos versus
 quos ego in laudem libri et authoris, videlicet Pauli
 180 Langii monachi, cum magna diligentia compositi et
 pro maiori parte quando de nocte iacui in lecto et
 sic speculavi, tunc quasi in somnis factus sum versi-
 ficator ut sequitur.

¹⁶⁵ *Murner.* See ii. 3, n.

hands of the heresiarchs of Berne.
 See i. 22, n.

¹⁷⁴ *Francis.* : i.e. Jetzer at the

¹⁸⁰ *comp.* : for *composui*.

II. 64] VOLWINIUS DE MONTEFLASCON

Hic liber indignum : Uexat Iacobum Wimphelingum
 Langius quem Paulus fecerat mirifice, 185
 Metrice qui scripsit, etiam quoque rhetoricavit,
 Quot omnes Artes sunt in Cucullatulis.
 Sic quoque Tritemius dixit, sic et Eberhardus
 De Campis, Volzius Paulus, et Schuterius,
 Iohannes Piemont, Siberti Iacobus, Rotger 190
 Sicamber, docti cuculatique viri.
 Iam erit confusus Iacobus, et omnino detrusus
 Wimphelingius, Bebelius, atque ille Gerbelius,
 Sturmnius et Spiegel, Luscinius atque Rhenanus,
 Ruserus, Sapidus, Guidaque, Bathodius : 195
 Omnes hi victi iacent, non audent dicere Gukuck,
 Sic in sacco conclusi Wimphelingiani erunt,
 Non valent in Graecis invenire neque Poetis
 Quod Lango respondeant viro scientifico.

Valete, vir illuminatissime et praeceptor valde doctrinalis, et me vice versa habeatis dilectum, quod ita bene promoveo vos per omnia saecula saeculorum. Datum in Oppido Imperiali Suerszheim in longa platea, ubi iuvenes Rustici semper in Dominica die corrisant : quod cor eis crepet. Anno a mundo 205 condito Primo.

LXIV

¶ *DOMINUS VOLWINIUS DE MONTE-FLASCON Reverendo Magistro Domino Ortino Gratiano Aeternam Salutem*

QUANQUAM vos nichil sciatis, Reverende magister, in latinitate seculari (ut unus michi dixit), propter 5 quod multum diligo vos, et non curatis Pomposa verba

¹⁸⁸ *Eberh.* : E. de Campis, a Benedictine; prior of the Monastery of St. Mathias, near Trier.

¹⁸⁹ *Volzius* : P. Volzius, 1480-1544. A Benedictine; later an ardent Lutheran.

¹⁸⁹ *Schuter*. See i. 32, n.

¹⁹⁰ *Piemont* : Johann Butzbach (1478-1526) of Miltenberg. Prior of the Benedictine monastery at Laach.

¹⁹⁰ *Sibert.* : a monk of the same monastery.

¹⁹⁰ *Rotger* : Rutgerus Sicamber. See i. 3, n.

¹⁹³ *Bebel*. See ii. 11, n.

¹⁹³ *Gerbel.* : Mich. G., of Pforzheim, ob. 1560. An ardent humanist and Reuchlinist.

¹⁹⁴ *Spiegel* : Jakob S., Jurist, of Schlettstadt; Wimpheling's nephew.

¹⁹⁵ *Guida* : another of W.'s circle.

²⁰³ *Suersz.* : Schnersheim, a small town of Elsass, another Gotham.

¹ *Volw.* : quasi, "Fallowine of Bottleberg."

³ *Gratiano*. Also in ii. 65.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

sicut faciunt poetae: tamen alias scitis ubi debetis denocte iacere (sicut dicit Sapiens in proverbiiis) Et non est nobis magna cura quid faciant illi novatores latinitatis, scilicet
 10 Erasmus Roterodamus et Ioannes Reuchlin: Nec ego curo eos, quia non est de essentia sacrae scripturae, licet ipse et etiam alii semper volunt Theologos antiquos plagare cum ista literatura, et nescio quomodo ipsi supponunt cum novo testamento et operibus sancti Hieronymi quod semper volunt illam haeticam literaturam
 15 immiscere, cum tamen dicat Paulus quod Graeci semper sint mendaces: et ergo videtur cum supportatione eximiorum magistrorum nostrorum, quod illa literatura nichil sit quam mendatium: nunc subsumo: Sed quicumque vult confundere sacram scripturam mendaciis,
 20 ille est haeticus: ergo. Nunc ipsimet sciū quid sequitur, quia esset credo ipsis scandalum quando ego palam concluderem eos esse haeticos. O si scirent istam subtilitatem in me esse, ipsi non venirent michi ante faciem.
 25 Tacete tamen usque ad finem, tunc bene videbitur cuius toni. Sed pro novitatibus non possum dimittere quin vobis scribam. Sedi enim nuper nescio quando in uno convivio, et ibi etiam fuerunt multi praetensi iuvenes socii, et venerunt quilibet ex alia regione in unum
 30 symbolum: unus ex Anglia, alius ex Argentina, alius ex Vienna, alius erat Wimpinus qui vocatur Angelinus, alius Romanus qui fuit bene medius Curtisanus, et multi multa dixerunt ut ipse scitis. Et venimus in Colloquia de causa Reuchlin. Tunc unus surrexit erga
 35 me, ubi audivit quod ego non fui bonus Reuchlinista, et dixit "ne veniat michi obvius Coloniensis copulalista theologus, alias volo eum cito emasculare. Et praesertim magistrum Ortvinum:" tunc ego traxi fistulam meam in meum saccum. Et alius dixit qui non erat dives et
 40 perdidit plura beneficia in curia Romania, et cum hoc male habet cum omnibus Curtisanis, et dixit mirabilia, ut sequitur "super anima mea ego saepe miravi quod isti in magnis caputiis qui vocantur Theologi et sunt in illa civitate ubi impressitae sunt quaestiones super

¹⁶ *Paul:* Tit. i. 12.

³⁰ *symbol:* *symbola*, a contribution to a common meal: "ut de symbolis essemus" (*Ter., Eum.*, III. iv. 2. Here, the meal itself.

³⁶ *copul.*: ii. 9, *a*.

³⁸ *traxi*, &c. Cf. *Othello*, iii. 1. "Put up your pipes in your bag."

Donatum secundum viam sancti Thomae et regulae grammaticales secundum viam antiquorum cum isto carmine :

Accipias tanti doctoris dogmata sancti,

inter ipsos monachi, qui volunt alios semper facere haereticos. Quare etiam non stimulant super illos, et producunt inquisitionem super eos super haeretica pravitate, qui habent tot multa beneficia, unus sex, alter decem, alius viginti et magis et congregant tam multam pecuniam, et tantam credentiam ex flasculis et poculis pecheriis, sicut si essent filii principum vel comitum, et in domo nutriunt putanas sive concubinas preciose cum cathenis in collo, cum annulis in manibus, cum schubis veluti si essent uxores militum. Et interdum unus illorum habet tres Canonias simul et semel, et imbusat de omnibus illis tribus giltas, quod inde potest habere multas zechas, Et potest solum stare et esse in uno choro, et in aliis non. Et sic in aliis choris nullus et nemo stat pro eis, qui laudat deum et rogat pro vivis et pro defunctis : estne hoc recte ? Quare non inquiruntur super eos et interrogant coram multis notariis et multis testibus (sicut olim in Mentz fecerunt) et dicunt ‘ quid creditis ? ita vel non ? creditis vel non creditis ? quid creditis de sacramentis in ecclesia dei ? Dicatis nobis quot sunt sacramenta, et quam fidem in corde vestro portatis de sacramento eucharistiae : estne ibi corpus et sanguis Christi ? Si creditis, quando ergo postquam missam legistis (si saltem in anno semel legistis), statim quando ad domum iterum vaditis, concubina vestra habens mores et inspectum acsi esset una meretrix, vobiscum in domo vel in mensa vel in camera [est hilaris, ludit, iocatur, et taliter qualiter facit etc.] ? dicatis nobis si creditis adeo magnum esse fructum : Et qui deo placet, ex missa, sicut in decretalibus et in tractatibus Theologorum stat : Quare ergo vos habetis tot beneficia, quae possent quinque aut sex devotos sacerdotes sustentare qui libenter legerent missas, qui libenti animo facerent praedicationes ad populum et ad clerum, qui possent dare consilia pro honore dei, pro

⁵⁰ *non* : perhaps for *nos*.

⁵⁶ *nut* : for *nutriunt*.

⁵⁹ *imb*. : for *imbursat*.

⁶⁶ *Mentz* : referring to the case of Rucherath. See i. 47, n.

⁷⁶ *est hil*. The words in brackets were inserted in the edn. of 1599.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRO- RUM

salvatione animarum, pro libertate ecclesiastica, corri-
gere vitia. Et vellent rogare deum pro domino Papa,
85 pro Rege, pro Episcopis et pro aliis Christicolis, pro
pace et sanitate, sicut stat in tranquilla et silenti missa
post Sanctus et post Te igitur clementissime p̄r. Si
creditis tantum bonum venire ex missa pro vivis atque
defunctis, quare non supra datis illa quae habetis in
90 superfluo, Et dimittitis aliis bonis devotis et doctis viris,
ut deus exinde praeconisceretur et animae eorum qui
mortuerunt citius ex purganti igne redimerentur, et
deus nobis amicabiliter placatus non sic immitteret
nobis deorsum pustulas, et non sic percuteret nobis
95 vinum et plada per grandinem et pruina, et non esset
sic magna fames in terra. Si autem non creditis tot
bona venire ex missa, tunc estis per deum sanctum
suspecti de haeresi. Imo estis realiter haeretici plus
quam Wessalia et doctor Reuchlin.’” Videte, reve-
100 rende magister Ortvine, has novitates volui vobis etiam
scribere, quomodo ipsi communiter omnes tenent contra
vos cum Reuchlin. Per conscientiam meam, ego credo
denique quod diabolus etiam favet ipsi Reuchlin: tunc
bene permerdavimus nos. Et sic commendo me vobis
105 Ex Spira, ubi de nobis dicuntur mirabilia, Quia omnes
Reuchlinistae dicunt quod Colonienses nil sunt quam
copulatistae: Sed multum gaudeo de vobis, quod
patiens estis sicut ovis, Et potestis pati illa, sicut
essetis simplex sacerdos in villa.

LXV

¶ *Perdocto artium prohibitarum M. Ortvino Gra-
tiano Coloniensi Theologo M. BARTHOLUS
KUTZ*

5 **S**ALUTEM accipite quando vultis, perdocte domine
magister Ortvine. Dixit michi quidam quondam
quodam in loco de vobis quod estis valde infirmus, et
quando estis infirmus, tunc semper facitis quasi essetis

⁹¹ *prae.*: for *praeconisceretur*.

⁹⁵ *plada*: for *blada*.

¹ *Gratiano*. See ii. 64.

insanus: quod laudo in vobis, quia proprium est illis
 qui sciunt scientias prohibitas, hoc est diabolium in
 vitrum vel quocumque banniare, quia isti ut in pluri- 10
 mum sunt ita insani quandoque. Et oportet etiam
 quod sint spurii, sicut vos (ut michi ab singulari amico
 dictum est) etiam estis: quia illi semper sunt meliores
 diabolo ad aliquid efficiendum. Quia diabolus non ita
 libenter committit se legitimis ut sicut spuriis, [qui] 15
 sunt singulariter apti diabolo. Et si solum essetis
 monachus. Tunc omnia dona haberetis ad hanc artem,
 et tunc essetis egregium instrumentum diaboli. [Ubi
 enim diabolus pervenire, vel aliquid efficere non potest,
 ibi semper mittit unam malam antiquam vetulam, vel 20
 unum monachum.] Sed ego nescio tamen an sitis
 monachus. Quia si essetis, tunc essem bene contentus:
 Quia monachi prae aliis habent illam gratiam quod
 sunt protervi multum et quicquid conantur, hoc facere
 audent. Sicut nuper audiui de aliquo qui vocatur Paulus 25
 Langius et scripsit unum excellentissimum tractatum
 cum versibus contra Iacobum Wimphelingium et bene
 scompisat eum. Et etiam dicunt de illo Paulo quod
 novem modis cucurrit (Salva reverentia) ex claustro.
 Et quicquid nemo conatur facere, hoc ipse facit. Et 30
 credo quod etiam aliquando sit insanus; et quod sit
 spurius. Tertium ex se habet. Et ego plurimum laudo
 quod etiam est nobis similis, qui rem habetis cum
 diabolo: sed transeat hoc cum reverentia. Ego habeo
 hic unum notabile punctum Nigromanticum quod 35
 vobis libenter manifeste scriberem. Sed ego timeo, quod
 quando estis ita insanus, tunc famulus vester posset
 illam epistolam invenire et si legeret, tunc diabolus
 confunderet me et eum; et ergo volo secundum con-
 suetudinem meam facere, quia quando habeo sic aliquid 40
 secretum, tunc scribo super papirum sine atramento, et
 tunc nemo scit legere nisi sit illegittimus. Et ergo eo
 casu in praesentiarum vobis etiam decrevi facere. Et
 est illud punctum ut sequitur:

Credo quod bene intellexistis me, et haec est veritas: et 45

¹⁸ ubi . . . monachum. First in-
 serted in the ed. of 1599.

²⁶ Langius. See ii. 63, *passim*.

³³ nobis. Böcking suggests *vobis*.

⁴⁴ ut seq.: being written with magic
 ink, is invisible!

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

prohibeo vobis et coniuro vos per virtutem omnium scientiarum prohibitarum quod neminem doceatis. Et sic Valete ex Ruprechtsow: in brevi plura expectabitis a me et maiora si illa placuerint vobis.

LXVI

❧ *MAGISTER ABRAAM ISAAC DE STIRPE
AMINADAB M. Ort. Gra. S.*

MALARUM bonarumque artium altissime magister: sciat dominatio vestra quod ego volo iam
5 satisfacere promissis meis, quia promisi super vestram petitionem quando a vobis recessi ex Colonia, quod volo vobis continue novitates scribere. Et ante omnia libenter haberetis quod notificarem vobis de ille astuto Iurista Ioanne Reuchlin, cum quo M. noster Iacob. de
10 Hochstrat multum habet in Curia propter fidem tractandum. Hoc ego volo facere ex singulari dilectione. Tunc sciatis primo (quia ego ab origine mundi vobis omnia pandam). Quando ego recessi in diebus Canicularibus versus Romam, ut bene scitis, tunc nullam maiorem
15 passionem habui super totam viam, nisi quod maxime sitivit me, Qñ ascendi altos montes in Algoia cum meis sociis. Et quando veni ad Curiam, factus sum servus corporalis unius Cardinalis prope Campum florae: et fui servitor suus octo mensibus cum magna diligentia
20 pro uno beneficio curato in Kelbertzhausen, quod iacet in Vollenbergensi diocesi. Et impetravi super hoc unam bullam cum duodecim sigillis de omnibus Cardinalibus. Et sanctissimus noster fecit suum sigillum etiam ante, ad maiorem cautelam. Tunc cum laetitia
25 exivi et volui possessionem accipere, tunc ille prior plebanus non est mortuus: tunc ego in magna ira dixi: "Percutiant mille diaboli ad hoc: debeo pecuniam meam sic perdere?" Etiam fuit parvum beneficium: si in Curia scivissem, ego non exivissem propterea.

⁴⁸ *Ruprecht.*: Ruprechtsau, near Strasburg.

¹⁶ *Algoia*: the Algäuer Alps, round the base of the Iller basin.

²⁰ *Kelb. in Voll.* Of course, fictitious names.

Ego putavi quod posset portare in omnibus annis .XX. 30
floreos in reservato. Vos etiam bene scitis quod ego
non maneo personaliter in illis partibus. Ego vellem
libentius habere beneficium in Daventria prope patriam
nostram cum centum florenis, et cum una simplici
puella duodecim annorum, quam in illa superiore parte 35
unum cum triginta florenis, et cum callida matrona
sexaginta annorum. Sed illa reservata bene facerent
uni. Secundo sciatis, M. Ortvine, quod deinde non
potui ita statim venire ad Curiam propter bella in
Italia: quia currunt hincinde nudi Ribaldi. Et si unus 40
acciperet mihi vestimenta, tunc perdidissem pauper-
tatem meam totaliter, Sicut dixit semel una vetula
quando fregit ova super pontem in Helpruna. Et sic
permansi duobus mensibus in valle ad Wimpinam,
etiam cum quibusdam bonis Curtisanis. Et ibi didici 45
unum ludum a Ioanne Greyferio, qui est valde liberalis,
quia dedit semel sex sociis, quorum ego fui unus, ad
comedendum septem ova et non minus. Et ille ludus
dicitur in lingua Italica Trent uno. Hoc ego nunquam
vidi in Romana curia. Etiam non est mirabile, quia 50
oportuit me semper habere advertentiam ad mulum in
stabulo inferius. Et audiatis quomodo semper fecimus.
Nos iuinus [ivimus] aliquando in Wimpina super scho-
lam, ubi semper convenerunt super extra boni socii.
Et fuit unus inter eos qui dicitur Gregorius Spiculi: 55
ille est valde declarativus de modo supponendi. Ipse
declarat hanc materiam ita clare sicut vos nobis olim
Tertiam partem Alexandri de arte versificandi. Quan-
docunque audio eum sicut grosse loqui de illa luxuriosa
re, tunc acquiro delectationem ad supponendum. Ego 60
multum didici ab eo (parcatis mihi, quia est opus
naturale): ego vellem, sicut deus mihi iuvat, unum
Carlinum dare quod vos sciretis ita amicabilem lardare,
nisi propter uxorem Ioannis Pfeffer. Tunc ego scio quod
amaret vos super omnes alios theologos qui sunt in 65
Colonia. Per deum illa ars non iuvat quam mihi semel
ostendistis in libello parvo qui fuit retro scriptus. Nunc

⁴⁴ *Wimpina*. There was a famous
Dominican monastery at Wimpfen-
am-Berge.

⁴⁹ *Trent uno*; a game of cards.

⁵⁹ *sicut*: for *sic*.

⁶⁷ *retro*: from right to left like
Hebrew.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

audiat quid post illa factum est. Ipsi una vice apud
vinum quaesiverunt me (quia fui Curtisanus) quomodo
70 res staret in causa fidei cum Ioanne Reuchlin et Coloni-
ensibus. Respondi: "Per deum, ego timeo multum
de illo bono viro Ioanne Reuchlin quod est nimis
pauper ad finem perducendum illam causam. Quia
praedicatores monachi remotius veniunt cum eorum
75 caseorum saccis quam una unica persona cum pecunia."
Tunc unus dixit: "O sancte deus, quam magni ne-
quam sunt isti monachi quando colligunt caseos. Nuper
fuit Frater .N. huius monasterii hic in villa mea et
voluit mihi meam sororem cum potestate lardasse.
80 Ipse fugavit eam per gradum supra in domum, et
cucurrit ei post, et iecit ad lectum, et voluit levare
cucullam et cum Datulo inferius ad. Tunc soror clama-
vit: 'Her N., Her N., cessate: ego elamo quod omnis
homo audit et tunc diabolus vos permerdabit.' Tunc
85 ipse dixit 'Per corpus tuum noli clamare: Ego volo
tibi pro Dedicatione aliquid emere quod debet medium
florenum valere.' Deinde venit mater: tunc ipse de-
scendit et Datulus ei adhuc stetit, quod levavit sibi
cucullam quasi haberet dentem Rastri inferius." Tunc
90 unus alius socius dixit: "Si iste nequam hoc fecisset
sorori meae, Ego vellem ei testiculos excindere et aliis
monachis mittere ad comedendum in aceto, quando
haberent festum Iovis." Tunc ille iterum dicit: "Per
deum, ego non habeo sibi pro malo, quia semper sunt
95 inclusi. Ego credo quando asinus haberet peplum
supra, quod non esset securus prae ipsis. Et quare una
feminalis imago non deberet eis tenere?" Tunc unus
iuravit et dixit quod Ioannes Reuchlin vult in unum lib-
rum colligere omnes nequitias monachorum in Almania
100 per unum vagantem hincinde, Et vult illas Sanctissimo
offerre et vult dicere "Cur ille Hochstrat non extir-
pat illam luxuriam inter fratres suos?" Et dixit
ille quod monachi foetent sicut Hirei quando sudant,
et in sua patria veneficaverunt omnes meretrices, et
105 quando ipse vult semel in necessitate purgare renes,
tunc ipse putat quod lardat monachum propter illum
foctorem quem conceperunt ex monachis. Ergo, M.
Ortui, vos estis eorum fautor: Ideo sitis ante, quod

⁸⁸ *Datulus*: for *ductylus* (*mentula*). ⁹³ *festum Iovis*. Of dubious meaning.

habebunt etiam inquisitorem Luxuriae salacitatis ad illum Hochstrat qui est inquisitor haereticae pravitatis : 110
 tunc res bene stabit cum ipsis. Vel si saltem facerent occulte sicut ipsorum priores qui vocant eas Ad cellas, ibi nemo potest videre : Et sic bene transiret hinc : Manifeste autem sic super eas cadere, est scandalum toti ordini. Ideo faciatis melius ad hoc. Post haec 115
 omnia traxi iterum ad Curiam, Et adhuc ibi expecto gratias dei. Valete. Datum Romae in Refectorio Capitoli.

LXVII

❧ *FRATER NOLLERIUS STECH DE
 CALABRIA M. Ortvino*

DEVOTAS meas orationes opto vobis loco salutis. Excellentia vestra theologialis scit quod ego iam veni quasi peregrinus ex monte Synai. Nescitis tamen 5
 quam multa sum passus in hoc tempore, quando a vobis a Colonia recessi : longum esset vobis illa omnia scribere, quia nullus alius amicus mihi superest cui necessitatem meam conquererer praeter vos : quando aliquid 10
 dico in monasterio, tunc statim respondent mihi : “ O tu non es ideo claustralis quod velles habere bonam vitam.” Non sic impii, non sic. Ego non possum excogitare unde veniat, nisi ex illa mala fortuna quod M. noster Iacobus de Hochstrat consumit ita magnam 15
 summam pecuniae in curia Ro. propter fidem Christianam quam ille nequam Ioan. Reuch. destruxit in suo Speculo Oculari : ego credo quod omnia monasteria nostra debent ei mittere pecuniam : quia oportet eum 20
 esse liberalem dando hincinde Cardinalibus propinas, ut iudicant pro se et non pro Ioan. Reuch. Ideo priores nostri abbreviant nobis vinum, quamvis Salomon dicat 25
 “ Musica, mulier et vinum laetificant cor hominis.” pri. proverb. .XII. Et ego me semper exerceo in musica, Psalmos in choro lyrando et ululando : et hoc non est

¹ *de Cal.* : perh. of the Order of Berthold of Calabria.

¹² *non sic* : Psal. i. 4.

²² *prov. xii.* : Eccclus. xl. 20.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

25 rarum. Ideo non charum. De mulieribus est mihi
grave loquendum: quia nullam video, nisi quando
vado ad forum cum procuratore nostro quando emit
ova. Etiam quando vado ad villas ad colligendum
rapas et olera, et si caro me superaret quando essem
30 apud unam feminam, tunc ipsa non teneret mihi.
Ergo quando nunc nobis vinum abbreviatur, quale
gaudium habebimus? Si medium haberemus ita
bonum sicut alii ordines, ut sacerdotes nobiscum apud
Spiritūsan. professionati. Credo quod bene sciatis
35 quid sit pro ordine: ipsi habent duplices albas
cruces in tunica, et non sunt alte rasi sicut nos: et
quando illis unum gaudium tollitur, scilicet quando
eis vinum abbreviatur propter unam supergressionem,
tunc habent aliud gaudium: Nam possunt disponere
40 meretrices per claudicantem Ioannem qui ligna secat.
Etiam graditur super manibus et genibus. Possetis di-
cere "haec vita meretricea non licet Sanctispiritualibus."
Respondeo, quod audiui pro certo, quod eorum dominus
magister (quamvis senex, claudus, griseus, et lipposus,
45 est tamen avidus ad illam rem, non autem semper
potens) solet habere propriam in sua stufia: et quando
excavavit illam totaliter, tunc disponit sibi unum virum
et dat sibi bonam dotem ex Gazophilacio Spiritussancti,
quod nunquam minoratur, quia est ibi mera gratia
50 spirituss. Deinde sibi aliam ancillam procurat, et facit
sibi etiam sicut iam scripsi. Et sic ille ordo in multis
hominibus occulte crescit: nūc volo inferre proverbialiter,
quia communiter dicitur: "Quandocunque abbas,
id est pater supremus, apponit tesseras, tunc possunt
55 fratres ludere:" hoc est quando praelati nostri antiqui
sunt ita luxuriosi, et ducunt ita miserabilem vitam,
Ergo nos subditi licite possumus sequere. Haec est
bona consequentia, quia perspexi in tractata de sup-

³³ *sacerd.* The Order of the Holy Ghost, established in 1178, was divided into Knights Hospitallers and Canons Regular, the former being abolished in 1459.

³⁴ *profess.* Not elsewhere found.

³⁵ *duplices*: the patriarchal cross, with two horizontal bars. See McClintock and Strong, *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, New York, 1872, vol. iv. p. 310.

³⁸ *supergress.* Not elsewhere found.

⁵³ *abbas*:—

"Und wenn der abt die würfel leydt,
So sint die mōnch zum spiel bereit."

—Brant, *Narrenschiff*, c. 49. For many forms of this proverb, see Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, vol. i. p. 4.

⁵⁸ *supposit.*: a manifest double entendre.

positionibus: quia ibi ly "praelatus supponit personaliter." Sed secundum Marsilium supponit inferius 60 materialiter. Nunc ad propositum: ego vellem quod quando magister noster Iaco. Hochstrat in Roma nihil sciret Ioanni reuch. abinde lucrare, quod impetrare nobis laxiorem ordinem, sicut ille prae-nominatus. Caro tamen nos quandoque etiam stimulat: ego scio 65 quod ero brevissimae vitae quando non debeo quandoque expurgare vetus fermentum, quod contraxi ex illis caseis; parcatis mihi, quia loquor vobiscum cordialiter, id est quae mihi sunt circa cor ego semper timeo quod illa causa erit malum finem acquirere, sicut causa Ber-nensis. Vos satis intellexistis me dñs M. noster 70 Ioannes Amphoraticius optavit vobis multas salutes: ipse evasit in solemnem virum: Est enim praedicator noster: omnis homo eum laudat. Est ita bonus in exemplari demonstratione. Anno domini .1416. prae- 75 dicavit passionem: tunc accepit secum unum baculum super Ambonem: et quando recitavit sententiam Pilati, tunc traxit eum de cuculla extra et fregit illum baculum in medio in duas partes, quasi sceptrum: Quod fuit miserabiliter ad videndum: Vetulae mulieres flebant 80 ita amare, sicut Petrus quando audivit gallum prope ignem cantare. Valete et commendate me magistro nostro quando venerit ex Roma.

LXVIII

¶ *M. IOHAN. TEXTORIS Petro Schwinkoncio
suo tot dicit salutes quot sunt guttae in mari et
athomi in sole*

SCIATIS, Charissime amice, quod ego literam 5 vestram accepi, in qua mihi scribitis de Erasmo Rotherodamo, et vultis scire quid ego teneam de eo. Debetis scire et michi credere, quia etiam, quando fui adhuc iuvenis, multa legi in literis humanis et Ste-

⁵⁹ ly: perhaps for *lij*.

⁶⁰ *Marsil.* See ii. 63, n.

⁶⁷ *ferment.*: 1 Cor. v. 7.

⁷² *Amphorat.* Unknown.

⁷⁵ 1416: altered to 1516 in ed. of 1599.

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM

- phanum Fliscum et Graecistam et Synthys, Facetum,
 10 Floretum, et illos antiquos poetas quasi super unum
 unguem scivi mentetenus: et quod verum sit, tunc
 scripsi unum librum qui dicitur Florista, in quo bene
 videtis scientiam meam et plura alia, si ego vellem me
 iactare. Sed dico pro tanto, quod non putetis, quod
 15 ego vobis mentior: Quia ego possum bene valde iudi-
 care de illo Erasmo. Ego etiam examinavi speculum
 Reuchlin et eius Gabalam, sicut bene scitis. Et ut non
 faciam multa verba: Et ego nihil teneo de Erasmo,
 Quia ipse est inimicus monachorum: Et dicit multa
 20 mala de eis: et dicit quod sunt grossi asini, et odiunt
 literas Politiores: Et nichil sciant nisi Comedere et
 Bibere et psalmos lirare. Quod ipse mentitur in Collum
 suum quando hoc dicit. Immo ipse est unus asinus:
 ipse est bonus latinista, et scit bene latinizare, alias
 25 nichil scit. Ipse fecit multos libros, praesertim unam
 Navem stultiferam et commentum super Hieronimum.
 In quibus ipse nichil facit quam quod stimulat religiosos:
 per deum ego dico sibi, si non vult cessare ab illis, tunc
 volumus sibi facere sicut Reuchlin, etiam si centum
 30 modis esset acceptus apud Papam et Regem Karolum:
 Sed nos vidimus bene tam superbos sicut ipse est, et
 tamen suppressimus eos. Ego dicam vobis aliquid, sed

⁹ *Fliscum*: Stephanus Fliscus de Sontino, author of *Synonyma Verba, Phra. Elegantiae Latinae*, &c.

⁹ *Graecist.* See i. 38, n.

⁹ *Synthys.* See i. 7, n.

⁹ *Facetum*: *Liber Faceti morosi, docens mores hominum*, included in the *Auctores octo morales*, ascribed to John Garland, Reimerus Alemannus, and others. A subject of Gargantua's early studies (*Garg.*, i. 14). Three specimens of its quaint maxims may be given:—

- (1) "Dum cibus extat in ore tuo potare caveto,
 In vasis offare decet non ore repleto."
 (2) "Irritare canem noli dormire volentem,
 Nec moveas iram post tempora longa latentem."

(3) "Poena si sumas tu mergas labra modeste
 Qui prope fert nasum non potum sumit honeste."

¹⁰ *Floretus*: also included in the *Auct. octo mor.*: attributed to Joh. Garland: a didactic poem on faith, morality, and conduct. Its leonine verses may be thus exemplified:—

"Stringe tuum gustum qui vult consumere multum
 Plurima gustare vult ventrem sepe gravare."

"Floretus mille centum versus habet iste;
 Et ter viginti qui sunt metricè rediunt."

¹⁷ *Gabalam*: i.e. *Joannis Reuchlin . . . De Arte Cabalistica Libri Tres*, Leonii N. Dicati, Hagenui, 1517.

²⁰ *Navem*: confusing Erasmus with Brandt.

²⁶ *Hieron.* See ii. 50, n.

non debetis michi hoc post dicere, alias diabolus me confunderet: Magister noster Iacobus Hochstrat et omnes magistri nostri in Colonia et in Cantabria illi ³⁵ examinant iam commentum super Hieronymum, et sicut ego audio, tunc ipse pessime stabit; ego non acciperem centum florenos quod haberem hoc in loco suo: quia dicunt quod ipse ibi multam seminavit zizaniam; et putat quod nemo debeat hoc notare. Sed ⁴⁰ magistri nostri non sunt tam stulti, Sed ipsi bene sciunt ubi iacet Anguis in herba (ut Alexander ait). Ego non potui omnis retinere: sed aliqua adhuc scio, quia dicit quod sanctus Hieronimus non fuit Cardinalis, quod ⁴⁵ utique est crimen laesae maiestatis, et male sentit de sancto Georgio et Christofero, et reliquiis sanctorum et candelis, et de confessione Sacramentali: et[iam] in multia locis blasphemat, quia loquitur contra doctorem sanctum et contra doctorem subtilem. Et dicit quod ⁵⁰ Theologia ipsorum nichil sit: quae omnia magistri nostri scripserunt in unum volumen, et volunt eum confundere sicut haereticum, sicut fecerunt Ioanni Wessalia in Maguntia. Et si vult multum relatrare et invectivas scribere contra eos, tunc volunt expectare usque post ⁵⁵ mortem eius, Et tunc volunt condemnare omnes libros eius. Illa est iam practica apud magistros nostros. Et quia etiam libenter auditis novitates, debetis scire, quod Fratres minores debent iam habere generalem de Observantia, quod impetraverunt ipsi in Curia pro .16. Mille ducatis. Et Moniales ad sanctam Claram de ordine ⁶⁰ Minorem valde timent ne reformatur, et quicquid habent, hoc fugant in Civitatem et iacent miserabiliter in scaminiis. Aliqui dicunt, quod doctor Murner habet rem cum ipsis: sed hoc non est verum: quia ipse est Enuchus castratus. Sed de aliis religiosis ego ⁶⁵ non bene credo, quando sic currunt ad eas. Est mortuus in civitate unus Curtisanus qui habuit .22. beneficia

³⁵ Cantabria: possibly for Cantabrigia, or Cantuaria.

⁴² anguis: Virg., *Ecl.*, iii. 93. (Not in Alex.).

⁶⁷ 22 benef.:—

“ But though one prebende were to hym suffycient

Or one benyfyce his lvyng might suffyse

Yet this blynde fole is not therwith content

But labowreth for mo, and always doth devyse

Fals meanes to come therto by couetyse.”

—Barclay, *The Ship of Fools*, i. 157 (1874).

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRO- RUM

pinguia, et poetae qui sunt ibi, faciunt multa metra
contra illum. Alias nichil scio nisi quod dominus tam
70 diu teneat vos sanum quam diu unus supercurrit unum
Canem. Valete ex Argentina.

LXIX

¶ *MARCOLPHUS SCULTETI Ioanni
Bimperlenbumpun ex Rorbach*

SALUTES infinitas et immortales. Dilecte Ioannes,
vos scripsistis mihi nuper aliquas novitates, quas non
5 libenter audiui, videlicet de Ioanne Reuchlin quod com-
paravit sibi magnam gloriam apud suos poetas, quia
fecit unum librum qui intitulatur “Gabellistica vel
Gabala,” et est iam in gratia Papae. Vellem tamen
libenter scire quid est Gabala : ego quaesivi diu in meo
10 Catholicon et Gemma gemmarum et in Briton : sed non
possum reperire quid significat. Misi etiam unam literam
ad magistrum nostrum Ortvinum : sed ipse etiam nihil
rescribit. Sed magistri nostri fecerunt unum consilium
et examinaverunt illum librum : et sicut ego audiui ab
15 ipsis de nocte in convivio ubi zechavimus ita liberaliter,
quod oportuit unum dare pro zecha tres obulos, quod
ego non habeo ultra pecunia, quod ipse male stabit :
quia posuit ibi aliqua contra doctorem sanctum et
modernos doctores : et dicit quod filius dei est factus
20 de patre. Item multa alia, et pervertit terminos theo-
logiae “generare” et “facere,” et sic de aliis : et nihil
curat de argumentis et quaestionibus et sophismata
doctoris sancti : et ideo volunt illum librum comburere :
quia dicunt quod [non] intelligunt eum : et quicquid ipsi
25 non intelligunt, hoc comburunt : Ergo. Quia omnis
magister noster est rabi et lux mundi. Etiam ille liber
habet multa dicta Pithagorae, qui fuit Nigromanticus :

⁷⁰ *quam*, &c. The only reading :
Böcking suggests *lepus* for *unus*.

⁹ *Gabala*. See ii. 68, n.

¹⁰ *Cathol.* See i. 1, n.

¹⁰ *Gemma*. See i. 1, n.

¹⁰ *Briton* : for William Briton (or

Breton), see the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; or,
for a fuller account, S. Berger, *De*
Glossariis, &c., Paris, 1879, pp. 18–25.

¹⁹ *modernos* : the Thomists.

²⁷ *Pithag.* : truer than the writer
supposed, for the doctrines of the

sed nigromantia est scientia prohibita, sicut patet .66
q. io. capi. nullo, et in Canone "O vos azini": et con-
cordat doctor sanctus et Arestoteles in nono Phisicorum 30
de ignorantibus. Est enim in hoc etiam libro multum
hebraeum, quod magistri nostri non possunt legere, et
multum graecum: et quia ipsi non curant haec vana,
sed maiora, et ideo disposuerunt Ioannem Pfefferkorn
christianum et dimidium Iudaeum, qui est bonus ebrius: 35
et ille iam examinatur ne forte ibi latet venenum sub
melle. Sed volo illa iam dimittere, quia videbimus
bene in nundinis Francfurdiensibus, et tunc volumus
plura loquere de illis cum magistro nostro Ortvino, qui
est missus a magistris nostris quod debet emere novi- 40
tates quae ibi venduntur: et tunc volunt etiam exami-
nare. De aliis novitatibus non possum vobis plura
scribere nisi quod etiam unus magister noster de ordine
praedicatorum in Argentina, qui semper vocatus est
doctor Iesus, exivit ex claustris: et multa mala dicunt 45
de eo: quod ego non audeo dicere: et multi ribaldi
carministae faciunt sibi versus in vituperium eius; et
mittunt cadere in foro, et ecclesia: quod male me
habet: ego vellem quod non facerent, ne venirent ex
gratia illorum praedicatorum: inter alia tamen ego 50
reperi unum carmen et est tale:

Detractor cleri, fur, profugus atque cinaedus
Igne aut perpetuo carcere dignus erat.
Plebanorum osor, gestus imitans muliebres,
Formidans flammas more latronis abit. 55
Cuius ope ex claustris seducta est magna sacerdos.
Omnia per monachum pessima daemon agit.

Ecce videte quid illi mali furciferi faciunt, ipsi neminem
curant, sed per deum sanctum non facit hoc aliud (ut
verissime dixit Alexander) quia semper est de mala 60
consuetudine eorum, quod quicquid fit sic Argentinae,
tunc ipsi tractant de eo et faciunt sic carmina de eo.

Cabbalists were doubtless inspired
in part by the dreams of the Neo-
pythagoreans. See Ginsburg, *The*
Kabbala, 1865.

²⁸ *nigromantia*: a corruption of
necromantia, hence "the black art."

³⁰ *nono*: the Physics contain only
eight books.

⁴⁵ *Iesus*: one Johann Burkhardt, a
Dominican, Dean of Strasburg, whose
scandalous proceedings are suffi-
ciently explained in the text.

⁴⁷ *carministae*. Not elsewhere
found.

⁶⁰ *Alex.* "Ille refert monstrat: non
facit hoc aliud." *Alex., Doctrinale.*

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRO- RUM

Proxime vobis plura scribam de ea re. Valet ex
Schletstat.

LXX

¶ *MAGISTER MALEOLUS in Paradiso, Omni verborum ornatu
reciso,*

*Famosissimo Magistro Ortvino: Qui clamat more asinino
Contra poetas et latinos, Nec non Graecos peregrinos,
5 Omnium Barbarorum defensori, Et Coleniensium praeconi famosiori.*

MIRABILES trufas et egregias nequitias audio de
vobis praedicare, magister Ortvine, quas unquam
in vita mea nunquam per deum sanctum audiui, quas
vos et alii Colonienses magistri nostri (cum supporta-
10 tione) fecistis honestissimo et doctissimo viro domino
Ioanni Reuchlin. Et tamen cum audiui, non scivi in
tantum mirare, quia cum estis bicipites asini et naturales
Philosophi (Vulgo “*natürlich narren, zwenzig zentner
vber ein dollen fantasten*”), Intenditis etiam misere et
15 nebulonice vexare ita pios et doctos viros. Tamen super
hoc incidit michi una singularis miratio quis vos docuit
ita subtiliter pervertere et falsificare ita pias opiniones
probissimi hominis. Sed ego finaliter cogitavi quod non
facit hoc aliud hominum genus [quam hoc] quod Iudas
20 de testiculis scalpsit, quia patrem sequitur sua proles,
ut est Ioannes Pfefferkorn. Et vos omnes estis amici
huius, quia “*schlim schlem similis quaerit sibi similem.*”
Et ergo ad furcas cum Vobis omnibus, ad quas perducatur
vos lictor cum sociis suis, vobis dicentibus “*Orate pro
25 nobis*”! Sed quamquam quoniamquidem illa omnia
vera sint et ideo vobis singulariter ad manus proprias
illa scribo, possitis etiam aliis dicere qui vobiscum sedent
in hac Cathedra pestilentiae, ut dicit Psalmus. Et ne
illa veniant in publicum, Q’ omnis homo sciat quid retro

¹ In this Ep. the satiric mask is torn off, and open scorn and derision of Reuchlin’s opponents are made manifest. Erasmus, referring to the belief of many monks that the E. O. V. were written in good faith and in their defence, says: “*Nec hodie deprehendissent, ni quidam, addita*

epistola, lectorem admonuisset rem non esse seriam.” In the edd. from 1599 to 1858 this Ep. is ascribed to “*Rupertus Cuculus.*”

¹ *Maleolus*: Felix Hämmerlein, 1389–1456. See B. Reber, *Felix Hämmerlin von Zurich*, Zurich, 1846.

²² *schlim*, &c. See Ep. ii. 3.

vis est: sed ad omnes sanctos michi incidit una scrupulatio, 30
et timeo quod Impressor furavit michi unam copiam de
epistola, et si sic est, tunc iuvat vobis deus: tunc ego
non possum resistere; sed tamen ego volo vobis bonum
consilium dare: Orate solum Octo dies continue flexis
gēnibus et invocate ieiunus sanctam Helenam quae in- 35
venit Crucem Domini nostri Ihesu christi. Tunc iterum
ero invenire illam epistolam. Tunc vos iterum bene
stabitis. Ecce videte quod illa facio vobis ex charitate
Fraterna, sicut omnes sumus fratres, et omnia facio vobis
quod etiam homines tenent aliquid de vobis. Valet ex 40
Heydelberga apud Claudicantem Lipsium qui sinit unum
sibi cum naso in culum currere. O utinam vos etiam
essetis cum illo. Tunc non opus esset vobis disponere
unum brillum, Quia ipsi dicunt quod gratis accōmdat
uni. 45

Hoc opus est Impressum Bernae
Ubi quatuor praedicatorum Lucernae:
Illuminaverunt totam Suitensium regionem
Anteq̃ Hochstat vexavit Ioannē Capnionem.

[Romae Stampato con priuilegio del Pa- 50
pa, & confirmato in lugo, qui
Vulgo dicitur, Bel
vedere.]

⁴² *naso*. "Spurcius quam clarius,"
as Böcking well remarks.

⁴⁸ *hoc opus*, &c. In all edd. later

than the second [E.] the four lines of
verse are omitted, and in their place
is the colophon in brackets.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

TO

MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS

OF DEVENTER

For the first time done into English

PART I

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I

¶ *THOMAS LANGSCHNEIDER, duly qualified, albeit unworthy, Bachelor in Theology, sendeth greeting to the supereminent and high-scientifical Herr Ortwin Gratinus of Deventer, Poet, Orator, and Philosopher—Theologian too, and whatsoever else he listeth* ✓

SINCE, as *Aristotle* hath it, “’To enquire concerning all and singular is not unprofitable”; and, as we read in *The Preacher*, “I purposed in my soul to seek and ensearch wisely of all things that are made under the sun,” so I, therefore, am purposed to propound to your worship a question about which I have a doubt.

But first I call the Lord to witness that I seek not to craftily entangle your excellence or your reverence; I do but heartily and sincerely crave of you that you will instruct me on this perplexful matter. For it is written in the Evangel, “Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God,” and *Solomon* saith, “All wisdom is of God.”

Now, it was you who imparted to me all the learning that is mine—and all right learning is the beginning of wisdom—therefore, to speak as a Poet, you stand to me, as it were, in the place of a god, because it was you who imparted to me this beginning of wisdom.

Now, the aforesaid question arose after this manner:—The other day a *Feast of Aristotle* was celebrated here—the Doctors, the Licentiates, and the Magisters were in high feather, and I too was present. To begin with, by way of a whet, we drank three bumpers of Malmsey, and for the first course we had fresh wastel-bread and made sops; and then we had six dishes of meat, and chickens, and capons—and one of

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

fish; and between the courses we ceased not to drink Kotzberger and Rhine wine, and beer of *Eimbeck*, and *Torgau*, and *Naumburg*; and the Magisters were full pleased, and vowed that the new-fledged graduates had acquitted themselves right well, and greatly to their credit.

Then began the Doctors over their cups to argue canonically concerning profundities. And the question arose, whether “magister nostrandus” or “noster magistrandus” is the fitter to denote a candidate eligible for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. (As is now, for example, the mellifluous Father *Theodoric of Gouda*, friar of the Order of Carmelites, most reverend legate of the benign University of *Cologne*—most sagacious Artsman, Philosopher, and syllogiser—and withal Theologian pre-eminent.)

Forthwith made answer Magister *Warmsemmel*, my compatriot—a right subtle Scotist, and a Master of eighteen years’ standing. (He was, in his time, twice rejected and thrice impeded, for the Master’s degree, and yet he resided until, for the honour of the University, he was graduated.)

He knoweth his business right well, and hath many pupils, high and low, young and old; and, speaking with ripeness of knowledge, he held that we should say “nostermagistrandus”—in one word—because “magistrare” signifies to make Master, and “baccalauriare” to make Bachelor, and “doctorare” to make Doctor (whence come the technical terms “magistrand,” “baccalauriand,” and “doctorand”). Now Doctors in Divinity are not styled “Doctors,” but on account of their humility and sanctity, and by way of distinction, are named and styled “Magistri Nostri,” because in the Catholic Faith they stand in the room of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who is the fount of life, and the “Magister” of us all: wherefore are they styled “Magistri Nostri” because it is for them to instruct us in the way of truth—and God is truth.

Rightly, he argued, are they called “our masters,” for it is the bounden duty of us all, as Christians, to hearken to their preachments, and no man may say them nay—wherefore are they the masters of us all.

But “nostro-tras-trare” is not in use, and is found neither in the Vocabulary *Ex Quo*, nor in the *Catholicon*, nor in the *Breviloquus*, nor even in the *Gemma gemmarum*, notwithstanding that this containeth many terms of art.

Thereupon uprose Magister *Andreas Delitzsch*, a very subtle scholar—on the one hand a Poet, and on the other, an Artsman, Physician, and Jurist—who lectureth in ordinary upon *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses*, and explaineth all the fables allegorically and literally (I myself have attended his lectures, by reason that his exposition is mightily fundamental), and he lectureth privately on *Quintilian* and *Juvenius*—and he held, in opposition to Magister *Warmsemmel*, that we should say “magister-nostrandus”; for, as there is a difference between “magisternoster” and “noster magister,” so there is a like difference between “magisternostrandus” and “noster-magistrandus.” Because “magisternoster” signifieth a Doctor of Divinity, and is one word, but “noster magister” consisteth of two words, and is used for a Master in any Liberal Science, whether it concern handicraft or braincraft. And it booteth not that “nostro-tras-trare” is not in use, for we may devise new words—and on this point he quoted *Horace*.

Then the company marvelled greatly at his subtilty, and a tankard of Naumburg beer was handed to him. Quoth he, “Now I wait awhile—but, with your leave!” and, laughing heartily, he touched his cap and pledged Master *Warmsemmel*, saying, “Marry, Herr Magister, think not that I am out with you!” He made but one draught of it, and bravely did Master *Warmsemmel* respond thereto, for the honour of the Silesian “Nation.”

Then all the Magisters waxed merry, till at last the bell rang to Vespers.

I beseech your excellence, therefore, to set forth your opinion, seeing that you are mightily profound, and, as I said at the time, “Magister *Ortwin* will easily unfold the truth of the matter, for he was my teacher at *Deventer*, when I was in the third class.”

Let me know, too, how standeth the strife between Doctor *Johann Reuchlin* and yourself. I have heard, indeed, that the scoundrel, albeit a Doctor and a Jurist, will not yet recant.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Send me also, I prithee, Mag. N. *Arnold von Tongern's* book of "*Articles*," which he hath drawn up; for it is vengeance subtle, and treateth of many theological profundities.

Farewell—and take it not amiss that I write to you thus familiarly, for you told me once on a time that you loved me as a brother, and desired to advance me in all things, even if it should cost you a pretty penny.

LEIPSIC.

II

¶ *MAGISTER JOHANNES PELZER, to
Magister Ortwin Gratius, Greeting*

CORDIAL greeting, and homage beyond belief. Reverend Herr Magister, since, as saith *Aristotle* in his *Categories*, to doubt concerning all and sundry is not unprofitable, know then that there is a matter that giveth me great searchings of heart.

I was lately at *Frankfort* fair, and as I walked along the street with a certain Bachelor, two men met us, who, to all outward appearance, were reputable, and they wore black cassocks and great hoods with lappets. Now, heaven be my witness, I took them for two Doctors of Divinity, and I saluted them, taking off my cap. Thereupon the Bachelor nudged me, and said, "God-a-mercy! what doest thou? Those fellows are Jews, and thou uncoveredst to them!"

Then was I aghast, as though I had seen a devil! And I said, "Herr Bachelor, may the Lord forgive me, for in ignorance I did it! But how think you, is it a heinous sin?" And at first he said that it seemed to him that the sin was mortal, inasmuch as it fell under the head of idolatry, and broke the first commandment of the Ten—"Thou shalt believe in one God." "Because, when any one payeth respect to a Jew or to a heathen, as though he were a Christian, then he withstandeth Christianity, and seemeth to be a Jew or a Pagan himself: the Jews, too, and the Pagans, say, 'Lo, ours is the better way, for the Christians do

us reverence—and unless we were of the better way they would not do us reverence.’ And thus they are confirmed in their own creed, and despise the Christian faith, and will not be baptized.” Then I replied, “That is true enough, when the deed is done wittingly; but I did it in ignorance, and ignorance excuseth sin. For if I had known them to be Jews, and had nevertheless done them reverence, then I should have been deserving of the stake, for it would have been heresy. But, heaven knoweth, neither from word or gesture did I gather that they were Jews, but I thought that they were Doctors.”

Still he declared that it was, nevertheless, a sin, and he added, “I myself was once walking in a church where there was placed a Jew, of wood, before the Saviour, grasping a hammer; and I took it for *St. Peter* with a key in his hand, and I made a genuflexion, and took off my biretta. Then I saw that it was meant for a Jew, and immediately I repented; nevertheless at my confession, when I made it at the monastery of the *Predicants*, my confessor told me that the sin was mortal, because we must ever be heedful; and he told me that he could not have shriven me unless he had had episcopal powers, because it was a reserved case. And he said that if I had erred wilfully, and not through ignorance, it would have been a papal case. Nevertheless I received absolution, because he had episcopal powers. And, by the Lord, I think that if you desire to salve your conscience you ought to make confession to an Official of the Consistory. Ignorance cannot excuse that sin, because you ought to have been vigilant, and the Jews always wear a round yellow patch on their cloaks in front, which you could have seen as well as I; wherefore your ignorance is crass, and of no avail towards absolution of your sin.”

All this the Bachelor told me.

Now, seeing that you are a profound theologian, I beg of you, earnestly and humbly, that you will deign to resolve this my question, and tell me whether this sin is mortal or venial, and mine an ordinary, or an episcopal, or a papal case? Tell me, too, whether it seemeth to you that the citizens of Frankfurt do well in having

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

such a custom as to allow Jews to walk abroad in the garb of Doctors of Divinity. It seemeth to me that it is not right, but a great scandal, that no distinction should be made between Jews and the Doctors; it is mockery of holy Theology. And his Serene Highness the *Emperor* ought in no way to countenance it, that a Jew, who is a dog, and an enemy of *Christ*, should strut about like a Doctor of holy Theology.

I send you herewith a missive from Magister *Bernhard Plumilegus*, commonly called *Federleser*, that he sent me from *Wittenburg*. You know him, for he was your crony at *Deventer*, and he told me that you were right good company. He is still a boon-companion, and sings your praises; and so, farewell, in the name of the Lord.

LEIPSIK.

III

❧ *MAGISTER BERNHARD FEDERLESER*
sendeth many greetings to Magister Ortwin Gratinus

“**W**RETCHED is the mouse that hath but one hole;” and this saw, by your favour, I can apply to myself, Reverend Sir, for I should be undone if I had but one friend, and when he betrayed me there was none other to play a friend’s part.

You must know that there is a certain Poet here, *Georg Sibutus* by name, who is reckoned among the Secular Poets, and lectureth publicly on the Humanities, and is withal a boon-companion. However, as you know, these Poets, when they are not theologers too, as you are, are ever carping at others, and vilifying the Theologians. Now it fell out at a junketing at his house, when we sat drinking Torgau beer till the third hour, that I was half-seas-over because that same beer had risen into my head. ✓

Now there was a fellow there who was at loggerheads with me, but I pledged him in a modest cup, and he took the greeting, but, after, he would not do me right. Thrice I challenged him, and he would not respond, but sat mute and mumchance. Then think I to myself, “See now,

this fellow smoketh you, he giveth himself airs, and is always seeking to put you down !” And I was so moved with wrath that I took up the tankard and smote him on the pate.

Then the Poet flew into a rage, and said that I made a tumult in his house ; and he bade me begone in the Devil’s name.

Then quoth I, “ What care I tho’ you are my enemy ? I have had enemies to the full as curst as you, and yet I’ve worsted them. And what tho’ you are a Poet ? I have Poets who are friends of mine, and they are just as good as you. To the jakes with your poetry ! What do you take me for ? Thinkest thou I’m a gowk, or that I grew on a tree, like an apple ? ”

Thereupon he called me an ass, and said that I had never seen a Poet.

Then cried I, “ There’s an ass in your own hide ! I’ve seen a sight more Poets than you ! ”

Then I held forth about you, and about Doctor *von Zutphen* of *Kuijk* Hostel, who compiled the Commentary, and about Domine *Roger* the Licentiate in Divinity at *De Monte* Hostel—and with that I flung out of the house, and we are at feud to this day.

Now, therefore, I beg most earnestly that you will send me but an exemplar of your art, and I will flourish it before that Poet and the rest, and I will make boast that you are my friend, and a sight better Poet than he.

Be sure you tell me what Domine *Johann Pfefferkorn* is doing ; whether he still maintaineth his quarrel with Doctor *Reuchlin*, and whether you still take up the cudgels on his behalf, and send me some news. Farewell in Christ.

IV

¶ *MAGISTER JOHANN KANNEGIESZER*
to *Magister Ortwijn Gratius* hearty greetings

REVEREND HERR MAGISTER—seeing that we have oftentimes played the fool in company, and that it irketh you not a whit to hear tell of a

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

pleasantry such as that I have in store for you, I have no fear that you will take it amiss if I relate a merry jest—for you send the like to me.

You will laugh, I trow, for it is a mighty fine affair. There was here of late one of the Preaching Friars—he was not ill-versed in Theology, a cunning syllogiser, and he had many patrons.

This Predicant, Herr *Georg* by name, was formerly at *Halle*, and then he came hither and held forth for full half a year, upbraiding in his preachments men of all sorts and conditions, even the Prince himself and his courtiers. He was, nevertheless, at the board a hail-fellow and of good cheer, who tossed off his drams and bumpers with the rest; but whenever of an evening he drank deep with us, he failed not the next morning to preach about us, saying, “Thus do the Magisters in this University sit swilling the live-long night, fleering and fooling with their boon-companions, whose ways they ought to mend, whereas they do but entice them to evil:” and before now he hath put me to very shame.

At the last I waxed wroth with him, and cast about in my mind how I might be even with him—but I could not devise a means.

One day it was told me how that Predicant was wont to go by night to a certain woman, and abuse her, and, after, sleep with her. Hearing this, I straightway collected a band of collegers, and at about ten of the clock we went to the house, and brake into it; whereupon the monk, desiring to escape, found no time to bear away his garments, but leapt stark from the window; and I laughed till I had well-nigh pickled myself, and cried out, “Herr Predicant, take thy pontificals with thee!”

Then my comrades without rolled him in the mire and in the water, till I stayed them and told them to use moderation. Nevertheless I lent them my aid; and we all had knowledge of the wench.

And thus was I even with that monk, and never again hath he preached about me!

But you must not blab this forth to others, for the *Preaching Friars* are now your allies against Doctor

I. 5] JOHANNES STRAUZSFEDER

Reuchlin, and they are the defenders of the Church and the Catholic Faith against those secular poets.

I could wish that the monk had been of some other Order, seeing that of all the Orders 'tis the one that worketh the greatest marvels.

Now must you, in turn, indite a merry tale, and be not angered with me. Fare thee well.

WITTENBERG.

V

☞ JOHANNES STRAUZSFEDER to
Ortwin Gratius

ABUNDANT greetings—and gooddens as many as there are stars in heaven and fishes in the sea.

I would have you know that I am hearty, and my mother too. Right glad should I be to hear the like concerning you, for at least once in every day do I think of your worship.

And now you shall learn, an it please you, of the incredible carryings-on of a certain nobleman here. May the devil confound him world without end—for he vilified Herr Magister *Peter Meyer*, at table, before many gentlemen and noblemen; and not one drop of deference did he manifest, but he was that haughty that I marvelled. “Go to!” said he, “Doctor *Reuchlin* hath deeper learning than thou!” and he snapped his fingers at him.

Then Magister *Peter* replied: “I’ll be hanged if that is true! Holy Mary! Doctor *Reuchlin* is a mere child in theology—a child knows more theology than Doctor *Reuchlin*. Holy Mary! mark my words, for I have experience, and he knows not a whit of the Book of Sentences. Holy Mary! there’s subtle stuff for you! Thou canst not pick that up like grammar and poetry! I could easily become a poet if I would, and I should know well enough how to turn a verse, because at *Leipsic* I heard read *Sulpitius* on the quantities of syllables. But what is that to the purpose? Let him propound me a thesis in theology, and argue *pro et*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

contra." Then he shewed by a multitude of proofs that no man could attain a perfect knowledge of theology save through the holy spirit, and that the holy spirit was the well-spring of that art, and that poetry is the food of the devil, as saith *Jerome* in his Epistles.

Then the zany declared that to be a lie, and that Doctor *Reuchlin* had the holy spirit too, and was duly qualified in theology, seeing that he had written a right theological book (*I know not what its name may be*), and thereafter he called Magister *Peter* a beast. And then he swore that Magister *Hoogstraten* was naught but a mumping, cheese-begging friar, and so set the table on a roar; but I cried that it was a shameful thing that a mere student should behave so irreverently towards a Doctor of Divinity.

Thereupon Doctor *Peter* was so wrath that he rose from the table, and, quoting the Evangel, said: "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil!" And I cried: "Swallow that!" and was overjoyed because he had so roundly trounced that braggart.

You must persevere in your undertaking, and must defend theology as you were wont—and you must have no respect for any man, for are you not qualified?

If I knew how to write verses as thou dost, I would not heed even the prince if he went about to slay me.

I hate those Jurists, too, who strut up and down in red boots and marten-fur cloaks, and make not the obeisance, that would be fitting, to the Magisters and Doctors.

Now I entreat you, humbly but affectionately, that you will explain to me how the matter standeth at *Paris* concerning the *Augenspiegel*. God grant that the University of *Paris*, that *alma mater*, will hold with you, and will burn that heretical book—for it containeth many heretical things, as Magister *von Tongern* hath declared.

I have heard that Magister *von Zutphen*, of *Kneck Hostel*, who compiled the notable commentary on the four parts of *Alexander*, is dead. I trust, however, that this is not true, for he was an eminent man and a profound grammarian, and was far more skilled than these new poetising grammaticasters.

Be pleased to salute, on my behalf, Magister *Remigius*, for he was formerly my class-master, and oftentimes would chide me roundly, saying: "You are a goose, and will not study how to become a good disputant." And I would say: "Most excellent Herr Magister, I will do better in future." And then he would sometimes send me away, and sometimes give me sound chastisement: in those days I was so submissive that I would willingly endure correction for my faults.

And now I have no more to write, save that I hope you will live for a hundred years. Fare thee well in peace.

MAINZ.

VI

☞ NIKOLAUS ZIEGENMELKER, *Bachelor,*
to Magister Ortwin Gratius

ABUNDANT greetings, with mighty respect to your worthiness, as is but meet in addressing your magistrality.

Reverend Herr Magister, you must know that there is a notable question that I desire, or entreat, to be by you magistrally determined.

There is a certain Grecian here who readeth in *Urban's Grammar*, and whenever he writeth Greek he always putteth tittles atop.

Thereupon I said, a little while ago, "Magister *Ortwin* of *Deventer* also handleth Greek Grammar, and he is as well qualified therein as that fellow, and yet he never maketh tittles so: and I trow he knoweth his business as well as that Grecian—ay, and can put him to rights." Nevertheless some distrusted me in this matter, wherefore my friends and fellow-students besought me to write to your worthiness so that you might make it known to me whether we ought to put tittles or no. And if we ought not to put them, then, by the Lord, we will roundly harry that Grecian, and bring it to pass that his hearers shall be but few!

Of a truth I took note of you at Cologne, in *Heinrich Quentell's* house, when you were reader, and had to correct Greek, that you would strike out all the tittles

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that were above the letters and say, "Of what use are these fiddle-faddles?" And it hath just come into my mind that you must have had some ground for this, or you would not have done it.

You are a marvellous man, and God hath given you a large measure of grace, so that you know somewhat of all things knowable. You must praise God, therefore, in your metrification, and the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints.

Prithee, take it not amiss if I weary your mightiness with such questions as these, seeing that it is for edification that I propound them. Farewell.

LEIPSIK.

VII

¶ *M. PETRUS HAFENMUSIUS sendeth Greetings innumerable to M. Ortuinus Gratinus*

REVEREND HERR MAGISTER, an I had pelf and great substance, I would give you, believe me in good earnest, no small guerdon to resolve for me the question that I am going to propose.

Nevertheless, since, at present, I possess not "sheep and oxen and all the beasts of the field," but have not a doit, I cannot recompense you for your exposition. Yet I pledge my word that when I am beneficed—and I am even now a candidate for a vicarship—I will do you signal honour.

Tell me, then, whether it be necessary to eternal salvation, for scholars to learn their grammar out of the profane poets, such as *Virgil, Tully, Pliny*, and the rest?

Methinks that to study in this wise is blameworthy, for, as saith *Aristotle* in the First of *The Metaphysics*, "Many are the feignings of the poets." But those who feign, sin; and those who base their learning upon falsehoods, base it upon sin; and whatsoever is based upon sin, resisteth God, because God is the enemy of sin.

Now poetry containeth falsehoods, and therefore those who commence their studies with poetry cannot advance in virtue, for from an evil root springeth an

evil plant, and a corrupt tree bringeth forth corrupt fruit, according to the Evangel, wherein the Saviour saith, "A good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit."

I well remember the monition that Doctor *Valentin von Geltersheim*, of *De Monte* Hostel, gave me when I was his pupil, and desired to attend lectures on *Sallust*. "Wherefore art thou fain to read *Sallust*, thou rebel?" he asked. And I told him that Magister *Johann of Breslau* said that one could learn to write correct theses out of such like poets.

Then said he, "A fiddlestick! You must needs be well drilled in *Alexander's* 'Parts,' and the Epistles of *Carolus*, which are taught in the Grammar School. I never read *Sallust*, and yet I can write theses in verse and prose."

And so Doctor *Valentin* brought it about that I never read the Poets. And now these humanists pester me with their new-fangled Latin, and laugh to scorn the good old books—*Alexander*, and *Remigius*, and *Joannes de Garlandia*, and the *Cornutus*, and the *Composita Verborum*, and Master *Paul Schneevogel* his Complete Letter-writer. They tell such thumping lies, too, that I cross myself when I hear them. Just now one of these fellows said that in some country there is a river called the *Tagus*, which hath golden sands! But I whistled to myself, for that could not be.

Now I well know you to be a poet, but I cannot tell whence you learned that art. I have heard say that when you are so minded you can turn out a screed of verses in an hour. But I suppose that your intellect is illuminated by the grace of the Holy Spirit from above, so that you know this art and all else, for you have ever been a steadfast theologer and have trounced those heathens.

Gladly would I send you some news if I knew any, but I have heard none, save that the Dominican friars and priests here can give absolution, *a poena et a culpa*, to any one who hath confessed and is contrite; and they hold papal letters as well.

Write to me, for I am thy humble servant. Farewell.

NUREMBERG.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

VIII

❧ *FRANZ GÄNSEPREDIGER to Magister
Ortwin Gratius*

GREETING, of ponderosity to make a thousand talents kick the beam.

Reverend Herr Magister, you must know that there is a mighty buzz here concerning you, and the theologers applaud you hugely because you pay no heed to any man, and have written in defence of the faith against Doctor *Reuchlin*.

Howbeit certain doltish fellows here—and those jurists too who are not enlightened in the Christian faith—scoff at you and say all manner of things against you; but they are of small account, for the Faculty of Theology upholdeth you. And lately, when those books found their way here which are intituled “*Acta Parisiensium*,” straightway almost all the Magisters bought them and were mightily pleased. Thereupon I myself bought the books and sent them to *Heidelberg*, that they may be read there.

And I trow that when the *Heidelbergers* see them they will rue that they did not join hands with the benign University of *Cologne* against Doctor *Reuchlin*.

Moreover I learn that the University of *Cologne* hath made a statute ordaining that never, world without end, will it grant a degree to any man who has qualified as Bachelor or Master at *Heidelberg*. And a good thing too; for this will learn them what the University of *Cologne* is, and to take part with her another time. Would that you had dealt so with the rest, but I ween the other Universities knew naught of the matter, and you spared them on the score of ignorance.

A friend has given me some mighty pretty verses which you must have published in the University of *Cologne*. I have shewn them to the Magisters and Doctors, and they were highly lauded. And to your glory I have sent them to many parts, for am I not on your side?

And here they follow, that you may know what I mean:—

“ Pravities heretical—fain are you to learn ’em?
 Phrases Latinistical—vultis you to turn ’em?
 Then by you buyenda the Parisians’ *Acta*,
 And the scripta newly in *Lutetia facta*!
 Telling how Herr *Reuchlin* from the Faith erravit,
 As Magister noster *Arnold* well probavit:
 And Magister *Ortwin* soon will lecture, gratis,
 On them, to the members Universitatis.
 Et cum on the textum he hath done enlarging,
 Tum the pretty postils jotting in the margin.
 Pro he first will argufy—contra then, profoundly,
 Sicut the theologers who in Paris roundly
 Swore Doctorem *Reuchlin* and his dissertation,
Oculare Speculum, worthy of damnation!
 This the brethren understand—fratres *Carmelitæ*—
 Sciunt too the others—clept the *Jacobitæ*.”

I marvel how you can conceive such things. You are wondrously skilful in your craft, and there is in your compositions such a dulcitude that I snicker for very joy when I read aught that you have written. I ever hope that your life may be long and that your fame may continue to wax as it hath to this day, inasmuch as your writings are of much profit.

May God keep you and quicken you, and not deliver you into the hands of your enemies, as saith the Psalmist: “Grant thee thy heart’s desire, and fulfil all thy mind.”

Write also to me concerning your doings, for joyfully do I hear and regard all your deeds and actions. And so, farewell.

FREIBURG.

IX

❧ *MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU to
 Magister Ortwin Gratius*

GREETING. Seeing that it is written in *Ecclesiastes XI*: “Rejoice, O young man, be glad in thy youth,” I therefore am of jocund heart; and you must know that I have prospered in love affairs,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and have had much dalliance.] Doth not *Ezekiel* say: "Nunc fornicabitur in fornicatione sua"? And wherefore may I not sometimes purge my reins? I am no angel, but a man—and to err is human. Even you go a-wenching now and then, albeit you are a Theologer, for you cannot always lie alone; as saith *Ecclesiastes III.*: "If two lie together, then they have heat, but how can one be warm?"

Give me tidings of your doxy, how she doth. A fellow told me lately that when he was at *Cologne* you were at odds with her, and beat her because she, by ill hap, was not of your opinion. I marvel, indeed, that you could thus smite a comely woman: I should have wept to see it. You ought rather to have told her to do so no more, and she would have turned over a new leaf and been all the more buxom at even-tide. When you expounded *Ovid* to us you told us that we should never strike women, and you cited the Scriptures concerning this matter.

I am well content if my wench is blithe and not grudging to me; and when I visit her I am the like, and we make good cheer, and drink beer and wine—for wine maketh glad the heart of man, but grief drieth up the bones. Now and then I am angered with her—but she giveth me a buss, and straightway we are at one, and she crieth, "Be of good cheer, Herr Magister!"

Not long ago it had come into my mind to pay her a visit, when I met a young chapman quitting her house—his points untrussed, and beads on his brow—and methought he had had dealings with her. This, in some measure, irked me, but she swore that the chapman had not laid hands on her, and had but desired to sell her some linen to make shifts. "Good," said I, "and when are you going to give me a shirt?" Thereupon she asked me to give her two florins, wherewith to pay for the linen, and then she would give me a shirt. Just then I had no money, but I sought out a friend who lent it to me, and I gave it to her.

Let a man ever be merry, say I. The physicians say it is wholesome for a man to be merry without ceasing. There is a certain Magister here who is always crabbed and never merry, and hence it falleth out that he is

always sick. He is for ever chiding me, and telling me that I ought not to set my affections on women, for that they are devils, and bring men to destruction, and are abominable, and that no woman is chaste, and that to consort with a woman is as bad as consorting with a devil, and that they allow a man no peace. Then said I, "Cry you mercy, Herr Magister, but your mother was a woman!" And with that I left him.

He hath been preaching too, of late, that priests should in no wise maintain concubines, and he declared that bishops are guilty of mortal sin when they take milk-tithes, and wink at priests consorting with their hand-maidens, whereas they ought to drive them forth one and all.

Be this as it may, we must sometimes be merry and have to do with a wench, when nobody is the wiser; after, we can make confession; and the Lord is merciful, wherefore we hope for forgiveness.

Herewith I send you a certain writing in defence of *Alexander Gallus*—that grammarian time-honoured and trusty, notwithstanding that the "Poets" of to-day scoff at him: but they know not what they say, for *Alexander* is the best of all, as you were wont to tell me when we were at *Deventer*. A certain Magister here gave me the tractate, but I wot not where he obtained it. Would that you might have it printed, and then would you make the "Poets" rage furiously, for the author trounces them roundly. And it is so poetically composed that it passeth! He that wrote it was a pretty poet and Theologer withal, and he holdeth not with the secular poets—such as Doctor *Reuchlin*, *Buschius*, and the rest.

No sooner had that document been put into my hands than I promised myself to send it to you, that you might read it. If you have any news give me knowledge of it. Farewell, in love unfeigned.

LEIPSIC.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

X

¶ *JOHANN ARNOLDI* sendeth many greetings
to *Magister Ortwin Gratius*

FORASMUCH as, and seeing that, you at all times would fain learn the news, according to that dict of *Aristotle*: "All men by nature crave after knowledge"; wherefore I, therefore, *Johann Arnoldi*, your disciple and humble servant, send herewith to your mightiness, or your honour, a libel that a certain cullion here hath clouted up to malign Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn* of Cologne—a man beyond all doubt of properest probity.

I was mightily wrath, but could not hinder him so that he should not print it, because the rascal hath here many patrons, even nobles, who strut about the streets like mountebanks, girt with long swords. Nevertheless I averred that this thing was not seemly, because, mark my words, these same secular poets will stir up branglings without end with their metrifications, if our Magisters do not take heed, and do not straightway cite them before the Roman Court, by the hand of *Magister Jakob van Hoogstraten*. I fear, moreover, that there will arise a mighty pudder among the faithful.

I entreat you, therefore, to write a book against this scandalmonger, and put him to confusion: and another time he will not be so foolhardy as to molest the Magisters.

The fellow is a mere student, neither graduated nor qualified in Jurisprudence or Arts—but he hath kept residence at *Bologna*, where there are herds of these same secular poets, neither enlightened in the faith nor defenders thereof. A little while ago he sat at the board and averred that the Magisters at *Cologne* and *Paris* were persecuting Doctor *Reuchlin*. Then I argued in the contrary sense, whereupon he turned upon me with many objurgations and railings, so that I rose from the table and called all the company to witness how I was shent—and I had no stomach for a morsel of victuals.

Now, prithee, give me counsel in the matter afore-said, for you are even, in some sort, a jurist.

I have made up some verses, and I send them to you herewith. *A Choriambi-hexametri-sapphiambic-asclepiadic-endecasyllabic-elegiac-dicolie Distrophe*:—

"He who a perfect Catholic would be,
 Must aye with the Parisians agree—
 Because
 Of every other
 Their University is mother;
Cologne the sacred, ranks as second,
 And bulwark of the Faith is reckoned—
 To this
 If any man say 'Nay,'
 He the penalty must pay;
 Doctor *Reuchlin*, to wit,
Augenspiegel who writ;
 Whom *Arnold* of *Tongern*, magisternoster,
 Unmasked as an heretical impostor—
 As did Master *Hoogstraten*, not least though the last,
 Who into the fire *The Eyeglass* did cast!"

Had I but materials, I would compose a tome against that windbag, and prove that he is *de facto* excommunicate.

I have no further leisure for writing, for I must needs hie to lecture, where a Magister handleth *pro et con* very subtle opinions on ancient philosophy, and I listen—to finish my course.

Fare ye well, above all my comrades and friends here and everywhere and in all places of honest report.

XI

❧ CORNELIUS FENSTERMACHER to
Magister Ortwin Gratius, many greetings

GREETINGS as many as are the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea. Reverend Herr Magister, I encounter here much strife and brangling with certain lewd fellows who boast that they are lettered, and yet have read not Logic, the Science of Sciences.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

And I have lately said mass with the brethren, "*De Spiritu Sancto*," that God might give me his grace and a good memory for syllogisms in disputing with these fellows that only know Latinizing and how to compose themes. And into that mass was foisted a collect for Magister *van Hoogstraten*, and Magister *Arnold von Tongern*, Regent of *St. Lawrence* Hostel, that they may conduct to the goal of refutation a certain Doctor of Laws hight *Johann Reuchlin*, a secular poet and an arrogant man withal, who putteth himself, in opposition to four Universities, on the side of the Jews, and frameth propositions most scandalous and offensive to pious ears—as *Johann Pfefferkorn* hath demonstrated, and Magister *Arnold*. And all the while he is not grounded in speculative Theology, nor versed in *Aristotle*, nor in *Petrus Hispanus*. And on this account the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* have condemned him to the stake—failing recantation. I have seen the missive and the seal of the Dean of the Holy Faculty of Theology at *Paris*.

One of the Magisters, deeply versed in Sacred Theology and enlightened in the faith, who is member of four universities, and who hath more than a hundred treatises on "The Sentences," in the which he groundeth himself, hath openly declared that Doctor *Johann Reuchlin* cannot escape, and that the Pope himself dareth not give a decision adverse to so pious a University, seeing that his Holiness is no theologian, and doth not understand the "Contra Gentiles" of the blessed *Thomas*—albeit it is rumoured that he is versed in poetics. A Magister who is a priest at *St. Martin's* showed me a letter in which that University promiseth in most friendly fashion real and earnest help to her sister of *Cologne*. And yet these Latinists presume to run counter to them.

A little while ago I sojourned at *Mainz*, at the sign of "The Crown," where two braggarts annoyed me greatly, calling the Doctors of *Paris* and *Cologne* idiots and fools! And they said that the books written on The Sentences were mere moonshine, and in like manner they declared that the "Processus" and the "Copulata," and the "Reparationes" were all balderdash! There-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Unknown to them the *Seraph Doctor*—he
Without whose lore none can Physician be;
The *Holy Doctor* is to them unknown,
Who *Porphyry* and the *Stagirite* alone
Expoundeth with a comment ever true—
Predicaments and predicables too,
The Universals five, and Moral Rules
Of *Aristotle* fitting for the Schools.

Such things new-fangled Poets all ignore,
And hence inanely jabber all the more;
As did these windbags, braggart and loquacious,
Against our Masters, with words contumacious:
Let but *Hoogstraten* nab them, and 'tis plain
The faithful they will never plague again!

Fare ye well, and salute for me with all reverence
the worshipful Magisternosters *Arnold von Tongern*,
Remigius, *Valentin von Geltersheim*, Herr *Jakob von Gouda*,
of the order of Preachers—most subtle poet—
and the rest.

XII

¶ *MAGISTER HILDEBRAND MAM-
MACEUS* to *Magister Ortwin Gratius*, Greeting

DEARLY beloved Herr *Ortwin*! I cannot indite
to you an epistle curiously composed according
to the precepts of "The Art of Letter-writing," for time
doth not allow of this; wherefore I am constrained
briefly, and in a few words, to make manifest the nature
of the matter in hand—for I desire with your aid to dis-
entangle a prodigious difficulty. The affair standeth thus:
—You must know that there is a terrifying rumour afoot
here, and it is in all men's mouths, that at the Roman
Court the cause of the Theologers is in evil case. For
they say that the Pope is minded to confirm the sentence
pronounced a year ago at *Spires* in favour of Doctor
Reuchlin!

When this came to my ears I had such a fright that
I could not utter a word, but became like a dumb man,
and I slept not for two whole nights. But *Reuchlin's*
friends make merry, and strut hither and thither, bruiting
this report. As for me, I should not have given heed to

the thing without I had seen a letter from one of the Order of Preachers—a Magister—in which he related the tidings in sore anguish. He wrote withal that the Pope hath allowed the *Augenspiegel* to be printed at Court, and the booksellers to vend it, and every man to read it! Thereupon Magister *Hoogstraten* made petition to leave *Rome*, and would fain plead poverty. But the Judges would not let him go, declaring that he must await the issue, and, moreover, that he could not plead poverty, seeing that he arrived at *Rome* with three horses, and while at the Court had guests at his table, and dispensed much money, and had bestowed many gifts upon the Cardinals and Bishops and Assessors of the Consistory—wherefore it was not possible for him to plead destitution.

Holy Mary! what are we to do next, if Theology is thus insulted, so that a single Jurist is able to prevail against all the Theologers? I verily fear me that the Pope is no good Christian—for if he were a good Christian it would be impossible for him not to uphold the Theologers. If, moreover, the Pope pronounceth judgment against the Theologers, it seemeth to me that an appeal to a Council might be made; for a Council is above a Pope, and, in a Council, Theology hath a precedence over the other faculties. And then I trust the Lord will show his loving-kindness, and look upon his servants the Theologers, and not permit their foes to triumph over them, and will give us the grace of his holy spirit to enable us to surpass the fallacies of these heretics.

A certain Jurist lately declared that it hath been prophesied that the *Order of Preachers* would perish, and that out of that Order would proceed grievous offences against the Christian Faith—such as never were heard of before. But grant that this may be far from the truth! For that Order is right profitable, and if it were not for that Order I know not how Theology would endure—for the *Dominicans* are more deeply immersed in Theology than the *Minorites* or the *Augustinians*, and follow the way of the *Holy Doctor*, who never erred. They have, too, many saints of their Order, and are bold in disputation against heretics.

I marvel how it cometh about that Magister *Jakob*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

van Hoogstraten cannot plead poverty, seeing that he is one of a mendicant Order, who are all manifestly poor. If it were not that I fear excommunication, I would say that the Pope erred on this point. Moreover I do not believe it to be true that Magister *Jakob* dispensed money in that fashion, or bestowed gifts, because he is a mighty zealous man; and it is my belief that those Jurists and the rest concoct this gossip, and that Doctor *Reuchlin* knoweth how to wheedle them, for I have heard that many burgs, and princes, and persons of quality have written letters on his behalf.

Now the reason of this is that they are not grounded in Theology, and do not understand how the case standeth—otherwise they would bid the devil take that heretic—for a heretic he is, though the whole world should hold the contrary. You must forthwith explain matters to the Magisters at *Cologne*, that they may take counsel. Write and tell me what they intend to do. Farewell in Christ.

TÜBINGEN.

XIII

¶ *MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU to
Magister Ortwin, Greeting*

YOU have sent me word that you no longer have any mind to wantonness, nor to consort with woman-kind—save once in a month, or, maybe, twice—yet I marvel that you can write such things. Full well do I know to the contrary. There is a student here who hath just arrived from *Cologne*—you know him right well, he was ever in your company—and he saith that you are intimate with *Johann Pfefferkorn's* wife. He declared this to be true, and made oath, and I believe him. For you are a squire of dames, and know how to wheedle them—besides, you have *Ovid's* “*Art of Love*” by rote! A certain merchant did tell me, too, that Magister *Arnold von Tüngern* was in the lady's good graces as well. But this is false, for I know of a truth that he is a virgin, and hath never bussed a wench. But even if he had done, or were to do, what I cannot believe of

him, that would not make him a bad man, for to err is human. You send me whole screeds about that sin—which is not the worst sin in the world—and you quote texts without end. I very well know that it is not a virtue, and yet it is recorded in Holy Writ that certain men thus erred, and yet were saved. *Samson*, to wit, had dealings with a bona-roba, and nevertheless the spirit of the Lord afterwards came upon him. I can syllogize against you thus:—"Whosoever is not unrighteous receiveth the holyspirit; but *Samson* was not unrighteous, ergo, he received the holy spirit." I can prove the major premiss—for it is written, "Into an unrighteous soul the spirit of wisdom shall not enter; but the holy spirit is the spirit of wisdom, ergo, &c." The minor premiss is manifest, for if that sin of incontinence is so grave, then the spirit of the Lord would not have come upon *Samson*, as it is told us in the *Book of Judges*. We read, too, of *Solomon*, how he had three hundred queens, and concubines without number—and he was prince of gallants to his dying day. Nevertheless, the Doctors, with one accord, declare that he found salvation. What then? I am not stronger than *Samson*, nor wiser than *Solomon*, and so I must needs be wanton, once and again, Moreover the physicians say it is sovrán against melancholy. Fie! what booteth it that you cite those dumpish fathers! What saith *The Preacher*? "I know that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works." Wherefore, with *Solomon*, I say to my doxy: "Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse: thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck. How beautiful are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse. Thy bosom is fairer than wine—" and so forth.

By the Lord, courting the lasses is merry sport! As that Ode of *Samuel* the poet saith:—

"Fail not, jolly cleric, merry maids amare,
Flattering busses knowing how to you preastare—
So contriving, many a day, youth's flower conservare!"

"Amor is love, and God is love—therefore Amor is not a bad thing!" Answer me that argument. And *Solomon* saith: "If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned."

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

But enough of this ; let us turn to other matters.

You bid me send you some news—so you must know that there were high jinks here in Lent. There were joustings, and the Prince himself rode in the *Platz*, and he had a fine horse, and a fine saddle-cloth too, upon which was painted a woman in brave attire, and near her sitting a youth, with curly locks, who played an organ to her, as saith the *Psalmist* : “ Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the name of the Lord.” And when the Prince had entered the town, the University enthroned him with great pomp, and the burghers brewed lashings of beer, and set forth toothsome fare, and royally feasted the Prince and all his train. And afterwards they fell to dancing, and I stood on a scaffold to look on. I can call to remembrance nothing else, save that I wish you all good wishes. So fare ye well, in the name of the Lord.

LEIPSIK.

XIV

¶ *MAGISTER JOHANN KRABACIUS* sendeth greeting to *Magister Ortwein Gratinus*

SEEING that I was formerly for two years with your Excellency at *Cologne*, and that you bade me always write to you, wheresoever I might be, I therefore now make bold to announce to you that I have heard of the death of a most illustrious Theologian—denominated *Magister Heckman* of *Franconia*. He was a topping Divine, and in my time was Rector there [at *Vienna*]. He was a profound dialectician after the school of the Scotists, and was the foe of all the secular poets ; he was a man of zeal withal, and right willingly would celebrate a mass. Moreover, when he held the Rectorship at *Vienna* he ruled the undergraduates with a rod of iron, and therein was most laudable. A certain fellow once came from *Moravia* when I was at *Vienna*, who was by way of being a poet, for he wrote verses, and he must needs teach the art of metrification—but he was not matriculate. Thereupon *Magister Heckman* inhibited him ; but the rascal was so impudent that he paid

no heed to the mandate. Then the Rector inhibited the undergraduates that they should not attend his lectures ; and then the fellow forced his way to the Rector and said many insolent words to him, and thou'd him ! Then the Rector sent for the University beadles, and essayed to imprison him, because it was mightily scandalous that a mere student should "thou" the Rector of a University and a Doctor of Divinity : besides I hear that the fellow is neither Bachelor nor Master, and is in no way either qualified or graduated, though he strutted about like a warrior who was going to march to war, and he wore a helmet, and a long knife by his side. Nevertheless, by the Lord, he would have been clapped in gaol if he had not had friends in the city. I greatly grieve if it be true that such a man as Magister *Heckman* is dead, for he did me many a good turn when I was at *Vienna*, and so I have written an epitaph on him, as followeth :—

He who in this tomb doth lie
Was the Poets' enemy,
Minded aye to send them flying,
When their craft they would be plying !
One from out *Moravia* came,
Who could no precedence claim,
Metre-spinning fain to teach,
And, his lawless end to reach,
Thou'd the Rector to his face—
Jail for him the proper place !
Now that the good Rector's dead,
And in *Wien* is buri-ed,
Grudge not, of your charity,
Paternosters two or three.

A messenger hath brought us tidings which, if true, are ill indeed—to wit, that your cause goeth amiss at the Roman court. This I cannot believe, for these messengers tell a pack of lies.

The Poets murmur sorely against you, and say that they will defend Doctor *Reuchlin* with their verses. But since you are likewise a poet—when you are so minded—I think you will easily get the better of them. Nevertheless, prithee let me know how the business goeth ; and then, if I can aid you, you will find in me a faithful helpmate. Farewell.

NUREMBERG.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XV

❧ *WILHELM SCHERENSCHLEIFER*
sendeth greeting to Master Ortwin Gratius

I MARVEL greatly, Reverend Sir, why you write not to me, and nevertheless write to others who write not to you as often as I write to you.

If you are in dudgeon with me, and will not write to me again, at the least write and tell me why you will not write to me again, that I might know why you write not, although I am ever writing to you—as I am writing to you now, although I know you will not write back.

But I beseech you from my heart's core that you will yet write to me; and when you have written to me once then I will write ten times to you, because I gladly write to my friends, and I love to exercise myself in writing, so as to be able to finely indite tractates and letters.

I cannot think what is the reason why you write not to me. Lately, when there were some folk here from *Cologne*, I groped them and asked them, "What is Master *Ortwin* about, that he doth not write to me? He hath not written for two years; but bid him write to me, for I would rather read his letters than eat honey. And on a time he was my chiefest friend."

I asked them, too, how you sped in that controversy with Doctor *Reuchlin*. And they replied that that Jurist well knew how to circumvent you with his craft. And then I wished that the Lord would give you his grace that you might triumph.

If you do write to me, you might write to me about that affair, for I would gladly know more concerning it. The Jurists strut about here and say, "Doctor *Reuchlin* doeth well, and the Theologians at *Cologne* have used him ill."

And, by the Lord, I fear me that a great scandal will befall the Church if that book, "*The Eyeglass*," be not burnt.

For it containeth many irreverent propositions in opposition to the Catholic faith. And if that Jurist is not compelled to recant them, then others will try to write after the same fashion about questions of Theology, although they know naught of the matter, and follow neither *Thomas*, nor *Albertus*, nor *Scotus*, and are not enlightened in the faith by the Holy Spirit.

For every one should cleave to his own business, and none should put his sickle into another man's corn. Because a cobbler is a cobbler, and a tailor is a tailor, and a smith is a smith; and it would go ill with a tailor who tried to make shoes and slippers.

You must stoutly defend both yourself and sacred Theology, and I will pray on your behalf that God will grant you his grace, and will enlighten your mind, as he did that of the Fathers of old, lest the Devil and his meiny should prevail against justice.

Nevertheless for God's sake write to me, and tell me how you speed. You cause me great anguish, albeit there is no need. And now I commend you to the Lord. Farewell, in Christ.

FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN.

XVI

❧ *MATTHÄUS HONIGLECKER to
Magister Ortwin Gratius, Greeting*

INASMUCH as I have ever been your worship's adherent, and have ever wrought on your behoof, I now take upon myself to premonish you in a time of trouble—for in your prosperity will I rejoice, and in your adversity will I lament. Are you not my friend? And it beseemeth us to exult when our friends prosper, and to sorrow when they mourn—as saith *Tully*, notwithstanding that he is a pagan and a poet.

I must tell you, therefore, that you have here a most malicious enemy, who uttereth many slanders against your worship, and he noiseth abroad many matters, exalting himself in his pride. And he averreth

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

to all and sundry that you are a bastard—that your mother is a drab, and your father a priest. But I stood up for you and said: “Herr Bachelor—or whatever your degree may be—you are still a young man, and you ought not to slander the Magisters. For what saith the scripture? ‘The disciple is not above the master,’ and you are yet a disciple, while Herr *Ortwein* is a Master of eight or ten years’ standing. You are therefore not competent to slander one who is a Magister and in such an exalted position; but you will find some one to slander you, notwithstanding that you are so high and mighty. You should use more modesty, and not be of such behaviour.” Then quoth he: “I am speaking sooth, and I can prove my words, and I heed you not a whit; I say that *Ortwein* is a bastard, and a fellow-countryman of his told me so of a truth, because he knew his parents; and I am resolved to write and unfold the matter to Doctor *Reuchlin*, who is not yet apprized of it. But on what grounds could you censure me, a man unknown to you?” Then quoth I: “See, gentlemen, this fellow boasteth himself a saint, and saith that he is above censure, and that he hath done no evil, like that Pharisee who boasted that he fasted twice in the week.” Then the fellow waxed wrath, and cried: “I said not that I had never sinned, because that would be contrary to the words of the Psalmist, ‘All men are liars,’ which the gloss expounds as ‘sinners.’ What I said was that you have no right, nor are you able, to censure me as touching my parentage. But *Ortwein* is a bastard, and not true-born—therefore he is reprobate, and reproach him I will for ever and a day!” Then said I: “You cannot, for Herr *Ortwein* is an eminent man, and can protect himself.” Thereupon the fellow reeled off many scandalous tales concerning your mother—how she had been in the company of priests, and monks, and soldiers, and rustics, in the meadow and in the byre. You would not credit how great was my shamefacedness.

Notwithstanding, I cannot be active in your defence, for I never saw your father and mother: however, I firmly believe them to be worthy and decent

folk. But write and tell me how this matter standeth, and any glad tidings I will scatter broadcast.

I said furthermore to your calumniator: "You ought not to say such things, for even if Herr *Ortwin* be base-born, he may have been legitimised; and if he is legitimised then he is no longer a bastard, seeing that the sovereign pontiff hath power to bind and to loose, and can make a bastard legitimate—and contrariwise. Moreover, I can prove from scripture that you are blameworthy; for it is written, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;' but you mete with the measure of abuse, therefore abuse shall be meted to you. Or I can prove it thus: the Lord said: 'Judge not, that ye be not judged,' but thou judgest others, and slanderest them, therefore shalt thou be judged and slandered." Then he replied that my arguments were all flapdoodle and led nowhither; and he was so stubborn as to declare that if the pope himself begat a son out of wedlock, and afterwards legitimised him, the child would nevertheless in the sight of heaven be a bastard and not true-born.

I trow the devil must be in these vagabonds, that they slander you thus. I beseech you, therefore, write to me, so that I may defend your good name; of a truth it would be scandalous for Doctor *Reuchlin* to be apprized that you were a bastard. But even if you are, the fellow cannot certainly prove it, and if it seem good to you, we will hale him before the Court at *Rome*, and we will compel him to recant—the Jurists know the way; and we will harry him at law, and we will seize his benefices when he incurs deprivation—for he holds a canonry here at *Mainz*, and a living elsewhere. Take it not amiss that I write to tell you what I have heard. My intent is of the best. Farewell in the Lord, who shall keep thee in all thy ways.

MAINZ.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XVII

¶ *MAGISTER JOHANN HIPP to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius, greeting*

“**B**E glad, O ye righteous, and rejoice in the Lord :
and be joyful, all ye that are true of heart.”—
Psaln xxxvi.

Now, take this not amiss, saying within yourself,
“What aileth this fellow with his texts?” But
hearken rather, with glee, to a piece of news that will
mightily tickle your lordship.

You shall have it in a nut-shell. There was a poet
here, calling himself *Joannes Aesticampianus*—a bump-
tious fellow, ever girding at the Masters of Arts, and
decrying them in his lectures. He would dub them
dunces, and aver that one Poet was worth ten Masters,
and that Poets should always take precedence of
Masters and Licentiates in processions. He lectured
on *Pliny* and other poets, and declared that the Magis-
ters were not Masters of the Seven Liberal Arts, but
of the Seven Deadly Sins, and that they were not
grounded in their rudiments, and knew naught save
Peter of Spain and his Logical Primer. The rantipole
was much run after, even by the gentleman-commoners.
He used to say that the Scotists and Thomists were
piddlers alike, and he uttered blasphemies against the
Angelic Doctor himself!

But the Magisters bided their time, to avenge
themselves by the help of the Lord. And by the
Lord’s will, at last he made a speech, and railed at the
Magisters, and the Doctors, and the Licentiates and the
Bachelors, and extolled his own Faculty, and reviled
sacred Theology.

Thereupon mighty indignation arose among the
heads of the Faculty. And the Masters and Doctors
took counsel together, saying, “What shall we do?
For this man hath done many notable things; and if
we send him away, all men will believe that he is more
learned than we. And mayhap the Moderns will come

and say that their way is better than that of the Ancients, and our University will be defamed, and will become a laughing-stock."

Then Magister *Andrew Delitzsch*, who is a fine poet himself, said that *Aesticampianus* at the University was like a fifth wheel to a coach—for he thwarted the other Faculties, so that the students could not graduate therein. And the other Masters were of the same mind, so the long and the short of it was that they determined to either expel or inhibit that poet, at the risk of his everlasting dudgeon. Thereupon they cited him before the Rector, and nailed the citation on the doors of the church.

Then the fellow put in an appearance—an advocate with him—and made as though he would defend himself, nor was he without friends to support him, but the Masters told them to stand aside, if they would not commit perjury in opposing the University. And the Masters waxed valiant in fight, and stuck to their guns, and swore they would spare nobody—for justice' sake.

Nevertheless certain jurists and courtiers pleaded for the fellow. But the Magisters said that this was out of the question, for they had statutes, and by the statutes he ought to be expelled. Then the marvel was that even the Duke put in a word for him; but to no effect, because they replied that he himself ought to observe the statutes of the University, inasmuch as its statutes are to a University as is the binding to a book. If there be no binding, the leaves fall hither and thither; and if there were no statutes order would cease in the University, and the students would be at sixes and sevens, and Chaos would come again—therefore should the Duke work for the good of the University, as did his father before him.

Then the Duke was persuaded, and avouched that he might not oppose the University, and that it was expedient that one man should be expelled, rather than that the whole University should suffer disgrace. The Magisters then were fully content, and cried: "Heaven be thanked, Lord Duke, for this thy righteous judgment!" Then the Rector fastened a decree to the

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

church doors, that *Aesticampiannus* should be banished for ten years.

But his disciples murmured much, and declared that the Lords of the Council had done grievous wrong to *Aesticampiannus*. But the Doctors swore that they cared not a doit for that.

Some gentlemen-commoners, indeed, have spread it abroad that *Aesticampiannus* will avenge the injury, and cite the University before the Roman Curia. But the Magisters laughed, and said: "Pish! what can that vagabond do?"

And now great peace reigneth in the University. Mag. *Delitzsch* lectureth on the humanities, and so doth a Magister from *Rothenburg*, who hath compiled a book full three times as large as all the works of *Virgil*; and in that book he hath put many mighty fine things, both in defence of holy Mother Church and in praise of the saints. And he most of all hath praised our University, and sacred Theology, and the Faculty of Arts—and he hath reproved the secular and heathen poets. The Masters say that his verses are as good as *Virgil's*, and have no faults at all, because he knoweth quite perfectly the Art of Metrifcation, and hath been a good metrist these twenty years. Therefore the Lords of the Council have allowed him to lecture on that book instead of on *Terence*, because it is more necessary than *Terence*, and is not all about drabs and clowns, as *Terence* is.

You must spread abroad these tidings in your University, and then peradventure *Buschius* will be served in like manner as was *Aesticampiannus*. When will you send me your book about *Reuchlin*? You say much, and nothing cometh of it. You promised faithfully that you would send it, but you have sent it not. The Lord forgive you in that you do not love me as I love you, for you are my heart's core. Nevertheless fail not to send it, for with desire have I desired to eat this passover with you—I mean, to read that book. Send me some news—and, just for once, write a little treatise, or some verses, about me, if I am worthy thereof.

And now farewell, *in Chr. D. D. nost.*, world without end. Amen.

XVIII

❧ *MAGISTER PETER NEGELIN to Magister Ortwin Gratius, greeting*

NOTWITHSTANDING that I am mightily afear'd to be so bold as to show you a composition of my own devising—seeing that you have great cunning in the making of metres and lyricisms, while I am but a dabbler (as saith *Jeremy*, “Ah, ah, Lord! Behold I cannot speak: for I am a child”), for I am not yet fully grounded in my fundaments, nor am I perfectly skilled in poetistical art and Rhetorick.

Nevertheless, since you once said that I should by all means construct a poem and send it to you, that you might botch it up, and show forth its faults—a little while ago quoth I to myself, “See now, *Ortwin* was your teacher, and he meaneth well by you, and you should do what he biddeth you. He can advance you in this matter, and in all else besides. And you will grow up to be a learned clerk, an it please God, and will prosper in all your affairs. Is it not written in the *First Book of Kings*: “To obey is better than sacrifice”?

And thus it hath fallen out that I send you a poem fashioned by myself in praise of *Saint Peter*, and a composer who excels in plainsong and descants hath set it to music in four parts. Indeed I took great pains to rhyme it in the way it is rhymed—because songs sound best to four parts, just as *Alexander's Grammar* is in four parts.

I know not whether the poem hath any faults. Scan it, I pray you, according to the Rules of Metrifcation, and mend it if you will.

*Here beginneth Peter Negelin's new ditty
in praise of Saint Peter*

Good Saint Peter, pity me!
Since the Lord hath given thee
Power—and, by peculiar grace,
'Midst the saints the topmost place;

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

By prepollence of the keys,
Tying, loosing, as thou please,
Things on earth and things on high :
Hear me, as to thee I cry !
For my sins entreat—for the
Sake of th' Universitie !

They say that Dr. *Reuchlin* (who is named in the Hebrew tongue *Joannes Capnion*) hath obtained a judgment in his favour at *Spires*—but the Magisters of the *Friars Preachers* say that this irketh them not, for the Bishop there hath no comprehension of sacred Theology. Dr. *Hoogstraten* is at the Roman Court, and is in high favour with the Apostolic Chair. He hath plenty of money and other necessities. I would give a groat to learn the truth of the matter. You must write to me. Good Lord ! what is the reason that you will not now send me one single syllable ? And yet when you do write to me I am full fain.

Farewell, and deign to salute for me Dr. *Valentinus von Geltersheim*, and Dr. *Arnold von Tongern* of *Lawrence Hostel*, and Dr. *Remigius*, and Herr *Roger* the licentiate of *De Monte Hostel*, and first of all, Herr Doctor *Johann Pschfferkorn*, that man of zeal, and all others who are learned in Theology and the Arts.

Farewell, once more. in the name of the Lord.

TRIER.

XIX

¶ *STEPHAN GLATZKOPF, Licentiate, to
Mag. Ortwin Gratins*

GREETING, with all humility, to your loftiness. Reverend Herr Magister, a fellow hath come hither bringing with him certain verses, which he averred you had written and published at *Cologne*. Thereupon, a Poet of this place, who is held in high esteem, but is no good Christian, read them and declared that they were poor stuff, and full of blunders. Then quoth I, "If Master *Ortwin* composed them they have no faults—be sure of that." And I offered

to wager my coat that if those verses contained any faults you had not composed them, and that if you had composed them they contained no faults. Accordingly I send you the lines, that you may judge whether you contrived them, or not, and let me know. The poem is written concerning the death of Doctor *Gerhard von Zutphen* of *Kneck Hostel*, who composed the commentary but now, alas, is dead and gone. May he rest in peace. Thus it beginneth:—

A famous scholar here doth lie lamented,
 To th' University by heaven presented;
 He o'er *Kneck Hostel* erst did Regent sit,
 And pieced the *Copulata* bit by bit.
 Oh! that he might upon the hither shore
 Have lingered, and of comments written more!
 To adjuvate the University,
 And teach her students fair Latinity!
 But now, his life by death untimely lost,
 With half the *Alexander* still unglossed,
 The University deplores her limb,
 Who, like a shining lantern, or the glim
 Of candle in a candle-stick a-burning,
 Lit far and wide the darkness with his learning.
 What man than his could better periods round?
 He joyed the upstart Poets to confound,
 Who in their foolish grammars scorn reliance
 On Logic—of all Sciences the Science.
 So, in the Faith being unilluminated, they
 From Mother Church aye wander, all astray.
 But if to think aright they are not willing,
 Soon will *Hoogstraten* set them all a-grilling!
 Who Doctor *Johann Reuchlin* lately cited,
 Before the Court, and grievously indicted.
 Almighty, to thy suppliant lend an ear,
 Who humbly thee invokes, with many a tear,
 To grant our member dead thy grace eternal,
 And pack the Poets off to realms infernal!

This seemeth to me an excellent poem, though I know not how to scan it, because it is of an unwonted kind, and I have only skill to scan hexameters. You must suffer no man to spurn your verses; so write to me, and I will defend you even at the risk of single combat. Fare ye well.

MÜNSTER IN WESTPHALIA.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XX

¶ *JOHANNES LUCIBULARIUS to
Magister Ortwin Gratius*

GREETINGS that no man can number.
Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as you formerly promised me that you would be my help in time of need, and that you would fain advance me before all others; and inasmuch as you told me boldly to seek your aid, and that you would then stretch out a helping hand to me as to a brother, and would not desert me in adversity—I therefore now entreat you, for the love of God, to succour me, as you are well able.

The Rector here hath dismissed an assistant teacher, and desireth to appoint another—will you therefore on my behalf write a letter of recommendation, praying him to be pleased, or to deign, to appoint me? I have no more money, since I have spent it all, for I have even bought me some books and some shoes.

You are well aware that, by God's grace, I am competent; for when you were at *Deventer* I was in the second class, and I afterwards stayed in residence at *Cologne* for a year, so that I qualified for the Bachelor's degree, and I should have graduated at Michaelmas if I had had the money. I know how to expound the Boys' Exercise-book to learners, and the *Opus Minus* (*Part II.*), and I know the art of Scansion as you taught it me, and *Peter of Spain* in all his works, and the *Parvulus* of Natural Philosophy. I am a singer too, and am skilled in plain-song and prick-song, and I have a bass voice withal, and can sing one note below contra-C.

I call these things to your mind in no vainglorious spirit; pardon me, therefore—and so I commend you to God Almighty.

ZWOLLE.

¶ *MAGISTER CONRAD OF ZWICKAU*
sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius



INASMUCH as you have written to apprise me of all things concerning your mistress—how dearly you dote upon her, and how she cherisheth you, and sendeth you posies and kerchiefs and girdles and the like, and taketh no guerdon from you, as is the wont of venal hussies—and how, when her spouse goeth abroad, you visit her to her great content—and how you thrice embraced her in succession, and once on the threshold behind the door, chanting “*Attolite portas!*”—and how when her husband returned you fled privily by way of the garden—I therefore will in turn now relate how I have fared with my lady-love.

She is a topping dame, and a wealthy, and I scraped acquaintance with her by a strange chance, for a certain gentleman-commoner, a friend of the Bishop’s, was our go-between. Straightway I fell over head and ears in love with her, till by day I knew not what I did, and at night I could not sleep. But when I would have slumbered I cried aloud from my bed, “*Dorothea! Dorothea! Dorothea!*” so that the students in the hostel heard me, and ran to me, saying, “Herr Magister, what would you, that you thus cry aloud? If you would fain make confession, we will fetch you a priest”—for they thought I was at the point of death and cried upon *S. Dorothea* with other saints. Thereupon I was mightily abashed. Nevertheless when I visited my beloved I was always so terrified that I durst not regard her, but grew red from head to foot. Then quoth she, “Prithee, Herr Magister, why so shy?” Then I said that I was afeared to tell her. But she must needs have an answer, and would not let me go until I told her—she said, moreover, that she would not be out with me, tho’ my words were downright roguishness. Then at last I grew bold and opened my heart to her. Can you call to mind how that you explained long ago, when you expounded *Ovid* in his “*Art of*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Love," that lovers ought to be as bold as warriors, else it availed them not?

Then said I to her, "Reverend mistress mine, forgive me for God's love, and for your honour's sake—but I love you, and I have chosen you from among all the children of men; for you are fair among women, and there is no spot in you. You are the goodliest that there is in the whole world." Then she laughed, and said, "Pardy! you talk full loverly—if I could but trust you!" And after that I often visited her at her house, and drank with her. And when I was in the church I always stood where I could see her, and in turn she looked me through and through. At last I earnestly asked her to keep me in her thoughts—whereupon she declared that I loved her not. But I swore that I loved her as my own mother, and that I would dare all things in her service, though it should cost me my life. Then answered the lady fair: "I would fain learn if that be so," and she made a cross with chalk upon the door of her house, and said: "If you love me, you will kiss that cross, for my sake, every evening after dark." This I did for many days, but at last came some one and smeared the cross with filth, and when I kissed it I defiled my lips and teeth and nose. Then was I full of wrath against the lady; but she swore by the Holy of Holies that she had no hand in the matter. And I believe her, for she is in all else an honourable woman.

I have suspicion of a student here, that the deed was his. Can I but bring it home to him—verily I say unto you, he shall have his reward! But she useth me in more friendly wise than formerly, and I trust I shall yet gain her favours. She heard of late that I was a poet. Then quoth she: "I have been told that you are a jolly rhymers—so you must write me a ballad!" This I did, and I sang it in the street at even-tide that she might hear; and afterwards I rendered it for her into German. It runneth thus:—

Venus benign! of love the fountain and the queen!
Why frownest thou on me with such a hostile mien?
Oh, *Dorothea* mine! whom I for mistress choose,
Me for thy leman true, in turn, do not refuse!

Fairest of maidens all that in this city are,
Thy smile is like a rose, thy twinkle like a star!

She said that she would keep this as long as she lived, for my sake. I pray you give me counsel how to comport myself, and how to make her love me. Forgive me for having so grossly written to your worthiness. It is my wont to unbosom myself to my friends. Farewell, in the name of the Blessed.

From LEIPSIK.

XXII

¶ GERHARD SCHIRRUGEL to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

*Manifold greeting to thee, in the glorious name of our Master,
Who from the dead arose, and now is enthroned in heaven.*

HONoured Sir, I would have you know that I abide here reluctantly, and it irketh me that I remained not at *Cologne* with you, where I should have made fairer progress. You, indeed, would have been able to make me a good syllogiser, and even in some sort a poet. In *Cologne* folk are devout, and gladly visit the churches, and on Sundays they flock to the sermon. The arrogance of this place is not to be seen there. Here the students show no deference to the magisters, and the magisters pay no heed to the students, but let them go wheresoe'er they will; and they wear no hoods. When they are in their cups they take God's name in vain, and blaspheme, and do many unseemly things. A little while ago, for instance, a fellow said that he did not believe the Holy Coat of *Treves* to be our Lord's Coat, but a lousy old rag; and he said that he did not believe that a single hair of the Blessed Virgin remained in the world. Another further said that like enough the Three Kings at *Cologne* were three boors from *Westphalia*, and that the sword and shield of *St. Michael* were not *St. Michael's*. He swore, too, that the indulgences of the Preaching Friars were

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

only fit for the jakes, and that the Friars themselves were a pack of jack-puddings, who deceived women and churls. Then cried I, "To the stake, to the stake with such a heretic!"

But he laughed in my face. Then said I, "Thou rascal, if thou shouldest but say such things in the ears of Doctor *Hoogstraten* of *Cologne*, the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity!" Quoth he, "*Hoogstraten* is a vile and damnable beast," and thereupon he railed against him, and said "*Johann Reuchlin* is an upright man, but the theologians are devils, and unjustly have they given sentence that his book, the *Augenspiegel* should be burned."

Then I answered, "Say not so, for it is written in the eighth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*: 'Deem thou not against the judge, for after that is righteous he deemeth.' Knowest thou not that the University of *Paris*, where the theologians are learned and zealous and cannot err, hath decided as *Cologne* hath? Wherefore wilt thou fight against the universal Church?" Then he averred that the theologians of *Paris* were unjust judges, and that they took from the Predicant Friars a bribe which—so the lying rascal said—was conveyed to them by that most zealous and learned man Herr *Theodoric von Gouda*, legate of the University of *Cologne*. Moreover he swore that the church I spake of was not God's Church, but that of which the *Psalmist* spake, "I have hated the congregation of evil doers, and will not sit with the wicked." And he reviled the Doctors of *Paris* for all that they did; saying that the University of *Paris* was the mother of all foolishness, which, taking there its rise, spread into *Germany* and *Italy*, and that that University sowed broadcast superstition and folly. He said too that, as a rule, all students of *Paris* were wrong-headed and in a manner numskulls. In conclusion he declared the *Talmud* not to be under the ban of the Church. Then Doctor *Peter Meyer*, parish priest of *Frankfort*, who was seated hard by, said, "I will prove to you that this fellow is no good Christian and holdeth not with the opinion of the Church. By'r lady! you fellows talk much about theology, and know nothing.

Reuchlin even doth not know where it is written that the Talmud is a forbidden book."

"And where is it written?" asked the fellow.

Then Doctor Peter told him that it was written in "*The Fortress of Faith*." Then the braggart made answer that "*The Fortress of Faith*" was a dung-hill book, and of no account, and that none save a ninny or a dunce cited that book. Then I was overcome with fear, for Doctor *Peter* was so wroth that his hands trembled, and I feared lest he should do the fellow an injury, but I said to him, "Good Sir, prithee have patience, for 'Who is patient is governed with much wisdom.'—*Proverbs xiii*. Let him alone and he will perish like the dust before the wind. He speaketh much, yet knoweth nothing. As it is written in *Ecclesiasticus*, 'A fool multiplieth words,' so doth he." And then, oh shame! the fellow began to say many things against the *Order of Preachers*—how that those pious friars did a deed of wickedness at *Berne* that I would not credit to save my life—how that they were burned at the stake—and how that the *Preachers* once mingled poison in the Eucharistic Sacrament and thus murdered an Emperor. He declared that the whole Order should be blotted out—for otherwise great scandals would be caused in the Church, since from that Order proceedeth all malice—and many other such like things he said. Know then of a truth that I earnestly desire to return to *Cologne*, for what can I do among such accursed men as these? "May death come upon them, and may they go down alive into the pit," as saith the *Psalmist*, for they are sons of *Belial*. If it seemeth good to you, I will first of all take my degree—but if not, I will depart immediately. Speedily therefore send me your opinion: therewith will I be governed. And now I commend you to the Lord. Farewell.

MAINZ.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XXIII

¶ *JOHANN WICKELTRÄGER, Humble Professor of sacred Theology, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwein Gratius, Poet, Divine, and what not*

INASMUCH as you were once my pupil at *Deventer*, where I loved you before all my scholars, in that you were a youth of good parts and very towardly, I therefore am ever mindful to give you good counsel whensoever it lieth in my power.

But you must take it in good part, for God who seeth the heart knoweth that I speak but for love of you, and for the saving of your soul.

There were here of late certain folk, hailing from *Cologne*, and they declared that there is a woman in that city who is oft at your house, and that you are oft at hers, and have commerce with her. Now when I heard these sayings I was smitten with great dread, for if this be true, it is a grievous scandal, seeing that you are a graduate and will in due time rise to higher things, to wit, a degree in sacred Theology. Moreover, when such doings of yours are noised abroad, a bad example is set to the young, who are thereby corrupted. You know how that the son of *Sirach* saith: "For many have perished by the beauty of a woman; for hereby lust is enkindled as a fire;" *The Preacher*, too, toucheth the matter: "Turn away thy face from a woman dressed up, and look not upon another's beauty;" and again: "Gaze not upon a maiden, lest her beauty be a stumbling-block to thee." Full well you know that incontinence is a grievous sin. Moreover, what is worse, I hear that this woman liveth in lawful wedlock with her husband. For the Lord's sake send her packing, and have regard to your own good name. It is a disgrace that men should say of a theologian that he is an avouterer; and yet in other matters your repute is fair enough, and all deem you a competent scholar—as I well know you to be. Once every day you must devoutly call to remembrance the Lord's Passion, for that is a powerful remedy against

the wiles of the Devil and the thorn in the flesh ; seek, too, in your prayers that you may be preserved from all evil thoughts. It is my belief that you have been reading about such things in the heathen poets, and are corrupted thereby. Would that you might cast away all their works, for you know that *St. Jerome* himself was smitten by an angel for reading a book of poetry. At *Deventer* I often urged you not to become a Poet or a Jurist, for such men are evil-affectioned towards the Faith, and almost all are loose livers. Concerning them the *Psalmist* saith : “Thou hast hated them that regard vanities to no purpose.”

There is another matter on which I have a mind to counsel you. The rumour goeth that you have written, in defence of the Faith, against *Johann Reuchlin*. This is well enough, if you would use to your profit the talent that God hath given you. But it is reported here that *Johann Pfefferkorn*, the man whom you buttress, is a worthless knave, and became not a Christian for love of the Faith, but, because the Jews would have fain have hanged him for his wrong doings—for they say he is a thief and a traitor—he was baptized to save himself. And all aver that at heart he is a sorry Christian, and will not abide in the Faith. Therefore take heed what you do. Already they have burnt at *Halle* another baptized Jew, also named *Johann Pfefferkorn*, for his many evil deeds. I fear me that this fellow will tread in his steps, and then you will be in a quandary.

Nevertheless, continue to defend Theology, and take in good part my brotherly counsel. Fare ye well, in all prosperity.

MAGDEBURG.

XXIV

❧ *PAUL DAUBENGIGEL sendeth goodly greeting to Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

SEE now whether I am a liar, as you lately said I was, in that I was always promising to write to you and yet wrote not.

Hereby I will prove that I keep faith with you—for

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

a discreet and upright man should make no promise that he doth not keep. It would be the height of fickleness in me not to keep my promises to you, and I should be a deceiver.

You must write back to me, and then we will often send, or address, letters in turn to each other.

Now you must know that Doctor *Reuchlin* hath published a book entitled "*A Defence*," in which he is scandalously abusive, and calleth you an ass. And I felt greatly ashamed as I read that book—not that I read it all, for I threw it against the wall when I found that it was full of malice against the Theologians and Artsmen.

You may read it, an you will, because I am sending it to you herewith. It seemeth to me that the author and the book ought to be burned together, for it is a monstrous scandal that anybody should compile such a volume.

I was lately at the horse-market, for I wanted to buy a horse to take me to *Vienna*, and it was then that I saw the book exposed for sale, and I thought to myself that you ought to see it, so that you might write a rejoinder to its falsehoods—and if I could do you some greater service I would not delay, for in me you have a humble servant and adherent.

You may know that hitherto I have had weak eyes, but a certain Alchemist came here who said he knew how to heal eyes—even if a man were stark blind with that malady. In other leechcraft too he had much experience, for he had roved through *Italy* and *France*, and many provinces. Every Alchemist, as you know, is either a leech or a quack-salver—but this fellow was something out at elbows. You ask me how I thrive in general. I thank you for asking, and you must know that, by God's grace, I am doing well. At the last vintage I pressed much wine, and of crops I have an abundance.

By way of news I may tell you that our most serene Lord, the Emperor, is sending a great force into *Lombardy*, against the *Venetians*, and intendeth to chastise them for their insolence. I saw full two thousand men with six standards; half had spears, and half, culverins or arquebuses; they were indeed right formidable, and had

slashed hose, and they wrought much scathe to the country-folk and villagers. Folk said that they hoped they would all be slain, but I trust they will all return safe and sound. Send me, I pray you, by the carrier, what *Brulifer* has written concerning *Scotus*, his *Formalitates et Distinctiones*; and also "*The Shield*" of the Thomists in the Aldine character, if you can come by it.

I greatly desire also to see your tractate on the *Method of Versifying*.

Buy for me, too, *Boethius* in all his works, but especially his *De Disciplina Scholarium*, and his *De Consolatione Philosophica* with the Commentary of the *Holy Doctor*.

And now, farewell, and hold me not in disesteem.

AUGSBURG.

XXV

☞ *MAGISTER PHILIPP STEINMETZ to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius, greeting*

AS I have oftentimes told you, I chafe bitterly because that vile raff, to wit the Faculty of Poets, groweth and extendeth throughout every province and region. In my time there was only one poet—and his name was *Samuel*—but now in a single burg a good score may be found, to harass us who cling to the ancients. Just now I sharply snibbed one who said that "*scholaris*" did not mean a person who went to school to learn, for, quoth I, "Thou ass! Wouldst thou correct the *Holy Doctor* who useth that word?" But forthwith he wrote a lampoon against me, with many scurrilities therein, and vowed that I was no sound grammarian, in that I had not rightly expounded certain words when I treated of *Alexander*, his First Part, and of the book *De modis significandi*.

Now therefore I will set down in due form those words, that you may see that I have rightly expounded them according to all the vocabularies, and I can moreover cite canonical writers, even in Theology. First, I

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

maintained that “*seria*” sometimes meaneth a pot, and in that case is derived from *Syria* as being first made in that country; or from “*serius*,” because useful and necessary; or from “*series*,” because pots stand in a row. Again, “*patricians*” were so called as being the fathers of senators. “*Currus*” is derived from “*currendo*” because therewith things within run out. “*Jus, juris*” signifies justice, but “*jus, jutis*,” broth, as the verse runneth:—

“*Jus, jutis, mando: jus, juris, in agmine pando.*”

Again, “*Lucar*” signifies money culled from a grove or forest. “*Mantellus*” means a cloak, and hence proceedeth the diminutive “*manticulus*.” “*Mechanicus*” means adulterous, and hence the “*mechanical arts*” are named, as being adulterine, when compared with the liberal arts, which are true-born. “*Mensorium*” means that which appertains to a table, “*mensa*.” Again, *Polyhistor* signifies one who knows many histories, whence cometh *Polyhistoria*—that is a multitude of histories. *Polyseusus* means “possessing many senses.”

These, and such-like teachings the fellow declared to be false, and he put me to shame before my pupils. Then I alleged that it sufficed for a man’s eternal salvation that he should be a simple grammarian, and at least know how to express his thoughts. But he replied that I was neither a simple nor a duplex grammarian, and knew nothing at all. Thereat I rejoiced, for now I shall cite him for breach of the privileges of the University of *Vienna*, where he will have to answer me—for there by God’s grace I have graduated Magister: and if I proved learned enough in the eyes of a whole university, I am learned enough for a single poet. Is not a university greater than a poet? Believe me I would not forego that slander for twenty florins.

The rumour goes that all the Poets here will take Doctor *Reuchlin*’s part against the Theologians, and that one of them hath composed a book entitled “*The Triumph of Capnion*” which contains many libels upon you. Would that all the poets were where the pepper groweth, and would let us rest in peace, for it is to be feared that the Faculty of Arts will perish through these same

poets! For they say that the Artsmen decoy youths, and take their money, and make Bachelors and Doctors of them though they know nothing. And they have brought it about that students no longer desire to graduate even in Arts, but all wish to become Poets. I have a friend who is a worthy youth, and talented withal; and his parents sent him to *Ingolstadt*, and I gave him a letter of introduction to a Magister there who is duly qualified in Arts and intendeth to graduate Doctor of Divinity—but the youngster must needs quit the Magister and attend the lectures of *Philomusus* the poet. Of a truth I am woundily grieved for that young man, as it is written, *Prov. xiv.*, “He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord”; for if he had but stayed with the Magister he would have been Bachelor by this time. And now his labour is in vain—if he were to study Poetry for ten years.

I know that these profane poets harass you greatly, notwithstanding that you are a poet yourself—but not of that kind: for you hold with the Church and are moreover well-grounded in Theology. When you indite verses they deal not with vanities, but with the praises of the Saints. Most earnestly do I desire to know how that affair of Doctor *Reuchlin's* standeth. If I can be of any service to you therein prithee let me know, and tell me all things concerning it. Farewell.

XXVI

¶ *ANTON RÜBENSTADT amicably and with hearty affection wisheth weal to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

VENERABLE Herr Magister, I would have you know that at this present I have not the leisure for writing to you concerning matters that press not urgently, but solely that you may reply to a single question that I will propound forthwith: whether, namely, a Doctor of Laws is bound to make obeisance to a Magister-noster who weareth not his rightful habit. The garb of a Doctor of Divinity, as you know, con-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

sisteth of a large cope with a liripoop. Now there is a Doctor here, a graduate in Canon and Civil Law, who hath a grudge against Magister-noster *Peter Meyer* the parish priest. Lately the Jurist met in the street Magister *Peter*, who was not garbed in his canonicals, and he made him no obeisance. Then it was said that he had not done well, for even if he were out with him, yet he should have done him reverence for the honour of sacred Theology. We may be at odds with a person without insulting his Faculty, and the Magisters stand in the Apostles' place, of whom it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things." If, therefore, their feet are beautiful, how much fairer are their heads and their hands. It is meet, therefore, for every man, even a prince, to do reverence and honour to the Theologians and Magisters. But the Jurist made reply, and cited in a precisely opposite sense the Laws, and many passages in Scripture, where it is written, "I will judge you according to your ways"; and he argued that we need do reverence to no man who doth not go about in his proper habit, even if he were a prince. "When a priest," quoth he, "is detected in some disgraceful act, while he is not garbed as a priest should be, but is in lay attire, then the secular judge can hale him and treat him as a layman, and sentence him to corporal punishment, benefit of clergy notwithstanding." This is what the Jurist said, but, I pray you, unfold your opinion, and if of yourself you cannot tell, there are jurists and theologians in the University of *Cologne* with whom to take counsel. I would fain know the truth, for God is truth, and whoso loveth truth loveth God also.

You might likewise send me word how matters stand in that suit of yours against Doctor *Renchlin*. I hear that he is beggared by reason of the great law costs, and right glad of it I am. But I trust that with the Theologians and you will rest the victory. Farewell, in the Lord's name.

FRANKFORT.

XXVII

¶ *JOHANN STABLER of MILTENBERG*
sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius

YOU have ever been minded to learn the news from me, and just now I can, and will, send you tidings, though I grieve that they are ill.

You must know, then, that the Friars of the *Order of Preachers* here held certain indulgences which they procured from the Roman Court at a great price, and that therefrom they derived no small gain. And then by night some thief broke into the Church, filched more than three hundred florins, and made off with them. Thereupon the Friars, men full of zeal, and warmly affectioned in the Christian Faith, were sad at heart, and bewailed concerning that thief. And the citizens sent hither and thither and could not find him, for he had escaped and taken the money with him. Great is the wickedness of such a crime, committed against the papal indulgences and in a holy place, and the robber is excommunicate wherever he may be. The folk who had been absolved, and had paid their fees into the chest, now believe that they are unshriven: but this fear is groundless—they are just as truly shriven as if the Predicants still possessed the money.

You must know, too, that certain fellows who support Doctor *Reuchlin* have come hither, and spread abroad many rumours, and aver that the Friars obtained those indulgences from *Rome* that with their price they might harry the Doctor, and in the cause of the Faith trouble him; and that folk should give them not a doit, whatever their condition—high or low, rich or poor, religious or secular. Not long ago I was present at the proceedings at *Mainz* that the Magisters instituted against *Reuchlin*; now there is a certain preacher there, in the Cathedral, who graduated Doctor of Divinity at Heidelberg, *Bartholomew Zehender* by name—or, in the Latin, *Decimarius*—and from the pulpit he enjoined all men to come on the morrow to see the “*Augenspiegel*”

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

burnt, inasmuch as he deemed it impossible that Doctor *Reuchlin* could devise any quibble to prevent that being done. But a fellow here, a Poet by repute, went about uttering foul words against the aforesaid Doctor of Divinity, and when he met him glared at him with snaky and venomous eyes : and he cried openly, "That preacher is not worthy to sit at the same table with honest men ; and I can prove that he is a vile poltroon, for in the pulpit of your church, before all the congregation, he lied against the good report of an illustrious man, and said that which is not." Then he cried, "Out of envy do they torment the good Doctor !" And he called *Decimarius* a beast and a dog, and swore that no heretic was ever so malicious and envious. Now this saying came to the ears of the preacher, and he excused himself—sufficiently as it seemeth to me—saying that although the book had not been burnt, perhaps nevertheless it would be burnt later on ; moreover he quoted Scripture in many places to prove that nothing any one may say in defence of the Catholic Faith is a lie. He declared, moreover, that the bailiffs and officers of the Bishop of *Mainz* had hindered the execution of the sentence, contrary to all justice, but that folk would see what would happen yet, for he would venture a prophecy that the book would be burnt, though the *Emperor*, and the *King of France*, and every Prince and Duke maintained Doctor *Reuchlin's* cause. I deem it well to inform you of these things, that you may be forewarned—and I beg of you to walk warily in all your ways, lest you incur reproach. And so, farewell.

MILTENBERG.

XXVIII

❧ *FRIAR CONRAD DOLLENKOPF to Mag. Ortwin Gratius, greeting, with the humblest devotion, and daily intercessions to our Lord Jesus Christ*

TAKE it not amiss, Reverend Sir, if I write to you concerning affairs of my own, albeit you have weightier matters to give heed to.

But you told me erstwhile to keep you acquainted

with my studies, and never to weary of learning, but to press forward, seeing that I had rare capacities, and might, by God's help, excel if I were fain.

You must know, then, that for the present I have betaken myself to the University of *Heidelberg*, where I am studying Theology. But I attend likewise a daily lecture on Poetics, and in this art I am making, by God's grace, notable progress.

I already know by rote all the fables of *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses*, and these I can expound quadruply—to wit, naturally, literally, historically, and spiritually—and this is more than the secular poets can do.

Just now I asked one of those fellows whence “*Mavors*” is derived. Whereupon he put forth a conjecture, but it was false.

Then I set him right, and told him that *Mavors* was so named as being, so to speak, “*mares vorans*,” a man-eater—and he was put to confusion.

I next demanded of him what is signified allegorically by the Nine Muses. And again he was at fault. Then I told him that the Nine Muses signify the Seven Quires of Angels.

Thirdly, I asked him whence “*Mercurius*” is derived. But he did not know, and I showed him that *Mercurius* was so named as being “*mercatorum curius*”—for he is the god of merchants, and curious concerning them.

You will hence understand that nowadays these Poets do but study their art literally, and do not comprehend allegorizing and spiritual expositions: as saith the Apostle, “The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God.”

Now you may ask whence I have obtained this subtle skill. I reply that I lately bought a book composed by a certain English Doctor, of our Order, *Thomas of Wales* by name; and this book is all writ concerning *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, explaining each story allegorically and spiritually, and its profundity in Theology passeth belief.

Most assuredly hath the Holy Spirit inspired this man with so great learning, for in his book he setteth forth the harmonies between the Holy Scriptures and

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

the fables of the Poet, and of these you may judge from the instances subjoined :

Of the Python that *Apollo* slew, the *Psalmist* saith, "This dragon which thou hast formed to play therein." And, again, "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk."

Concerning *Saturn*—who is always feigned an old man, and the father of the gods—devouring his own children, *Ezekiel* saith: "The fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee."

Diana signifieth the Blessed *Virgin Mary*, going hither and thither with a virgin company. And therefore it is written in the *Psalms*, "The virgins that be her fellows"; and, elsewhere, "Draw me, we will run after thee in the savour of thine ointments."

Concerning *Jupiter*, who after the defloration of *Callisto* returned to heaven, it is written, *Matt. xii.*, "I will return to my house from whence I came out."

Of the lapidification of the maiden *Aglauros*, whom *Mercury* turned into a stone, *Job* hinteth, "Whose heart is as firm as a stone."

Also, it is related in Holy Writ how *Jupiter* had commerce with the virgin *Europa*, though formerly I knew it not, for he spake to her thus, "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear, because the King hath pleasure in thy beauty."

Cadmus, too, seeking for his sister, is a figure of *Christ* who seeketh for his sister, to wit, the soul of man; and he buildeth a city, that is, the Church.

Concerning *Actaeon*, who beheld *Diana* naked, *Ezekiel* prophesied, saying, "Thou wast bare and full of confusion, and I passed by thee and saw thee."

Not without cause is it written in the Poets that *Bacchus* was twice born, for by him is denoted *Christ*, who was twice born, once before the worlds, and a second time humanly and carnally.

Semele also, who nursed *Bacchus*, is an image of the Blessed *Virgin*, of whom it is written in *Exodus*, "Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages."

Furthermore the story of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe* is to be allegorically and spiritually expounded thus:

Pyramus signifieth the Son of God, and *Thisbe*, the soul of man, which *Christ* loveth, and concerning which it is written in the Gospel, "A sword shall pierce through thy own soul also." And in like manner *Thisbe* slew herself with her lover's sword.

Concerning *Vulcan*, who was thrown down from heaven and was made lame, it is written in the *Psalms*: "They were cast down and could not stand."

All this, and much more, I have learnt out of that book. If you were but with me you should behold marvellous things.

And this is the way in which we ought to study Poetry.

Nevertheless you will forgive me if I seem, as it were, to be instructing your worthiness (for your learning is greater than mine), but it is in good faith that I have written.

I have arranged that one of the folk at *Tübingen* should keep me informed of Doctor *Reuchlin's* doings, so that I might warn you. But I have learnt nothing, or I would let you know.

And now, farewell, in love unfeigned.

HEIDELBERG.

XXIX

¶ *MAGISTER TILMANN LUMPLIN to
Magister Ortwin Gratius, greeting*

"I AM more brutish than any man, and have no understanding; I neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy" (*Prov. xxx.*). Yet scorn me not if I make bold to give you counsel in your affairs, for I do this with good intent. I desire, moreover, to monish you according to my knowledge, and modestly to chide you, for "vexation giveth understanding." Now it is written in the *Wisdom* of the *Son of Sirach*, "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith." And thus it falleth out in your case, since you are fain to have me for a friend; wherefore you must take my chastenings in good part.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I have perceived, or understood, that you hold your peace in the matter of *Johann Reuchlin*, and make no rejoinder to his attacks. Therefore I have great wrath, for I love you, and it is written, "Whom I love, I chasten." Wherefore did you begin to retort to him if you meant not to persevere? Are you not man enough for him? By the Lord you are, and especially do you excel him in Theology, wherefore you should reply to him, and defend your reputation, and preach the Christian Faith, against which that heretic writeth. You should have respect unto no man, as saith *Solomon* in *Ecclus. xiii.*

Fear not the power of the Jurists—lest they should do you carnal hurt—for you must suffer such things for the faith and the truth. As saith *Christ*, in *St. Matthew's Gospel*, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you." But it is impossible for Doctor *Reuchlin* to write what is true, for he hath not wholly kept the faith, since he defendeth the Jews, who are foes of the faith; and he holdeth not with the opinions of the Doctors; moreover he is a sinner, as Dr. *Johann Pfefferkorn* setteth forth in his book entitled "*The Tocsin*." Now sinners should not meddle with Holy Writ, as it is written in the *xliiith Psalm*, "But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?" Wherefore I exhort you, and I beseech you from my very midriff, to boldly defend yourself, that men may say, to your praise, that you have been a bulwark to the Church and to your own good name. Have respect unto no man—even though the Pope should inhibit you—for the Church is above the Pope.

I pray thee have me excused for counselling you, for I love thee—lord, thou knowest that I love thee.

Fare thee well, in all stoutness of body and of soul.

XXX

¶ *JOHANN SCHNARRHOLTZ*, licentiate, in posse, sendeth exuberant greetings, together with his humblest duty, to the most erudite and enlightened *Magister Ortwin Gratius*, Theologian, Poet and Orator, of *Cologne*, his most venerated master and preceptor

MOST cordial and profound Herr *Magister Ortwin*: I, *Johann Schnarrholtz*, ere long licentiate in Theology in the University of *Tübingen*, greatly desire to seek counsel of your worthiness; but I fear lest this may savour of irreverence, seeing that you are of such learning, and of such high repute in *Cologne*, that no man dareth to draw near your worthiness without due forethought—as it is written, “Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?”

Nevertheless you are lowly-minded, and can bemean yourself, as saith the Scripture, “Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be abased.” Therefore will I put off diffidence, and confer boldly with your worthiness—yet so as with reverence meet.

I lately heard a certain *Magister* of *Paris* deliver a sermon here, before a great congregation on the Feast of the Ascension. He took for his text, “God is gone up with a shout”; and he preached a notable sermon, so that all who heard lauded it, and, with tears, were edified. The preacher in the second part of his discourse deduced two masterly and subtle inferences. First, that when the Lord ascended on high with uplifted hands, then the apostles with the *Blessed Virgin* stood and shouted until they were hoarse, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, “I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry.” He proved, moreover, that this outcry was a shout of joy, and furthermore necessary for the Catholic faith, as saith the Lord in the Evangel, “Verily, verily I say unto you, if these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out.”

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

They all shouted with rapture and great zeal—especially *St. Peter*, who had a voice like a sackbut—as *David* witnesseth, “This poor man cried.” The *Blessed Virgin* shouted not, but praised God in her heart, because she knew that all these things should come to pass as the Angel had foreshewn. And while the Apostles thus shouted together with jubilation and devotion, an angel came from heaven and said unto them, “Ye men of *Galilee*, why stand ye here shouting, and gazing into heaven? This same *Jesus* who is taken from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen,” and this was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, “They cried, and the Lord heard them.”

The second conclusion was yet more profound, as followeth: The Son of Man had his passion, his burial, and his resurrection at *Jerusalem*, which is the centre of the earth, that his resurrection should be manifest in all regions, and that no heathen might make excuse for his heresy, and say, “I knew not that the Lord was risen from the dead.” Now whatsoever is at the centre, all men round about the centre can behold, but in order that no unbeliever should find the least excuse for evasion, in that place where the Lord ascended, in the very core and centre of the earth, there hangeth a bell that all the world can hear, and when it tolleth it giveth forth dreadful voices concerning Doomsday and the ascension of the Lord; and its tolling even the deaf attend. And from this conclusion he deduced many corollaries which he had learnt in *Paris*. And when he had ended, a certain Magister from *Erfurt* would fain cavil at the discourse, but he was discomfited. If you will tell me of the books that deal with these matters I will buy them.

BASLE (at the house of the *Beatus Rhenanus*, your friend).

¶ *WILLIBRORD NICETI, of the Order of Wilhelmites, Cursor in Theology, by authority of the most reverend the General of his Order, commendeth himself to Bartholomew Colp, qualified Bachelor in Theology, of the Order of Carmelites*

*As many as drops in the midst of the sea,
Or Beguins in holy Cologne that there be—
As many as hairs on a jackass's hide;
So many my greetings—and many beside.*

VENERABLE Herr Carmelite Colp, your Order, I trow, is of the highest, and many the indulgences that you hold from the Apostolic See: no other Order may take precedence of your Order, and many are the cases you can absolve in confession when penitents are contrite and humble and would fain communicate.

I therefore desire to propound to your worship a theological question. This you are well qualified to determine, since you are an Artsman of parts, and can ably preach, and are full of zeal and of a good conscience; moreover I have heard that you have a fine library in your Convent, in which are many books concerning Holy Scripture, and Philosophy, and Logic, and *Petrus Hispanus*; the magistral syllabus, too, of the *Lawrence Hostel, Cologne*, where resideth acting regent Doctor *von Tongern*—a man right zealous, profoundly versed in speculative Theology, and enlightened in the Catholic Faith. Him a certain Doctor of Laws sought to vex, but—this fellow having no craft in formal disputation nor in the Book of Sentences—the Magisters heeded him not.

Now, above all, I hear that in the library aforesaid, where the Cursors in Theology study, there is confined by a chain of iron a most notable book, named *The Combibulations*, which containeth authoritative opinions in Theology, and the first principles of Holy Scripture. This Book, I hear, a certain Divine of Paris bequeathed to you upon his death-bed—when he made confession

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and revealed certain secrets out of *Bonaventura*—and he ordained that no man should read therein save members of your Order, but to them so doing the Pope granteth certain indulgences and remissions.

Near this book lie *Henricus de Hassia*, and *Verneus*, and all the other commentators on the Book of Sentences, in the which you are versed, and are therefore a tower of strength in every disputation, whether of ancients or moderns, Scotists or Albertists, or even of those who are of the sect of Kuick Hostel in *Cologne*, and have a syllabus all their own.

Therefore I beseech you, heartily and in all charity, that you will take not amiss my petition, but will give me good counsel in my perplexity in so far as in you lies, and will quote to this end what the Doctors lay down thereon in replication and conclusion. Now the afore-said question is as followeth: “Are the Lollards and Beguins in *Cologne* seculars or religious? Have they taken the vows? Can they wed?”

For a long while have I searched the *Discipulus* and the *Fasciculus Temporum* and other authorities in Holy Writ, but naught have I found thereon. ’Twas the same with a priest at *Fulda*, deeply read in the afore-said writings, who hath found naught thereon in the *Catalogue* or in the books themselves: he is kinsman of the Pastor there, who is a poet—for he is a good latiniser and he can indite theses withal. Moreover, I am myself vicar at the monastery here and have the cure of many communicants—persons from whom I can make quest. Our Superior himself hath openly declared that he cannot resolve this question, with ease to his conscience, notwithstanding that he hath attended the disputations of many Doctors at *Paris* and *Cologne*—for he is a qualified licentiate, and hath responded in due form and manner to that end.

If you are unable to decide this matter, I beg you to make enquiry of Magister *Ortwin*, and he will make all things clear—*Gratius* is he called by virtue of that divine grace within him which knoweth all things. I have put together an heroic ode concerning the book aforesaid; prithee read it and correct it, and make a mark where I have a foot too much or too little: learn,

too, what Magister *Ortwin* thinketh of it; and then I will send it to the printer. Followeth:—

In pride presumptuous, who but a fool
 From *Bonaventure* pregnant truths by rule
 Would try to draw, or out of Holy Writ
 Would seek enlightenment, while not a whit
 He knoweth of the great *Combibulations*,
 By learned Doctors taught to all the nations?
 In every University professed,
 But first in *Paris*—dam of all the rest.
Cologne divines, hamm'ring the question out,
 By proof seraphic shewed, without a doubt,
Combibulations better 'tis to quote
 Than *Jerome* and *Augustine* con by rote—
 (Although they scribbled Latin well enough.)
Combibulations are the primest stuff!
 When Doctors in each Monast'ry contend,
 With word divine *Combibulations* end
 The brabble—and they rummage to the root
 Theology: some other things they moot.

XXXII

¶ To Magister *Ortwin Gratinus*, that man of unutterable learning, **MAGISTER GINGOLF HOLZHACKER** offereth a thousand thousand greetings in love unfeigned

GLORIOUSEST of Magisters: I have loved thee in my very midriff, with an innermost affection, from the time when thou wert my very own teacher at Deventer: and whatsoever goadeth thee in thy heart, that goadeth me more, and whatsoever goadeth me, that, I know, goadeth thee, and thy goad hath always been my goad, and no man ever goaded thee who did not goad me the more sharply, and my heart feeleth the goad whensoever any one goadeth thee: believe me faithfully that when *Hermann Buschius* goadeth thee in that "*Prooemium*" of his he goadeth me more than thee, and I have taken thought how I could goad in turn that impudent brangler, who is of such presumptuous arrogance as to dare to goad the Doctors of Divinity of *Paris* and *Cologne*! Yet he is himself not graduated

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

—though his comrades avow that he proceeded Bachelor of Laws at *Leipsic*. But this I credit not, for he even goadeth Magisters in *Leipsic*, to wit, *Hundt* senior and *Hundt* junior, and many others, who are much the apter to goad him than he is to goad them; but they desire to goad no man, on moral grounds, and according to the precept of the Apostle, “Kick not against the goads.” Nevertheless it is meet for thee to goad him in return, for thou hast a fine intellect and art a cunning deviser, and in a single hour thou canst contrive metrical goads, and canst goad him concerning all his words and deeds. I have put together a tractate against him wherein I magistrally and poetically goad him; he can by no means evade my goad. And if he ventureth to goad me in return, I will goad him again the more sharply.

In haste, from STRASBURG, at the house of *Matthew Schürer*.

XXXIII

❏ *MAMMOTRECT BUNTEMANTEL*, Magister in the Seven Liberal Arts, sendeth right hearty greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius, Philosopher, Orator, Poet, Jurist, and Theologian, of discretionary Faculty

RIGHT conscionable Herr Magister *Ortwin*, believe me in good sooth, you have been mine own dear heart from the days wherein I heard much discourse on Poetry from your worthiness at *Cologne*, where you overtop all others in that art, for you are a Poet much more excellent than *Buschius* or *Cesarius*—and can moreover expound *Pliny* and Greek Grammar.

In all confidence, therefore, I desire to disclose somewhat to your reverence under seal of confession.

Reverend Herr Magister, I have become enamoured of a damsel here, *Margaret* by name, the daughter of a bell-ringer. No long while ago she sat by your own side, to wit when the parson invited your worship to the feast, and treated you with deference due; when

we drank and were merry, she too pledged you in great bumpers.

Her I love with such passion that I am beside myself. Believe me, because of her I can neither eat nor sleep. Folk say to me, "Herr Magister, why so pale? For the love of God quit your books; you study over much; you should now and again seek some diversion, and drink deep; you are yet in your youth, and are well able to proceed Doctor and become Magister Noster. You are a profound and able scholar, and are almost the equal of a Doctor."

But I am bashful, and cannot unfold my disorder. I have studied *Ovid*, "Of the Remedy of Love," which I annotated at *Cologne* under your worthiness, with many notabilia and moralisations in the margin—but it availeth not, for this love of mine waxeth from day to day.

Lately I danced with her thrice, at an evening junketing at the Mayor's house. The piper struck up the tune of "The Shepherds of Neustadt," and straightway all the dancers clasped their partners, as is the wont—so I also hugged mine right lovingly, with her bosom next my heart, and tightly did I squeeze her hand. Then she simpered, and said, "By my soul, Herr Magister, you are a sweet man, and you have softer hands than the others; you must not be a priest, you must take a wife!" Then she eyed me so amorously that I believe she loveth me—secretly. Her glance, in sooth, wounded my heart as though an arrow had pierced it, and straightway I went home with my servant, and flung myself upon my bed.

Then my mother fell a-weeping, because she thought I was sick of the plague, and she ran with my water to Dr. *Brunell*, crying out, "Herr Doctor, I beseech you by the Lord to heal my son; I will give you a fine shirt for a fee, because I made a vow that he should become a priest!" Then the leech cast the water, and said, "The patient is partly cholical, and partly phlegmatical; there is danger of great intumescence in his reins, with tympanies and abdominal colics from ill concoctions. He must needs have recourse to a purgative. There is a simple named Gyni, which groweth in

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

moist places and hath a rank odour, as the *Herbarius* teacheth: the roots of this herb you must triturate with the juice thereof, and therewith you must make a great cataplasma, and cover his paunch with it at the accustomed time, and he must lie upon his belly a full hour, sweating profusely. And thus without a doubt his colicky pains and tympanies will abate, for there is no other medicament so effectual as this for his distemper, as has been proved in the case of many patients. But it will assuredly be proper for him first to take a cathartic of *Album Græcum* and radish juice—four drachms of each—and all will be well.”

Then came my mother, and gave me that concoction, sorely against my will, and I was purged five times ere dawn, and I slept not at all, but all the while I ceased not to think of how I had embraced the damsel at the dance, with her breast to mine, and how she looked at me.

Now I beseech you, by all your bowels of mercy, give me a remedy for Love out of that little book of yours wherein is written “I have tried this.” You once showed it to me, saying, “See, with this book I can make any woman love me!”

And unless you do this, Herr Magister, I shall die, and for grief my mother will die too.

HEIDELBERG.

XXXIV

¶ *MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS to his most learned friend, in friendship's loftiest rank, Magister Mammotrectus, sendeth salutations*

INASMUCH as the Scripture saith, “The Lord shall defend them who go simply,” I greatly commend your worthiness, most argute Herr Magister, in that you have opened your inmost heart to me so frankly, and yet with a nice concinnity and a pretty trick in Latinising. I, in like manner, will write to you congruously with the canons of Rhetoric, and not as a poet.

Most amicable Herr Magister, you have unfolded to me your amours, but I marvel that you are not too prudent to hanker after maidens; I warn you that in this you do ill, and that you have a sinful end in view, that may bring you to hell-fire. I deemed you prudent, and one that had no mind for such follies, for they ever have an ill event.

Nevertheless I will give you the counsel that you seek—as saith the Scripture, “Ask ye, and ye shall take.” First, you must cast aside those vain imaginings concerning that *Margaret* of yours, for they are suggested to you by the Devil, who is the father of all sin—as *Richard* allegeth, in his comment on the Fourth Book. Whensoever thoughts of her assail you, fail not to cross yourself and say a paternoster, with that verse of the Psalms, “The *Devil* stand at his right side.” Neglect not to eat consecrated salt on the Lord’s Day, and sprinkle yourself with holy water that the priest of *St. Rupert* hath blessed. Thus may you escape from that devil who hath instilled in you so great fervour for this *Margaret*—who, after all, is not so comely as you think her; she hath a wart on her forehead, long red shanks, and clumsy brown hands, and her breath savoureth because of her foul teeth; moreover she hath a heavy stern, in accordance with the common saying that “*Ars Margaretæ* is a wonderful snare.” But you are so blinded by that devil-begotten passion that you perceive not her faults. She eateth and drinketh over much, and when she sat by me at table she made a bounce and said it was the foot-stool. A fairer wench than your *Margaret* was mine at *Cologne*, nevertheless I sent her packing. After she was wedded she often used to send for me through an old crone—yet I visited her but once, and then I was fuddled. I counsel you to fast twice on the Sabbath, and afterwards to make confession to a Doctor of the *Order of Preachers*, who will set you on your legs again. And when you have made confession you must pray to *St. Christopher* to bear you on his shoulders, that you backslide not, nor be soused in that great and wide sea wherein are creeping things innumerable—that is, numberless sins, as saith the *Combibilator*—and, finally,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

pray that you enter not into temptation. Arise betimes, wash your hands, comb your hair and be not slothful; for the Scripture saith, "God my God, to thee from light I wake." Avoid too, houses of ill-fame, for we well know that places and opportunities oft lead men into sin, and especially into lechery.

In that you desire to learn from me an experience in fascination, I must tell you that my conscience forbiddeth. When I expounded to you here *Ovid* in his "Art of Love," I warned you that no man ought to compass the love of women by the Black Art; and whoso gainsayeth this is in sooth excommunicate, and the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity may hale him and condemn him to the stake.

This former ensample, I pray you, bear in thy mind: A certain Bachelor of *Leipsic* became enamoured of a maiden—*Katherine* by name—the daughter of a miller, and he tossed her a magical apple, which she caught and placed in her bosom, between her breasts. Thereupon on a sudden she began to love that Bachelor like a fury, so that when she was in church she could not refrain her eyes from him, and when she should have said, "Pater noster qui es in cælo," she cried, "Oh, Bachelor, where art thou?" Even at home, when her father or mother called to her, she would answer, "Yes, Bachelor! What is your will?" Now the old folk comprehended not the matter, until a certain Doctor of Divinity, passing by the house, greeted the maiden, saying, "Goodden, Mistress *Katherine*! Save you! you have a fine comb!" Thereupon *Katherine* made answer, "God be praised, dear Bachelor! Wilt join with me in a draught of good ale?" And she held out a tankard to him. Then was that divine mightily wrath, and he made his complaint to her mother, and said, "Mistress *Müller*, correct your daughter, for she behaveth herself frowardly, and hath insulted our University, in that she called me 'Bachelor,' whereas I am Magister Noster! Verily, verily, I say unto you that she hath committed a deadly sin; she hath robbed me of my good fame; and this sin is not remitted until she hath restored that which she hath filched.

Other Doctors, too, she hath called ‘Bachelor’—take heed therefore.”

Thereupon her mother took a cudgel, and laid it about her head and back till she beshamed herself; and then she shut her up in her chamber for half a year, and fed her on bread and water. In the meanwhile the Bachelor gained preferment, and celebrated his first mass, and then received a cure of souls at *Pardau* in *Saxony*. But when the maiden heard thereof she leaped from a lofty window and came nigh to breaking her arm, and fled to *Saxony*, to the afore-said Bachelor. She dwelleth with him unto this day, and hath borne him four sons. You know right well that this is a grievous scandal in the Church. Take heed, therefore, and shun that Black Art from which so many evils flow. But by all means use that recipe of Gyni that Dr. *Brunell* hath prescribed. ’Tis a sovran remedy, and I have oftentimes tried it against such colicky spasms.

Fare ye well—you and your mother.

From COLOGNE; at *Johann Pfefferkorn’s* house.

XXXV

¶ **LYRA BUNTSCHUHMACHER**, *Theologian, of the Order of Preachers, to Wilhelm Hackinet, Most Theological of Theologians, greeting*

YOU have written me, from *London* in *England*, a long letter excellently well Latinised, and in it you adjure me to send you some tidings, whether good or bad, since you are by nature inclined ever to be hearkening to news—as are all men of a sanguine complexion, who delight to hear the concords of sweet music, and are of joyful heart at the board.

¶ I was greatly gladdened when I received your letter, and was as one who findeth a precious pearl; and I shewed it to Herren *John Grocyn* and *Linacre*, saying: “See, my lords, see; is not this Doctor a paragon in latinity, and composition, and the epistolary art?”

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

And they vowed that they could not themselves write such a letter in the Latin tongue, though poets, and possessed both of Greek and Latin.

They extolled you, indeed, above all writers in *England, France and Germany*, and in every other nation under heaven.

Small wonder then that you are General of your Order, and that in *France* the king loveth you; for you have no peer in Latinising, nor in disputation, nor in preaching; and right well do you know how to instruct the King and the Queen in the confessional.

The two poets aforesaid also lauded you, in that you were skilled in the art rhetorical; but there was a certain young man, *Richard Croke* by name, who alleged against you that you did not write according to the Canons of the Art of Rhetoric: but when he made shift to prove his words he was put to confusion.

He is now at *Leipsic*, studying the Logic of *Peter of Spain*: I trow in future he will be more heedful.

But, to come to the news: The Swissers and the Landsknechts have been mightily waging war, and slaying one another in thousands; and it is to be feared that none of them will go to heaven, because they fight for pelf, and one Christian ought not to slay another. But these are matters that you heed not; the soldiers are but lewd folk, and they fight because they list.

Another piece of news is graver—God grant that it be not true—it is reported from *Rome* that *Johann Reuchlin's Augenspiegel* hath been newly translated from the mother-tongue into Latin by the command of my lord the Pope, and that in more than two hundred passages it differeth in the Latin from the rendering made by the Doctors and Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn* at *Cologne*; they say too, for certain, that it is openly read in *Rome*, and is printed with the *Talmud* of the Jews. And they conclude from this that the Doctors are infamous falsifiers, because they have translated ill; also that they are asses, ignorant of both Latin and German; and that as they burnt that book at *St. Andrew's* in *Cologne*, so ought they to burn their own Verdict, and the Verdict of *Paris*, or be themselves held as heretics.

I could weep tears of blood, so greatly do I grieve! Who that hears such things will study Theology any more, or show the Doctors of Divinity condign reverence? All folk will believe that Doctor *Reuchlin* hath more learning than the Divines: though this is impossible.

It is reported too, that after three months a final decree against the Doctors will issue; and that the Pope will command, under pain of the severest censure, that the friars of the *Order of Preachers*, shall on account of their insolence, wear, in white, upon the back of their black mantles, a pair of spectacles, or barnacles, in perpetual memorial, to their shame, of their having wrought ill to the *Eyeglass* of Herr *Johann Reuchlin*, as they are also held to be disgraced on account of the poisoning of some Emperor or other during the celebration of mass.

But I hope the Pope will not be such a noddy as to do this; if he doth, we must everywhere throughout our Order, recite against him the Psalm "*Deus, laudem.*"

The Fathers and Doctors are pondering how to stave off this calamity. They purpose to seek from the Apostolic See plenary indulgences, and to collect great store of money in *Germany* and *France*, and by this means to hold out against that abettor of the Jews, until he die—for he is an old man. And then they will totally damn him.

Farewell, give counsel to the extent of your ability, and labour for the good of our Order.

XXXVI

¶ *EITELNARRABIANUS VON PESSE-NECK*, Cursor in Theology, of the Order of *St. Wilhelm*, sendeth innumerable salutations to *Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

"WE are by nature prone to sin," as we read in the *Authentica*. Hence it followeth that among men we hear more evil than good report. I lately held disputation at *Worms* with two Jews, and proved that

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

their Law was made by *Christ* of none effect, and that their expectation of a *Messiah* was mere moonshine ; and on this matter I quoted Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn* of *Cologne*. Then they laughed, and said, “That *Johann Pfefferkorn* of yours is a vile braggart ; he knoweth no Hebrew, and he became a Christian to hide his naughtiness. When he was yet a Jew, in *Moravia*, seeing a woman standing at a money-changer’s counter, he smote her in the face, so that she was blinded, and seizing more than two hundred florins, he made off with them. Elsewhere a gallows was set up that he might be hanged thereon for theft, but by some means or other he escaped scot-free ; we have seen the gallows ourselves, and so have many Christians, and some noblemen, whom we can name. Call not to witness, therefore, a thief like him.” Then was I wrath, and made answer, “You lie in your throats, vile Jews ! Were you not privileged, I would seize you by the weasand and roll you in the mire ! You speak thus out of hatred to Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn* ; he is as good and zealous a Christian as any in *Cologne* : this I know from observation, for he confesseth regularly to the *Dominicans*, together with his wife ; he rejoiceth to hear mass, and when the priest elevateth the Host he regardeth it devoutly, and casteth not his eyes down to the ground, as his revilers aver—save when he hawketh, and this he doth because he is rheumy and taketh pectorals of a morning. Think you that the Doctors and Burgomasters of *Cologne* are fools, who have set him over the *Revilien Hospital*, and made him surveyor of salt ? Assuredly they would not have this done if he had not been a good Catholic. I warn you that I shall relate all your words to him, for he can well defend his honour, and trounce you to some purpose by writing about your own Confession. You say, forsooth, that he is cockered by the Magisternosters and Burgomasters because he hath a fair wife. But this is not sooth, for the Burgomasters have fair wives themselves, and the Magisternosters pay no heed to woman-kind ; none ever heard tell of a Magisternoster who was a gallant ! The dame is as honest a matron as any in *Cologne* ; she would rather lose an eye than her good fame. Moreover I have often heard that her mother

used to say that the circumcised are dearer to a woman's heart than the uncircumcised ; wherefore she declareth that when her husband dieth, and she taketh another spouse, he must be one who hath been fitly trimmed. It is unbelievable, therefore, that she hankereth after Burgomasters, who have never been Jews, and are not circumcised as is Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*. Wherefore leave him in peace, else he will launch against you a tractate which he will call *The Tocsin*, as he did against *Reuchlin*." It would be well for you to show this letter of mine to Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*, that he may stoutly defend himself against such Jews as these, and against *Hermann Busch*, for *Pfefferkorn* is mine own familiar friend, and lent me ten florins when I was admitted qualified Bachelor in Theology.

From Bonn; where *Buschius* and his crony board together at "The Fatted Hen."

XXXVII

¶ *LUPOLD FEDERFUCHSER, Licentiate—in a little while—sendeth to Mag. Grätius greetings as many as are the blades of grass in a goose's supper*

HERR MAGISTER ORTWIN, among the quodlibets at *Erfurt* a vengeance subtle question hath been mooted in the two Faculties of Theology and Natural Philosophy.

The one part hold that when a Jew becometh a Christian there ensueth a preputial regeneration, or retrieval of the virile deprivation inflicted in childhood under the Judaic law.

These disputants are of the Theological Faculty, and they allege for their part sundry weighty reasons, one whereof is that were it not so, Jews who had become Christians might be regarded as being yet Jews at the last Judgment—their virile deficiency being made manifest—and hence an injury would be done to them ; but the Lord doth injury to no man.—Q.E.D.

¶ And they find another argument in the words of the *Psalmist*, who saith : " He covereth me in the day of evils, in the secret place he covereth me " : but " the day

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

of evils" meaneth the Day of Doom in the *Valley of Jehoshaphat*, when account of all sins must be rendered. Other arguments I omit for brevity's sake, for we at *Erfurt* are moderns, and the moderns ever delight in brevity, as you know. Moreover, in that my memory is weak, I cannot learn by rote a multitude of citations, as do the Jurists.

But there are others who contend that this argument holdeth not, and they quote *Plantus* on their side, who saith: "What is done cannot be undone." From this they prove that if a Jew in the days of his Judaism hath lost any portion of his corporality he will by no means recover it in Christian baptism. They argue, too, that their opponents' proof concludeth illogically; for, from their major premiss it would follow that Christians who had, through loose living, suffered some carnal deficiency—as happeneth many a time to both secular and spiritual persons—would also be held to be Jews at the Last Judgment.

But this is an heretical conclusion, and our Masters the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity will by no means grant it, seeing that they themselves are now and then a trifle lacking thereabouts—a mishap which occurreth to them by no means from consorting with wantons, but from lack of care at the baths. Most humbly and devotedly I pray your worship, therefore, to determine the truth of this matter once for all by your decision, and to make enquiries of Herr *Pfefferkorn's* wife, seeing that you stand in her good graces, and she will not be backward in telling you whatsoever you ask in the name of the close friendship you have with her husband. Moreover, I hear that you are her confessor, and therefore you may compel her to due obedience under pain of penance.

Say to her: "Madam, be not bashful! I know you for as honest a lady as any in *Cologne*: and nothing dishonest do I ask from you. I do but seek to learn the truth from you: is your husband of the circumcision, or not? Speak boldly, without shame! Od's life! have you lost your tongue?" But I must not presume to instruct you, for you know much better than I how to deal with women. I write in haste.

From *ERFURT*: at the sign of the *Dragon*.

XXXVIII

¶ *PETERMANN KACHELOFEN, Licentiate,
to Magister Ortwin Gratius most salutiferous
salutations*

YOU wrote to me of late from *Cologne*, and chided me for not writing to you, since, you averred, you read my letters with more relish than any others, inasmuch as their style is good, and they are artificially composed according to the Epistolary Rules that I learnt from your worthiness in *Cologne*. But I may tell you that I have not always inspiration, and matter withal, such as is now mine.

You must know that a public Disputation is being held here, and the Magisters and Doctors exhibit their craft and profundity in deciding, solving, and propounding questions, arguments, and problems concerning all things knowable. The Poets and Orators, too, prove themselves highly skilled and learned, and amongst them there standeth forth one who is woundily magistral in that art above all the rest, and he assumes a brave title in announcing his lectures—for he alleges that he is the Poet of poets, and that besides him there is none other poet.

He hath written a treatise all in verse, with a mighty fine name—what it is called I have forgot, but I trow it handleth wrath and choler—and in that treatise he vexeth many of the Magisters, and the other poets who hindered him from lecturing in the University, on account of his licentious art. The Magisters, moreover, tell him to his face that he is not so fine a poet as he boasteth himself to be, and they oppose him stoutly, and prove their case by citing you, seeing that you are more deeply immersed in the art poetical. They prove too that he is not well grounded in the quantities of syllables, as the Master of *Villedieu* determines them in his Third Book (which the fellow seemeth not to have duly studied), and they prove their

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

case by many arguments. *Imprimis*, by means of your name—and this in twofold fashion. First: this fellow would fain be a deeper poet than Magister *Ortwin*, and yet his very name will not suffer it.

Magister *Ortwin* manifestly hath the name *Gratius* from the grace given him from on high (which is called grace because it is given *gratis*), for you could not compose those profound poems without that gratuitous grace given you by the divine spirit that breatheth where it listeth. It is through your humility that you have obtained this, for “God withstandeth proud men, but to meek men he giveth grace.” They who read your poetry, and understand such matters, vow that you have no peer, and marvel that this fellow can be so doltish and irreverent as to wish to excel you, when a child may see that you surpass him as doth the *Labyrinthus* the *Cornutus*.

The Magisters desire to collect your writings, and to print those that are scattered about in sundry tractates—as, for instance, in that book of Doctor *von Tongern*, High-master of *Lawrence Hostel*, against *Johann Reuchlin’s* scandalous theses—in the “*Sentimentum Parisiense*”—and in many a treatise of Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*, once a Jew but now best of Christians. They fear that otherwise your poetry will be lost, and they declare that it would be a disgrace to the age—nay, a mortal sin—if through neglect it should perish and not be printed. The Magisters pray that you will deign to send them your *Vindication* in reply to *Johann Reuchlin*, in which you soundly trounce that swaggering doctor who dares to contend with four universities: they would fain transcribe your work and restore it to you.

Among those who rely on the aforesaid arguments are Magister *Johann Kirchberg*, mine own particular friend and fellow-graduate—Magister *Johann Hungen*, my most loving friend—Magister *Jakob von Nürnberg*, Magister *Jodok Windsheim*, and many other Magisters, my own right worthy friends, and your undaunted well-wishers.

Some there are, nevertheless, who object, and say that albeit this mode of proof is indeed subtle, and the

conclusion regular, it accords not with your intention; for it would sound vainglorious to say, "Sirs, I am named *Gratius* after that grace from on high which God hath given me in Poetry and all things knowable." For this would seem to fit but ill with that lowliness through which you received that grace, and argueth a certain inconcinnity; for supernal grace and pride cannot coexist, since grace is a virtue, and pride is a vice, and these are incompatible; for "one of two countraries expelleth the other, as heat drives out cold": as saith the poet, according to *Petrus Hispanus* in the "*Prædicamenta*," who showeth that virtue is the opposite of vice.

Another solution is therefore much to be preferred, to wit, that *Gratius* is so named after the Roman *Gracchi*, a letter being dropped for euphony's sake. Now concerning these *Gracchi* we read in Roman History that they were very famous poets and orators, and that in *Rome* in those days their equals were not to be found, subtle and skilled as they in Poetry and Rhetoric. It is related, too, that their voices were soft and sweet, not strident and harsh, but dulcet as a flute. And sometimes it was to the sound of a flute that they opened their discourses, wherefore the people listened to them with the liveliest delight, and lauded them above all others in that art. Now it was from these *Gracchi* that Magister *Ortwin* was surnamed *Gratius*. For, in turn, no man is his equal in poetry, or in dulcitude of voice. He surpasseth all, just as the *Gracchi* overtopped all the poets of *Rome*. Therefore the aforesaid poet of *Wittenberg* should keep silent and humble himself: he is learned after a fashion, but compared to you he is a child.

This second proof is adopted by my familiar friends *Eoban Hessus*, Magister *Heinrich Urbanus*, *Ritius Euritius*, Magister *Georg Spalatin*, *Ulrich Hutten*, and especially Doctor *Ludwig Mistotheus*, my honoured friend and protector. Prithee, write and tell me which are on the right track, and what is the truth of the matter. And a mass shall be read for you that you may get the better of Doctor *Reuchlin*, who undeservedly dubbed you a heretic in that you wrote

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

in your verse, "Jove's holy mother wept." Fare ye well, in all holiness.

From WITTENBERG, at the Castle, with Magister *Spalatin*, who sends you greetings as many as the Hallelujahs sung between Easter and Whitsuntide. Farewell, once more, and be of joyous countenance.

XXXIX

☞ *NIKOLAUS LUMINATORIS* sendeth to Herr Magister Ortwin as many greetings as there be fleas and midges begotten in a year

MAGISTER ORTWIN, most learned preceptor, I render you more thanks than I have hairs on my body, for that you counselled me to trudge to Cologne and study at *Lawrence Hostel*. My father was well pleased thereat, and gave me ten florins; furthermore he bought me a long gown with a black hood. On the very day when I arrived at the University, and underwent initiation at the aforesaid hostel, I learned a most noteworthy thing that I would not have missed for ten silver pieces. A certain poet, one *Hermann Buschius*, came to the hostel to confer with the vice-regent on business. Thereupon the vice-regent took him by the hand, and greeted him deferentially, saying, "Whereof is this thing to me, that the mother of the Lord cometh to me?" But *Buschius* made answer, "If the Lord had a mother no fairer than I am, of a truth she was not very comely!" Thus he failed to comprehend the subtle rhetorical allegory that the vice-regent had intended by his greeting!

I trust that I shall yet learn in this benign University many things as profitable as this notable topic. To-day I bought the Statutes of the Hostel; to-morrow I must argue in an academical disputation on this theme: "Whether prime matter is an actual or potential entity."

LAWRENCE HOSTEL, COLOGNE.

XL

¶ *HERBORD MISTLADER offereth to Magister Ortevin Gratius of learning incomparable, his own most sapient preceptor, salutations that no man may number*

ALL-ENLIGHTENED Magister! When I parted from your worthiness at *Zwolle*, two years agone, you plighted your troth that you would write oft to me, and would provide for me in your writings patterns of fair diction. But, alas, you have gone from your word, and write not to tell me if you be quick or dead—and, whether you be alive or dead, you tell me not which, or what hath happed, or how the matter standeth. Dear Lord! how you rack me! I beseech you, by the Lord and *St. George*, free me from my solicitude; for I am in great dread lest you have a headache, or some infirmity in your bowels, with a flux such as you once had when you berayed your garments in the public street and perceived it not until a woman cried out, “*Herr Magister! hast thou been sitting on a mixen? See! even thy skirts and shoes are slubbered!*” And then you turned in to *Johann Pfefferkorn’s* house, and his wife gave you a change of raiment. It behoveth you to eat hard-boiled eggs, and roasted chestnuts, and cooked beans sprinkled with poppy-seed, as is the wont in your country of *Westphalia*. I have dreamed a dream concerning you—that you have a grievous cough and much rheume withal; eat therefore sugar-plums, and peas mashed with thyme and pounded garlic; lay a roasted onion on your navel, and be continent for six days; wrap up your head and your loins, and you will be cured.

Or you may try the remedy that *Johann Pfefferkorn’s* wife hath often given to the infirm, and the virtue whereof hath oft been proved.

From ZWOLLE.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XLI

¶ *FILIPPAZZO OF ANTWERP, Bachelor, sendeth greetings numberless to his own particular friend, Magister Ortwin Gratius*

THERE was a certain religious of the Order of Preachers, a disciple of Doctor *Jakob von Hoogstraten*, who came to me and saluted me. Straightway I asked him, "How doth my own particular friend, Magister *Ortwin Gratius*, from whom I have learnt much lore in Logic and Poetry?" Thereupon he replied that you were in ill-health, and immediately I fell upon the earth at his feet in dismay. Then that religious drenched me with cold water, and twitched my hairs, and with much ado revived me; then I cried, "Ah! how grievously you have terrified me: what is his malady?" And he told me that your right pap was swollen, and that you were galled, and hindered in your studies, by the anguish of that distemper. Then I came to my senses and cried, "Ha! is it no more than that? I can cure that ailment; I know the healing thereof by experience. But Herr Magister, learn first whence that infirmity proceedeth." And therewith I set forth the remedy: When wanton wenches see a proper man, like yourself, with auburn locks, to wit, and brown or hazel eyes, and ruddy lips, and a fine nose, and portly withal, straightway they hanker after him. But when he is virtuous, and a man of learning, like yourself, who pays no heed to their follies and wiles, then they resort to magic arts, and at night, mounted on besoms, they ride thereon to the comely man of their heart, and visit him in his sleep—but to him all is naught but a dream. And some assume the shapes of cats and birds, and suck the blood from their good man's breast, and at times make him so weak that he can scarce hobble with a staff.

It is, I trow, the devil who teacheth them these tricks. Nevertheless, this is the way to frustrate them, as I read in the Doctors' Library at *Rostock*, out of a very

ancient book ; and afterwards I made trial of it, and it proved true.

Upon a Sunday take some consecrated salt, and with it make the sign of the cross upon the tongue, and eat it, as saith the Scripture, “Vos estis sal terrae,” which is by interpretation, “Eat ye the salt of the earth.” Afterwards make the sign of the cross upon the breast, and again on the back ; in like manner put some salt in each ear, not omitting the sign of the cross, and taking heed that none fall out. Finally recite the following devout prayer :—

“Jesu Christe Domine,
And Evangels four, do ye
Fend me from ev’ry harlot’s harm,
And from the sorceress’s charin—
Lest she my blood shall suck, and wring
My paps with anguish : I will bring
If ye preserve me, as oblation,
A pretty asperge for lustration.”

And thus you will be delivered. And if the blood-suckers come again and gorge, they will fall sick themselves.

And, now, how standeth it with Doctor *Reuchlin* ? The Magisters here say that he is too much for you ; but I cannot believe that he can overcome Magister-nosters. All the more do I wonder that you do not write somewhat against him.

Fare ye well, more than eternally. Greet for me Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn* and his wife : tell them that I wish them more good nights than the minutes that the astronomers reckon.

FRANKFORT-ON-ODER.

XLII

☞ *ANTON N., of the Art of Medicine almost Doctor—Licentiate, to wit, but shortly to be graduated—sendeth greeting to the inestimable Mag. Ortwin Gratius, his venerated teacher*

PRECEPTOR unparalleled ! Seeing that a little while ago you requested me to tell you the news, you must know that I have but now attained *Stras-*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

burg, journeying from *Heidelberg*, to purchase certain drugs that, as I believe you know, we use in our medicaments. For it is the custom amongst your physicians, if aught be lacking in their stores, to proceed elsewhither to procure it for the practice of their Art. But let this pass. As soon as I arrived hither, there came to me a good friend, and one very well-disposed towards me; you know him well, for he was for a long while under your ferule at *Cologne*—and he told me of a man named *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, of whom I had never heard, but who is profoundly skilled in all knowledge and in every branch of learning. This man, he told me, was even then at *Strasburg*. (I could not believe, and I yet cannot bring myself to believe, that a man so small as he is could know so much.) Thereupon I earnestly begged my friend to bring me to *Erasmus* that I might see him. I had with me a note-book that I call my medical *Vade-mecum*—for I always carry it with me when I walk abroad to visit patients, or to buy simples—and in this are jotted down sundry very subtle questions concerning the medical art. Out of this notebook, therefore, I culled me a question with all the comments thereon, and the arguments *pro* and *con*, and armed with these I purposed to beset this man whom they deem so learned, and make trial whether he knew somewhat of Medicine, or not. Now when I told my friend my intent, he made a great feast, and bade to it speculative Theologians, and Jurists of high renown, and myself as a representative, all unworthy, of the Art Medicinal.

Now, when we were set, for a long while there was a silence, and from modesty no man would break it; then I nudged my neighbour, for of a sudden—heaven knoweth how—there rushed into my mind:—

“Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant.”

This verse I still have fresh in my memory, for when you expounded to us *Virgil* in his *Eneid*, I limned beside it a man with a bolt on his mouth, to mark the passage, as you bade us.

At the last it was fairly brought to the proof, whether that wiseacre was indeed a poet, as the report

went. For as we all sat in silence, he began to hold forth in a mighty long preamble.

But of this—else am I no true-born man—I understood not a single word, by reason that he had such a wee little voice; I think he did in some sort handle theology, and this to engage a certain Magister Noster, a man of vast profundity in matters theological, who sat with us at board.

Thereupon, when *Erasmus* had concluded that prelude, the Magister Noster began to argue with great subtlety concerning entity and essence—but it skilleth not that I should recall his words, for you are well versed in such matters. When he had finished, *Erasmus* replied, but briefly, and once more we all sat silent. Our host, therefore, who is a humanist of parts, fell to some discourse on Poetry, and greatly belauded *Julius Caesar*, as touching both his writings and his valorous deeds. So soon as I heard this, I perceived my opportunity, for I had studied much, and learned much under you in the matter of Poetry, when I was at *Cologne*, and I said, “Forasmuch as you have begun to speak concerning Poetry, I can therefore no longer hide my light under a bushel, and I roundly aver that I believe not that *Caesar* wrote those *Commentaries*, and I will prove my position with argument following, which runneth thus: Whosoever hath business with arms and is occupied in labour unceasing cannot learn Latin; but *Caesar* was ever at War and in labours manifold; therefore he could not become lettered and get Latin. In truth, therefore, I believe that it was none other than *Suetonius* who wrote those *Commentaries*, for I have met with none who hath a style liker to *Caesar’s* than *Suetonius*.”

After I had this spoken, and much else which here, for brevity’s sake, I set not down—since, as you know from the ancient saw, “The moderns delight in brevity”—*Erasmus* laughed, but said nothing, for I had overthrown him by the subtilty of my argument. And so we made an end of the feast, and I propounded not my question in the Art of Medicine, for I well knew that he could not resolve it, since he could not answer me that argument in Poetry. He, a poet! Pardy, I

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

declare that there is not so much in him as they say. In the way of Poetry I admit that he can speak fair Latin. But what of that? We can learn many such things as that in a year. But in respect of the philosophic sciences, such as Theology and Medicine, much more hath to be done if one would fain learn them. And yet would he be held a Theologian. But, my good Master, what kind of Theologian? A novice, forsooth, who dealeth with words alone, and tasteth not the inner meanings of things; as though—to make a fair comparison—one should desire to eat a nut, and yet only eat the outer husk, and come not at the kernel within. Thus it standeth with such triflers, according to my own dull understanding. But of this you know much more than I, for I hear that even now you are minded to assume the robes of the Doctorate of Theology—to which may God and the Holy Mother exalt you. Nevertheless, I will say this on my own behalf—that I be not more tedious than I had purposed—that I would gain more by my art—if God but grant that sick folk be multiplied—in a week, than *Erasmus* or any other Poet in a year. Let this, then, suffice for the present. Good luck to you! I have been greatly perturbed. Another time I will send you more news. May you live and prosper as long as doth a phoenix—this may all the Saints grant—and have affection for me as of yore.

FROM HEIDELBERG.

XLIII-XLIV

¶ *GALLUS LEINWEBER, of Gundelfingen,
Singer among Good Fellows, sendeth greeting to
Magister Ortwin Gratinus, his well-beloved teacher*

REVEREND Herr Magister: seeing that you sent me a letter full of solace at *Eberburg*, in the which you consoled me, inasmuch as you had heard that I was sick, I render you sempiternal thanks. Nevertheless you wrote in that letter that you marvelled at my being sick, since I had no more labour to

perform than the other do-nothings—the quality's lackeys, to wit. Ha, ha, ha! I must needs laugh—else I am no true-born man—that you can ask so foolish a question! Know you not that it is God's will to make a man sick when he pleaseth, and to cure him when he listeth? If sickness came by toil 'twould be a bad thing for me; although you say I have little to do. When of late I was at *Heidelberg* among boon-companions, I was compelled to labour so mightily with my throat, in the drinking of wine, that it would have been no marvel had I stretched my gullet thereby—and think you that no labour? But concerning that matter let this suffice. 'There followeth in your letter a request that I should procure for you a little book in which is set forth somewhat useful for the young, that you may use it for a primer. Since, therefore, I have ever held you in esteem by reason of the various branches of learning that you know by rote, I cannot refrain from sending you a letter culled from a fair volume intituled "*The Leipsic Magisters' Chaplet of Letters*" which the most accomplished Magisters in the benign University of *Leipsic* have devised. This I have done that, if this first letter please you, I may send you the whole book—but I do not willingly let it pass from my hands.

Here beginneth the aforesaid letter:—

*MAGISTER HOFMAN, Senior Regent in
Heinrich Hostel at Leipsic, sendeth greeting to
Matthias Falkenberg, of noble family, for fifty
years, and more, his friend inseparable*

SINCE we have not met for a long while, it seemeth good to me to send you a letter, that our ancient friendship may not decay; I have heard from many that you still live, and are of good health, and are all the man you were in your youth: and this, by the Lord, I heard with vast pleasure—God, who is good, will pardon me for so round an oath. Would to God and Holy Mary

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that you might once in a way ride hither! But I hear that you take not the same joy in riding as was your wont when you were with me at *Erfurt* and in other parts of *Saxony*, and when I often marvelled at your ease on horseback. I had great fear, when I heard that the folk at *Worms* were at strife with a certain nobleman, lest you should be involved therein, for an ancient family, such as yours, readily joineth hands with its equals; and in your youth you ever rejoiced to drink and ride with such, of which I have oft-times taxed you. But since all still goeth well, let us render thanks to *Christ* that we have so long remained in good health.

I marvel greatly that you have never written to me, notwithstanding that you have at your service many messengers to *Leipsic*, and you know well enough that I am ever to be found there. But I cannot be so slothful, wherefore I willingly write to you; I trow, forsooth, that in all those years in which we have never met I must have written as many as twenty letters to learned men, my contemporaries. I was mistaken in you; but let this pass with the rest.

Noble Sir, would that you had been here of late, when his Serenity the Prince of *Saxony* celebrated his nuptials with a splendid mask, at which many nobles were present. I was sent thither with our Rector, according to custom, to present a large bowl filled with florins, and there we abode two days, and were right well entertained and refreshed ourselves mightily with victuals and drink. My servant brought with him two jars, and learning where I should sit at table, he placed these under my stool: then we had wine of the best—you know what that is like, 'tis the sweetest of the sweet! and such I drink till my head goes round, and after supper I want to dance. Then I took and filled one jar with the liquor, and put it back under the table. This I did that we might have somewhat to drink by the way. Later on, among other dishes, we had a mighty fine ragout

full of chickens and other good things; thereupon I took the other jar and popped a whole pullet into it: this I did that his Magnificence the Rector and I might have somewhat to eat by the way. This done, I said to a nobleman near, "My Lord, prithee summon my servant, I have an order for him." This he did, and when my servant came, I said, "Fellow, pick up my knife that I have let fall beneath the board" (but I had dropped it on purpose). Then he crept under the table, and picked up the knife, and hid the jars beneath his coat, and slipped away, so that no one saw him.

Saint *Dorothy*! if you had but fared with us to *Leipsic*! With what jollity would we have spent the time! I lived for two days on the orts, for we could not eat the whole by the way.

I tell you all this, since I know that you also gladly filch with sack and sieve, at least you did—when you abode with me, and by my faith 'tis a noble art! I would not lose it for a hundred guldens. I learnt the other day that you have a fair garden at your home, where you grow much fruit—pears and apples and grapes; and when you are at your Inn—for you keep no table at home—you are wont to have a great satchel into which you slip cakes, and roast chickens, and meat, and so craftily do you make the pass, that no man perceiveth it; whereat I marvel. This skill I trow cometh from long use—for "practise maketh perfect," as saith the Philosopher in the Ninth of the *Physics*.

'Tis told me you have a doxy who is sand-blind of one eye. I marvel that you are such a man anights, being full of years. More wondrous still, I have heard of that stubborn plight of yours that persisted for six sennights. This you spake of as your infirmity. Dio! if such an infirmity were mine, what a good fellow I! But, believe me, I am not the man I was. A month ago I packed my cook out of the house. For many a day I have been out of pocket.

There is one more thing I would fain say to

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

you before I make an end. If you have a son, or other kinsman—or a dear friend of yours hath one—who is destined to be a student, send him hither to me at *Leipsic*. We have many learned doctors amongst us, and rare good victuals in our hostels—seven courses twice every day, at noon and evening; the first is called *Ever*—that is, porridge; the second, *Always*—that is, Soup; the third, *Daily*—that is, greens; the fourth, *Again and again*—that is, meat; the fifth, *Sometimes*—that is, roast; the sixth, *Never*—that is, cheese; the seventh, *Now and then*—that is, apples and pears. We have good liquor withal, called *Conventum*. Behold now, and see! Is not this enough? We keep this order throughout the year, to the great content of all. Nevertheless in our chambers we keep not overmuch victuals to eat between whiles, for this would not be healthful, and would hinder the students in their work; wherefore I have sent round to all the scholars these verses:—

“Within these walls let all observe
The standing regulations:
Be sure that he who sups with me
Provides his proper rations.”

You perceive that I too am a poet.—But enough, lest I should prove long-winded. Written at *Leipsic*, hastily, beneath the blue sky; and may you fare more joyfully than a bee among the thyme, or a fish in the waves. Once again, farewell.

See now, Herr Magister *Ortwin*, if this letter pleaseth you, and I will send you a whole book full of the like; and right excellent they are, according to my poor judgment. I have naught else to write to you.

Farewell, in Him who created all things.

Dated from EBERBURG, where I would that you were with me. Friday, between Easter and Pentecost.

¶ *ARNOLD VON TONGERN, Magister Noster
of Holy Scripture, sendeth greeting to Magister
Ortwin Gratius*

REVEREND Herr Magister! I am vexed beyond all vexation! Full well do I perceive that saying of the poets to be true: "Misfortunes never come singly"; and this I can prove as followeth: I am in poor health, and besides my distemper there falleth on me another heavy burden, namely this: Men flock to me daily, and write to me from varicus provinces, since I am known everywhere by reason of that tractate you wot of, which I wrote against *Johann Reuchlin's* "Vindication." These men declare that they marvel at our allowing *Johann Pfefferkorn*, a baptised Jew, to undertake the work of writing in our cause, to defend himself and all of us against *Reuchlin*, so that the fame is his, although we have written all the works published under his name—and all this, forsooth, is true enough. I tell you this under seal of confession. They say also that he hath now compiled a new book, the which in Latin is intituled, "*Defensorium Johannis Pfefferkorn contra Johannem Reuchlin*," in which he setteth forth the whole case from beginning to end—and this book he hath also translated into German. When I heard of this I swore that it was a lie—simply because I knew naught about the matter; but if he hath acted thus, then, pardy! it is disgraceful for him not to have informed me thereof, tho' previously he hath always consulted me. I trow that now he thinketh not of me because I am in ill health. If he had consulted me I should have told him that once was enough; for I am sure we shall gain nothing by writing, for *Reuchlin* is a devil incarnate, and ever hitteth back. If, however, the matter standeth thus, I desire earnestly that he refrain. You can hinder him as the corrector of his books.

Secondly, I have heard somewhat over which I do

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

not so greatly grieve; namely, that you have consorted with a handmaid of *Quentel's* the printer—I speak not as reproving you—and that by her you have had issue; I hear, too, that her master sent her packing, and would not suffer her to remain in his house—so she now liveth in her own home and maintaineth herself by tailoring.

I beseech you by the mutual friendship we have ever had, tell me whether this be sooth. For a long while have I had hankerings after her, but was afeared by reason of her maidenhood. If, however, you have done this, then, with your permission, we will maintain her in common: I to-day and you to-morrow—the worthiest first; I a Doctor, you a Magister. (I put it thus bluntly without intending any slight.) And thus, in secrecy, will we maintain her and the child at our common charge. She, I know, will be well content, and I trow that if I consorted with her for a while, I should be healed. I desire to purge my reins, and to become whole.

And now, farewell. If I had not been plagued with this flux I would have come to you, instead of writing. In haste, from our Hostel.

XLVI

¶ *JOHANN WAGNER VON AMBACH*
sendeth many greetings to Mag. Ortwin Grätius

SEEING that you lately wrote to me, asking how it fareth with me at *Heidelberg*, and what I think of the Doctors and Magisters here, I must tell you that so soon as I arrived at *Heidelberg* I was appointed cook at a hostel, where I receive my victuals and certain monies by way of guerdon, and am thus enabled to proceed Magister, in due course. *Harry the Poor* did the like, who, having neither books nor paper, wrote all on his leathern jerkin. In like manner *Plautus* maintained himself, who carried sacks to the mill like an ass, and nevertheless became a very learned author, who wrote both verse and prose.

That you may know who are the learned here, I will speak first of the most worthy, and then of the rest in turn, since, as the Philosopher saith in the First Book of the *Physics*, "We must proceed from universals to particulars. *Porphirius* too descends from the most general genus to the most special species, where *Plato* calls a halt. Moreover, appellation should be based on the worthiest examples, as saith the heathen philosopher in his Second Book of *The Soul*. Among all the Doctors of Theology there is one here who is our Preacher, and he hath a mighty voice, albeit he is a little man. Folk hear his preaching right gladly, and think much of him—for, pardy, he is learned, nay, superlatively learned I can tell you, and folk throng to his sermons, for he is a delectable man and cracketh good jokes in the pulpit. I once heard him treat of that question out of the *Posterior Analytics*: Why? Wherefore? What? When? And he could discuss it all in German. Once too he preached concerning virginity, and said that virgins who had lost their virginity were wont to aver they had lost it by force. "'By force' is good," quoth he; "I ask you if one, having a drawn sword in one hand and its scabbard in the other, jounceth the scabbard—is it to impede the sword? And so it is with virgins."

Moreover, once when he was offering New Year's wishes to men of different ranks he turned to the students of the three Hostels—who here comprise both Nominalists and Realists—and to the former he allotted *Saturn*, reasoning thus: "*Saturn* is a cold planet, and he consorteth well with the moderns, for they are cold Artsmen, who follow not after the way of *St. Thomas*, and his *Copulata* and *Reparationes* according to the syllabus of *De Monte* Hostel at *Cologne*." But to the Thomists he allotted in the New Year the boy *Ganyমেদে* who piggeth with *Jupiter*. *Ganyমেদে* suiteth well with the Realists, for he poureth out wine and beer for *Jove*, and the sweet juice of liquorice—which story *Torrentinus* hath fairly expounded in the First Book of the *Aeneid*—and in like manner do the Realists pour forth their Arts and Science; and thereon he argued much. And many other pleasant things said he,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

whereat I marvelled. I trow he lieth sleepless for many nights when he thinketh out these high and subtle matters. Howbeit there are many who say that he preacheth flapdoodle—and they call him *Quackulator*, and *Johnny Jolthead*, and *Goosecap*, for the reason that once he was found wanting in disputation, and he was sent packing with greater ignominy than had befallen a man for a hundred years: and a fellow waited for him near the chair, and doffed his cap—not by way of honour, but as those Jews did when they crowned *Christ*—and he bent the knee before him, and said, “Herr Doctor, by your favour, may God bless your bath!” Then quoth he, “*Deo Gratias*, Herr Bachelor,” but he said no more, and went away—and I heard that the tears stood in his eyes, and that it was believed that he afterwards wept. And when I heard of these insults my bowels of compassion were moved, and had I but known who that rascal was, I would have fallen upon him tho’ I had lost my head with a deal plank. He hath one pupil who is, believe me, a learned man—more than learned, as it were; more learned than his teacher, perchance, albeit he is but a Bible Bachelor; he has already, a little while—a very little while—ago, put forward fully twenty questions and arguments, all against the realists; for instance, “Whether God is predicamental”; “Whether essence and existence are distinct”; “Whether Rollations are fundamentally distinct,” and “Whether the ten predicaments are actually distinct.”

Mercy on us! what a crowd of respondents! I never in my life saw more disputants in a lecture-room; yet he honourably defended his theses. A magister hath but to contend with one opponent. I wonder that the Dean admitted them—I believe he was mad by reason of the dog-days, for it is contrary to the statutes.

And when the disputation was over I straightway metrifed these verses in his honour:—

Liveth here a learned scholar,
Who debated, twice or thrice,
If the Being of Essentia
Can be, by distinctions nice,

Sifted from its Existencia?
 And about Rollations he
 Argued, till the Categories
 Stood as stark as they could be.
 Whether God within his heaven
 The Predicaments enfold,
 He discusseth: none before him
 Matched him through the days of old!

But enough of this: I would fain say—or write—something concerning the poets.

There is one here who lectures on *Valerius Maximus*, but he pleaseth me not half as well as you pleased me when you lectured on *Valerius Maximus* at *Cologne*, for he merely expoundeth the text—but when you treated of “The Neglect of Religion,” or “Dreams,” or “Auspices,” you quoted Holy Scripture, that is to say, the *Catena Aurea* of *St. Thomas* which is called the *Continuum*, and *Durandus*, and other shining lights of Theology, and you bade us note down these passages from holy writ, and draw a hand beside them, and learn them by rote. You must know that not so many students matriculate here as at *Cologne*, for at *Cologne* the students can be as the beggars here—and there some students even steal their victuals, but this is not allowed here, where all must have their commons in a hostel, and be matriculated in the University.

But although they be few here, yet are they saucy—to the full as saucy as the many at *Cologne*. Lately they “staircased” a regent of the Hostel; he was standing without a chamber, and listening to the merrymaking within, when one of those within came out, and finding him there threw him downstairs. They are, moreover, so bold here that they fight with the horse-patrol as they at *Cologne* do with the draymen, and they go about like patrols themselves with drawn swords, and ropes, and sabres, and pieces of lead attached to a cord, which they can throw and draw back again. A little while ago the patrol smote a student on the head so that he fell to the ground—but he jumped up and thwacked and belaboured them so that *St. Valentine* seized them and they all ran away.

There is still one other thing that you ought to know.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

You must ask Magister *Arnold von Tongern*—who is no trifling Theologian—whether it is a sin to cast dice for indulgences. I know some overweening fellows—scoundrels that they are—who have played away all the indulgences that *Jakob van Hoogstraten* gave them when he had ended the business of *Reuchlin* at *Mainz*—the same three were there, and they declared that those indulgences were of none effect for men.

If it is a sin, as I think—for it is impossible for it not to be a sin—I know the fellows well enough, and I will inform the Dominicans, who will soon confound them; and I myself—for I am quite brave enough—will put a spoke in their wheel as well. I have no more to write, save that you may salute for me *Quentel's* handmaid, and fare ye well pancratically, athletically, pugilistically, regally, and magnificently, as saith *Erasmus* in his *Adages*.

From HEIDELBERG.

XLVII

☞ *WENDELIN TUCHSCHERER, Bachelor, and Quirister at Strasburg, sendeth many greetings to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

YOU laid blame on me in a former letter, in that my ink seemed precious balm—and my pen, byssus—and my paper, leaf of gold—so seldom did I write to you.

Henceforth, therefore, I will write to you oft—the more readily seeing that since you were my teacher in the fifth class at *Deventer*, and are, moreover, my godfather, I am in honour bound to write to you. But, inasmuch as I have at present no news to tell you, I must write to you on certain other matters, though I am sure they will please you not, seeing that you stand firmly on the side of the preachers. Lately we sat drinking together, and there was one there who spake such uncouth Latin, that I understood not all he said—yet a part I comprehended well enough, and amongst other things he declared that he would compile a book, to be brought out at next *Frankfort* fair, and to be

intituled “A Catalogue of Prevaricators,” that is, of Predicants—and that he would lay bare all their misdeeds, inasmuch as of all Orders they were the most iniquitous. In the first place he would relate how that at *Berne* the Prior and the Superiors introduced harlots into the Convent, and how they produced a new *St. Francis*, and how the Blessed Virgin and other Saints appeared to one *Nollharden*, and how afterwards the monks would fain have given the said *Nollharden* poison in Christ’s body, and how that for all the follies and crimes that the monks had committed they went as they deserved to the stake.

Next, he would relate how that at *Mainz* a Dominican had knowledge of a trollop in the Cathedral, anear the altar—whence it came to pass that the other drabs had a spite against her, and called her “monk-mort,” and “quire-quean,” and “altar-piece”—so that it came to folks’ ears, and she is thus named unto this day.

He would relate, too, how that once at *Mainz*, at the sign of *The Crown*, when the Predicants from *Augsburg* lodged at that inn to sell their indulgences, one of their number would fain have forced a serving-maid who prepared his bed, and he pursued her and threw her to the ground, but she cried out, and men ran to her rescue, else would she have served his turn.

And, finally, he would relate how that here at *Strasburg* there were monks in the Monastery of the Preachers who brought women-folk to their cells by way of the river beneath their walls; and they trimmed their hair, so that for a long while they passed for monks, and went to market, and bought fish from their husbands the fishermen, but at the last they were unmasked. For in like manner the Predicants wrought evil among the vagrant scholars—and once when a Predicant went a-walking with a monkess, they came nigh unto the schools, and the scholars dragged them both into the school and set to work to chastise them soundly; but when they would have drubbed the monkess they uncovered her shame, and with laughter let them both depart in peace; but the whole town rang with tidings of these things.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Now when he had finished speaking, my wrath was greatly inflamed, and I cried, "You ought not to utter such words as these. Put case that they be true—nevertheless they should not be uttered, for it might well happen that destruction might come upon them in a single hour—as it did upon the Templars—if men should learn of their iniquities!"

Then quoth he, "I know further of matters that I could not write of on twenty sheets of paper."

Then said I, "Why would you write against all the Predicants? All of them have not done such deeds: if those in *Mainz*, and *Augsburg*, and *Strasburg* are wicked, nevertheless others are upright." Said he, "Why darest thou to contradict me? I verily believe that thou art the son of a Predicant, or hast been a Predicant thyself! Show me a Monastery wherein there are upright Dominicans!" Then said I, "What have those at *Frankfort* done?" Said he, "Knowest thou not? It is their Principal who is named *Wigand*, and he is the head and front of all their iniquities. He it was who started that heresy at *Berne*, and who wrote a book against *von Wesel*, which he afterwards at *Heidelberg* recanted, annulled, and blotted out; and he it was who afterwards wrote another book intituled 'The Tocsin,' and he was not courageous enough to issue it under his own name, but suborned *Johann Pfefferkorn* to set it forth under his name, for half of the profit—which would well content him, for he knew that *Pfefferkorn* was a reckless man, and, like all Jews, regarded not his own good fame so long as he could make money."

Now when I perceived that the more part were against me, I went my way, but I was sorely vexed that the fellow was not alone, for if he and I had been by ourselves, I would have played the devil with him. Farewell.

FROM STRASBURG: on Wednesday, after the Feast of *St. Bernard*, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen.

XLVIII

¶ *JAKOB VAN HOOGSTRAETEN*, most humble Professor of the Seven Free and Liberal Arts and of All-holy Theology ; in sundry parts of Germany Master, that is Corrector, of Heretics, sendeth greeting in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Ortwin Gratius of Deventer, who draggeth out his life at Cologne

NEVER was refreshing rain so grateful to the husbandman after long drought, nor sunshine after clouds, as was the letter you sent me hither at *Rome*. When I read it I could have wept for very joy, for I seemed to be back again at your house in *Cologne*—where we were wont to drink a quart or two of wine or beer, over a game at draughts—so glad was I.

But you desire me to do the like—to write to you, namely, and tell you what I have for so long a time been doing at *Rome*, and how I fare—and this will I do right gladly. First, I must tell you that, by divine inspiration, I am in good health. Yet although I am well, I abide here against my will, for that Cause on account of which I am here now goeth against me. Would that I had never begun it ! All men deride me and plague me, and *Reuchlin* hath more friends here than in *Germany*, and many Cardinals, and bishops, and prelates and Curialists love him. Had I not entered upon this business I should now be at *Cologne* enjoying my victuals and drink, whereas here I have scarce a crust. I trow that things go ill in *Germany*, too, now that I am away ; everybody is scribbling books about Theology as he listeth. It is said that *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* hath composed many treatises on Theology ; I cannot believe he hath avoided error. He beginneth by writing a tract to vex the theologians, and now he writeth theologically himself—so that it passeth ! If I come back to *Germany* and read his scribblements, and find in them the very smallest jot on which he hath gone astray—or which I do not understand—let him

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

take heed to his skin ! He hath also written in Greek ; this is not well, for we are Latins and not Greeks. If he would fain write what no man can understand, why doth he not use Italian, or Bohemian, or Hungarian ? For then none could understand him. In the name of a hundred devils let him conform to us Theologians, and dispute in his writings with *Utrum*, and *Contra*, and *Arguitur*, and *Replica*, and reach formal conclusions, as all Theologians are wont to do, and then we could read them.

I cannot tell you all now, nor describe the poverty into which I have fallen. When the Curialists see me they call me Apostate, and declare that I have deserted my Order, and they do the like to Doctor *Peter Meyer*, the Pastor, of *Frankfort*, whom they harass as greatly as myself, since he is of my part. Nevertheless he is better off than I, for he hath a good post, being Chaplain of the cemetery—and this, pardy, is a good post, though the Curialists aver that 'tis the meanest office in *Rome*. But this booteth not ; they do but say it out of envy ; at the least he earneth his bread and maintaineth himself by hook and by crook until he shall bring that case of his against the Frankfurdians to an end. Almost every day he and I go to take the air in the *Campo dei Fiori*, and look out for Germans, whom we would fain meet. But the Curialists come and point at us with their fingers, and laugh, and say : “There go the two who want to eat up *Reuchlin* ! They eat him and then void him again !” And we have such tribulations as might move a stone. Then said the pastor : “Holy Mary ! What doth it signify ? We must endure this for God’s sake. He suffered many things for us, and we are Theologians who needs must be lowly and despised in this world.” And thus he maketh me of joyful heart once more, and, think I to myself, “Let them say what they will ; yet they fail of their desire.” If we were but back in the fatherland and a fellow did such things, we should know what to say and do to him, and I should have an easy task in proceeding against him. Just now we happened to be abroad together, behind two or three fellows who walked in front, and I lighted upon a paper that, I

throw, one of them had dropped on purpose that we might find it; and it contained these verses:—

EPITAPH ON HOCHSTRATUS.

Hochstratus dead—Craft, Fury, Spite, and Rage
With him die not, but still, with poison rife,
Infect the witless herd; his monument,
Sprung from the hellish seed he sowed in life.

Another.

From out his bones let yew and hemlock grow;
No crime he shrank from who lies here below.

Another.

Rejoice, ye righteous! while the base complain—
For kindly Death hath made their loss your gain.

Another.

Here Virtue's bane, Hochstratus, carrion lies,
In life the cynosure of scoundrels' eyes;
Indignant fled his soul that she had run
Her earthly course—with evil left undone!

Now when the Pastor and I had found this paper, we went home and laid our heads together over it for a week or a fortnight but could not interpret it. It seems likely that the verses point at me, because the word "*Hochstratus*" occurreth in them. And yet mayhap the verses do not point at me, seeing that such is not my name in Latin, but *Jacobus de Alta-platea*, which is in German *Jakob Hoogstraeten*. And so I send you the paper that you may decide whether it pointeth at me or another. If it mean me—which I cannot believe, for I am not yet dead—I will hold an inquiry, and when I have caught the fellow I will make ready a bath for him that will be no laughing matter: that is easy. I have a good friend here, a countryman of mine, who is one of the grooms of the Cardinal of *S. Eusebius*; and he can easily get the fellow sent to prison on bread and water—to die there of the pestilence. Wherefore I pray you use all diligence to write to me, that I may be certified of the matter.

I have heard that *Johann Pfefferkorn* hath once

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

more become a Jew—but I believe it not, for they said two or three years ago that he had been burned by the Margrave at *Halle*—though this was not true concerning him, but was true enough of another man of the same name. I cannot believe he hath become a renegade, for he hath written against the Jews; and it would be a disgrace to all the Doctors of Theology in *Cologne*, and all the Dominicans, for he hath been in high favour with them. Let them say what they will, I believe it not. And now farewell.

From ROME, at the sign of the *Bell*, in the *Campo dei Fiori*,
August 21.

PART II

TO THE READER

Time was when Heraclitus smiled, and moved

To laughter, e'en grim Stoics shook their sides :

Art sunk in doleful dumps? Approach, and read—

Laughter is lord! and naught but Mirth abides.

☞ *JOHANN LABIA, by the grace of God Apostolic Prothonotary, to the Reverend Herr Magister Ortwin Gratius of Deventer, as to a well-beloved brother, of Salutations a hundred thousand Sesterces, as the New Grammarians have it*

I RECEIVED the day before yesterday, honoured Sir, a book that your worship will have sent me from *Germany*. This work was—or is—entitled “*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.” Sonty! How rejoiced was I in mine heart when my eyes fell on that book—for it hath goodly contents, in prose and eke in verse. And I had great joy with dulcet jubilation when I perceived that you have many allies—Poets, and Rhetoricians and Theologians, who write to you and are your friends in opposition to *Johann Reuchlin*.

Yesterday there was a feast toward—and certain Curialists were present,—scholars and men of affairs—and I laid that book before them on the board. And after that they had dipped into it here and there, I mooted a logomachy, saying, “Masters, how think ye? Wherefore hath Magister *Ortwin* named this book of his, ‘*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*’—seeming thereby to call his friends and allies ‘Obscure men’?”

Then answered a priest from *Münster*, a learned Jurist, and he declared that “Obscure” was a word of many meanings, as, following “*Lex Ita fidei sqq. de Jure Fisci*,” the first Solution hath it. He said, too, that it might be some family name. For it is recorded that the parents of *Diocletian* and some other kings were “Obscuri.”

Then I nudged him, and said, “By your favour, Sir, this is beside the point.” And next I put the question to a famous Theologian who drank with us. He is of the Carmelite Order and a native of *Brabant*. Full

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

solemnly spake he his reasons: "Most eximious Herr Prothonotary, since, as *Aristotle* saith, it is profitable to make enquiry concerning each and all; therefore hath your Eximiousness proposed to me a question, to wit, for what cause did Magister *Ortwin*, in publishing a new Collection of Letters, entitled them '*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.' By favour of these gentlemen, I pronounce my opinion that Magister *Ortwin*, who is a learned man and a philosopher, cognominated his friends 'Obscure Men' in a mystical sense: for I once read in an authority that truth lieth in obscurity. Wherefore also saith *Job*, 'He discovereth deep things out of darkness.' Also in the *Seventh of Micah* we read, 'When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me.' And, again, *Job xxxiii.*: 'Trahitur autem Sapientia de Occultis.' Whence also, as I have heard tell, *Virgil* hath it: 'Truth is wrapped in obscurity.' And it may be presumed that Magister *Ortwin* and his friends are men who seek out the secrets of the Scriptures, and truth, and justice, and wisdom—which things are not to be understood of all men, but by those who are illuminated of the Lord.

"As it is written in *Kings xxxviii.*: 'Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee, the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.'" And after the aforesaid Theologian had made an end of speaking, all regarded me, to mark whether I was persuaded. But I pondered over these words.

There was present *Bernhard Gelff*, a Magister of *Paris*, a youth indeed, but, as I hear, of good parts, and one who studieth much, and maketh fair progress in the Arts, and moreover hath good grounding in Theology. And he, after his manner, shaking his head this way and that, spake thus with a grave countenance: "Learn, Gentlemen, the weighty and reasonable cause wherefore Magister *Ortwin* calleth his friends 'Obscure Men.' He doeth it for humility's sake. For, you may know, and even if you know not it may be presumed that you do know, how that three years ago *Johann Reuchlin*, when he published a Collection of Letters from his friends, entitled it '*Epistolae Clarorum Virorum*.' And Magister *Ortwin* chewing upon this,

and perpending much thereon, said within himself: 'Lo, *Reuchlin* believeth that none save he himself hath any friends: what will he do if I prove that I too have many friends—worthier far, and able to write better metrifications and compositions than his friends?' And so, to put him to shame he sent to the press those Letters, and entitled them '*Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum.*' As saith the *Psalmist*, 'He sent darkness and made it dark.' But this he did in lowliness, belittling and humbling himself, that he might say with the *Psalmist*, 'Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty.' Wherefore the Lord, beholding his humility, will in due time give him grace to send abroad mighty works and name them with exalted titles. As saith *Job*: 'And again after darkness I hope for the day.' But it must not be supposed that that letter-book of the friends of Magister *Ortwin* is not artistically composed—for *Johann Reuchlin's* friends never in their lives could compose anything better; no, not to save their necks—but, as I have declared, more excellent conceits will ensue; and, by God's help, I hope we may see great things.

"Magister *Ortwin* layeth no store by swelling titles. Wherefore he saith, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom then shall I fear?' For he knoweth that in belittling himself he will hereafter be magnified. As saith the Scripture, "Whoso exalteth himself will be brought low." And, as we read in the twentieth of *Ecclesiasticus*, 'There is an abasement because of glory, and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.' These things the Prophet *Nahum* prophesied when he said, 'And darkness shall pursue his enemies.'"

Then, desiring that the disputants should not be out with one another, and that neither of them should fall foul of me for saying, "this or that is the subtler reasoning," I quoted that line of *Horace* in which he saith, "The case is still before the judge." "When next I write to Magister *Ortwin*," I added, "I will ask him to tell me his motive. Forgive me, therefore, if I have in any wise perplexed you."

So then they disputed no longer, though Magister *Bernhard* muttered that he would contend to the stake

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that he had rightly apprehended your motive. Therefore, Herr *Ortwin*, I adjure you in friendly wise that you reveal to me what you had in your mind when you entitled that fardel of Letters "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*."

And now farewell, in all health and honour.

THE COURT, AT ROME.

II

☞ *JOHANN GRAPP to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

EVER cordially wisheth welfare, with love unending, and commendeth himself as his humble servant. Brother and beloved preceptor, since you lately desired me to send you (that you might gather therefrom what I had learnt from you at *Cologne* and *Deventer*), a treatise, or an Epistle, or a poem in verse, in mockery of *Johann Reuchlin*, and the Reuchlinists who are your foes—behold, and see how that I have done diligence! Herewith I send you an odistic or metrified Epistle, like unto *Ovid* in his *Epistolæ*; for well I know that you would fain read verse rather than prose. Mend it, an you will; for the disciple is not above his master. Scan it, too, for I am not yet well-skilled in this art.

*A Letter from JOHANN GRAPP, metrifying poetical
tyro, to his teacher, MAGISTER ORTWIN GRATIUS*

Grapp his greeting doth send, in this poetic Epistle,
Humble duty as well, to Magister *Ortwin* the kindly—
As is but meet for a youth who dearly loveth his master;
Therefore contain not, I pray, my *Ortwin*, the metri-
fication,
If it should harshly sound; for though thy resonant
verses
Sweetly thunder indeed—yet all are not on a level,
Neither are all alike, whether teachers or diligent
scholars;

One in logic is versed, another in poetry skilleth,
 Natural Philosophy onc acquireth, leechcraft another,
 While yet another, through grace, hath competent learn-
 ing in all things;

Thou the exemplar of such, who a peer doth hardly
 acknowledge

At *Cologne*—or at *Rome*, in all the ranks of the *Rota*—
Rome, where folk at the Court contend like so many
 freshmen,

Brangling and wrangling at law, with an eye to possible
 livings;

(I myself am embroiled, for lately in sharp litigation
 I for a vicarage strove—nor yet hath peace been
 attained to.)

But, in deep studies immersed, such vanities little thou
 wottest,

All thy heart and mind intent on the pages of Scrip-
 ture,

Heed not thou heathen men, of thee the bitter tor-
 mentors—

Reuchlin with all his crew, and that maleficent junto
 Secular Poets y-clept, and the crowd of jabbering Jurists
 Who, with their quilllets and quirks and screeds of flimsy
 averments,

Seek to trip thee up, and scribble heretical verses.

Arnold von Tongern is with you, and *Pepericornus* the
 Christian,

And that College in France that burnt the infamous
 libel,

Augenspiegel to wit, by you triumphantly coped with.

Fain would I leave to you the defence of faith and
 religion—

To you and *Hoogstraeten*—by far superior to *Plato*,
 Who the philosophers tops in craft of subtle dis-
 tinctions;

Therefore I bid you good-night—be all untroubled
 your pillow,

Deo Gratias.

Forgive me if there are faults in these verses, for,
 as saith the Philosopher, “To err is human.” Prithee,
 send me some news.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

This is written at *Rome*, where grow miraculous apples,
And in the hucksters' stalls it is by the pound that they
sell them—

This I have seen with mine eyes, and I by experience
know it.

Amen.

III

❧ *MAGISTER STEPHAN RUMELANT*
to Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

FORTHWITH, and without preface, I would have your worthiness to know that a Doctor of Theology hath just come hither, *Thomas Murner* by name. He is of the Order of *S. Francis*, an Oberlander, and he is vainglorious beyond belief. It is said that he maketh certain cards, and whosoever playeth with these cards learneth grammar and logic. He hath contrived a game of checkers, too, which dealeth with the quantities of syllables. He boasteth that he knoweth Hebrew, and he composeth verses in German. And the report goeth that this Doctor wotteth somewhat of every art.

But when I heard this, I said, "Jack-of-all-trades, and master of none!" and some that stood by laughed. Now this Doctor is a great crony of *Johann Reuchlin's*—devil take him! I fear that here he will so work upon the Canons and other Clerks that they will side with *Reuchlin*. He declared, before many who heard, that a child could discern the folly, and the stupidity, and the malice of the Theologians of *Cologne* and their adherents. And he swore by the Holy of Holies that unless the Pope took heed, and corrected them in their perversity, a schism would spring up in the Church and the Christian Faith; for if the Pope permitted them to act thus, it would come to pass that no man would study, nor desire to gain knowledge. Moreover he said that *Reuchlin* could in one day be of more profit to the Church of God than could his enemies in a hundred years. "And if," he went on, "they are upright men,

and have any just cause against *Reuchlin*, wherefore do they not act for themselves? Why do they need a baptized Jew to do their work for them, and why do they write scandalous books against the worthy doctor, and father them on that renegade? If they could have lighted upon a viler or more malicious man in all *Germany* they would have joined themselves to him! Yet this is nothing strange. 'Like draws to like.' Thereupon I could no longer hold my peace, but said, "Herr Doctor, by your favour, *Johann Pfefferkorn* is an honourable man; he is the trusty counsellor of his Imperial Majesty, and he cometh of the tribe of *Naphthali*. That, be well assured, is a most ancient stock. He might, an he would, boast himself to be of noble birth—but doth not, for humility's sake." Then said the Doctor, "Take a spoon and bib your words!" Then said I, "Think you that I know naught of men? I am a Magister of *Paris*, and I have studied Theology at *Cologne* for two years. Be not so arrogant, Herr Doctor, ere you know to whom you speak." Doctor *Murner* made answer that he knew not that I was a Magister, and he added, "Of *Johann Pfefferkorn's* honour I have heard but little, but from what I have heard of him I can safely say that unless the Jews had sought to put him to death by reason of his crimes, he would never have become a Christian."

Said I, "Herr Doctor, hear me yet a little: the Jews do *Johann Pfefferkorn* an injury, for he never stole aught, nor did he commit any crime, even when he was a Jew—as is piously to be believed. And to prove that this is true, I may tell you that two Jews once sought to saddle him with the shame of theft—merely out of envy and execrable malice—whereupon he cited them before the Imperial Chamber, and they handed him thirty florins for costs, wherewith he was content. *Johann Pfefferkorn* was indeed born of a good stock, but when he was a Jew he did as other Jews. For, as the proverb runs, 'He who is among wolves, must howl with the wolves.' But now he eateth swine's flesh, and behaveth like a good Christian." Then answered Doctor *Murner*, "Doth *Pfefferkorn* also eat sausages?"

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I answered, "I have not with mine eyes beheld him eating them, but it may be piously presumed that if he eateth pork, he also eateth such things as are made of pork." Quoth he, "You have made good apologies for *Johann Pfefferkorn*: hath he still two ears?"

I answered that he had them both when I was at Cologne, and that I believed he still had them, and will have them for ever. Then said he, "What opinion do you hold concerning *Johann Reuchlin*?" I replied that I knew him not, but that I was well aware that the Theologians and the Church for the most part regarded him as a heretic, because he hath assailed with undeserved calumnies *Johann Pfefferkorn* and other very eminent men. Then quoth he, "By the Lord, you do right well in defending *Johann Pfefferkorn* and the other very eminent men."

Then said I, "Hear yet more: this *Pfefferkorn* is very useful to the Church, for he hath won twelve souls for God, as he hath himself candidly confessed."

Quoth Doctor *Murner*, "Where gave he those souls to God? In the *Bohmer Wald*? Maybe he, with other robbers, slew sundry folk whose souls passed to God."

I replied, "Not at all; but by converting them to the Christian Faith."

Said he, "And how do you know that these souls were added to God?"

I answered that this might be piously presumed. Then asked *Murner*, "And what doeth *Pfefferkorn* now?"

I answered that he perchance visiteth the church, and attendeth Masses and Sermons, and, while defending himself against *Johann Reuchlin*, awaiteth the Day of Judgment.

"Think you," saith he, "that *Pfefferkorn* will live so long?"

"Ay," said I, "with respect to his soul, but not with respect to his body."

Doctor *Murner* made answer, "Good! *Pfefferkorn* deserveth to have such a champion!" Thereupon he dismissed me, and all who stood around laughed, and said,

“Pardy, Herr *Stephan*, you have answered him stoutly!”

Then said I, “I will write every word of this to *Magister Ortwin*”—and this, as you see, I am now doing. Write to me in reply; I am yours to command.

FROM TRIER.

IV

❧ *MAGISTER JOHANN HUTER* sendeth greeting to *Magister Ortwin Gratius*;

SINCE it is written in the Evangel: “In what measure ye meten it shall be meten again to you,” it becometh me not, therefore, to write to you, seeing that you write not to me. Nevertheless I know of what moment it is that I should send you tidings from *Rome*, to wit, how it fareth with Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten*—that man of zeal unimpeachable, who defendeth the Catholic faith against those Jurists and secular Poets who have not the fear of God before their eyes, as have the Theologians in *Cologne* and *Paris* who burnt *Johann Reuchlin’s Augenspiegel*. Though it would be but meet that I should do unto you even as you do unto me—and not write you a single drop; nevertheless this I will not do, but will yet this once favour you, on condition that you forthwith send me a reply.

You must know, then, that those Jurists and adversaries, with the help of the Devil, the enemy of the Christian Faith, have by their wiles—as is piously believed—suborned a swarm of allies, more especially curialists of high rank—who have no scruples of conscience; and they inflict grievous injuries on the aforesaid Doctor, baiting him like a very bejan, and declaring that he is himself a heretic, and the Theologians of *Cologne* mere jack-puddings. Sonty! What is to be said? Is it not marvellous that Sacred Theology should be thus vilified, and held as trash, and that the Theologians who are, as it were, the Lord’s Apostles should be despised as so many fools? Mark my words! There will hence be much scathe to the Catholic Faith,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and, I fear me, confusion in the Church of God. The rumour goeth that the Pontiff holdeth with *Reuchlin*, being himself a poet and a favourer of the Jurists. Yet I trust that his Holiness will be enlightened by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and will not pronounce an unrighteous judgment—through the Lord who reigneth in heaven and on earth, and His Mother the *Virgin Mary*, and may she from all Poetry deliver us.

ROME.

V

¶ BROTHER JOHANN VON WERDAU to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

SUPPLICATIONS humble and devout, with greetings manifold.

You say, reverend Sir, that you have heard that your Cause goeth amiss, and that *Johann Reuchlin* hath obtained an apostolical Inhibition; you say, too, that you fear greatly lest he gain the victory against the Theologians and our most holy Order, and that thereafter scandal will befall the Church of God. Why are ye so fearful, O ye of little faith, that ye are incontinently dumpish? And yet when I abode with you at *Deventer* you were not thus timorous, but were of good courage. For I well remember how you smote those freshmen who fell upon you with swords, though you had neither weapon nor shield; yet by God's help you thwacked them so soundly and roundly that one of them beshamed himself for very anguish. This was seen of many folk, and they cried, "By the Lord, this Magister *Ortwin* is a doughty man!" You must know that here at the Court of *Rome* things are not as they are elsewhere, and accord not with expectations; one day a man prospereth, and the next he foundereth. It may hap that a man obtaineth two or three decrees in his favour and nevertheless loseth his case. Perchance you will say "The Pope hath permitted the *Augenspiegel* to be sold, read, and printed." But this skilleth not. What he hath permitted cannot

he in turn forbid? Yea, of a truth—for his Holiness hath power to loose and to bind, and is not on that account blameworthy. Hath he not plenary powers, here and everywhere, as you know from the Evangel, for you are wondrously versed in Holy Scripture? Furthermore I can cite thereon the Canon Law: First, the Pope hath sway over the whole world, *Quest. IX. Chap. 4*, “*Cuncta per mundum*,” &c. He can depose the Emperor, alone, without a Council, as saith the gloss on the Chapter, “*Ad apostolicæ, de sententia et re judicata*.” Compare also *Quest. VI. Chap. 100*, “*De cetero*.” Moreover the Pope is not subject to the Law, but is himself the living Law upon the Earth; as saith the gloss on *Chap. XI.*, “*De officio Judic. delegati*.” And since the Pope is the Law, he can do whatsoever he listeth, and heedeth no man. If, therefore, he saith at one time “Yea,” nevertheless he can afterwards say “Nay.” Be then of good courage, for I lately heard from one of the judges of the *Rota*—a notable man, and of wide experience—that it is not possible that the Pope will pronounce sentence against you, for yours is the best of Causes, the Cause of the Faith.

Be ye therefore valiant in battle; and whatever those noddies may say to you about the Inhibition, credit it not, for it goeth for naught. I trust that I may soon be able to send you good tidings, for Herr Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* is doing his uttermost. Lately he gave a banquet, and invited many courtiers of years and experience, and an Apostolical Secretary who is in high favour with his Holiness, and sundry judges of the *Rota*. He plied them with partridges, and pheasants, and hares, and fresh fish, and the best Corsican and Greek wines. They all declared that he had dealt with them most honourably, and said among themselves, “By the Lord, we have here a Theologian of consequence: We will be on his side.”

Now therefore he taketh heart of grace. But I must stay my hand, for the messenger will no longer wait.

Farewell, and salute for me all the Doctors and Magisters, and *Johann Pfefferkorn*.

ROME.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

VI

¶ *MAGISTER CORNELIUS STORATI*
sendeth abundant greetings to Magister Ortwin

CONFORMABLY to the request which you sent me when I was at *Rome*, that I should let you know to a tittle how matters stood in the Cause of the Faith between you and the other Theologians, on the one hand, and *Johann Reuchlin* on the other hand—I would have you take note that I departed thence in such haste that I was not able to write a single word. I resolved, however, that I would write to you as soon as I reached the fatherland, and this I now do.

Know then, though I deeply lament it, that when I left *Rome* matters were in a parlous state. Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* is in great poverty. Have you Theologians no sense of shame, that you make him no provision? You would fain accomplish great results, and yet you will not loose the purse-strings! Think you that this is the way to bring about your ends? When the Doctor arrived at *Rome* with his two or three horses, and gold in the bank, and when he kept open house, then the courtiers rendered him high honour. Quoth one to another, “Who is this?” and the answer would come, “He is a Doctor from Germany, none is more renowned: he is a philosopher, and so excelleth in disputations that he hath no peer. He is here to maintain the Cause of the Faith against some secular Jurist.” Then would the courtiers sing his praises, and many a time has one said to me, “Herr *Cornelius*, commend me to this renowned Doctor!” Then his patrons abounded and his cause flourished. But now you desert him, and stint his supplies. Not long ago I was in his chamber, and casting my eyes on his mantle that lay there, I saw that it was full of vermin. And he, observing that I saw this, cited the Scripture which saith, “Thy congregation shall dwell therein, for thou, O God,

hast of thy goodness prepared for the poor;" and again, "My zeal hath even consumed me." And I for bitter ruth shed tears.

It behoves you to succour him, and see that the Friars Predicant send him money. If they plead that they have none, bid them take what is needed from the store they have amassed out of Indulgences: it is in the Cause of the Faith, and whatsoever is devoted to that cause is devoted to the Christian Faith. Farewell.

AUGSBURG.

VII

❧ *FRIAR ALBERT NADLER to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

HONOURED Sir, a letter hath lately come hither, addressed from your worship to myself. With joy I opened it, for I recognised your seal. I have read it, and find that your worship desireth to know what folks say here of the Cause of the Faith between you Theologians and *Johann Reuchlin*. I will tell you—but you must not think scorn of me when you learn that they espouse not your cause. All men here say that the Theologians are treating *Reuchlin* as the scribes treated Christ, and that he hath ever been an upright man, and hath been the Counsellor of two Emperors. His skill in Jurisprudence, too, hath been of service to many burghers and princes, and all men have found him trusty and true. Yet because the Theologians have become envious of his fame, they seek to brand him as a heretic, by crooked devices and niggling quirks.

When I hear such things said, I raise my voice against them—but, as you well know, "many dogs can outbark one."

Two Magisters who have lately arrived from *Cologne*—one of them is a noble—declare that those who assail *Reuchlin* are for the most part bastards, cullions, and braggarts. And this saying seemeth to me very shameful. One of them even made an harangue, so that all

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

who stood near could hear, saying, "Gentlemen, that you may understand the true nature of this suit against *Johann Reuchlin*, let me tell you that the root of it all is *Johann Pfefferkorn*, who resembleth in name, and in all else, that *Johann Pfefferkorn* who was in this very place torn with red-hot pincers, and who in like manner had become a pervert from his faith, by reason of the wickedness that he had committed. If *Pfefferkorn* were safe here in gaol, and the executioners were to put the question to him as to what he had committed, he would make confession of not a whit less than his namesake. He hath egged on the Theologians at *Cologne*, and they have egged him on in turn, and they would fain have burned all the books of the Jews throughout *Germany*. And this, that the Jews might come privily to the Theologians and the aforesaid *Pfefferkorn* with large sums of money, beseeching them, and saying, 'Leave us, we pray you, our books—and lo, here are forty pieces of gold!' Some Jews, indeed, would have freely given a hundred, and some, a thousand pieces. Then came *Reuchlin* and baulked their scheme, and they were wrath with him. Hence they write books, and try to defame him, and declare him to be a heretic. Some books they write in Latin, and they publish them under *Pfefferkorn's* name, whereas he is ignorant even of the alphabet in Latin. This they do, since they know full well that no man will reply, for none will defile himself by touching such a scoundrel. It is plain that if they were true Theologians—or even honest men—they would do their own work, and not shield and hide themselves behind that braggart. Other books also they have published—some in the name of *Arnold von Tongern*, who hath been detected in forgery—this no man can deny, nor can he himself declare in his own defence that he is not a forger—it is known throughout *Germany* how he falsified the writings of *Johann Reuchlin*. Another writer on behalf of the Theologians is Magister *Ortwin Gratius*—the son of a priest, and one who keepeth concubines and hath been taken in advourtry. Then there is another scribe, of whom you have heard much, Doctor *Weigand Wirth*

of the *Order of Preachers*, who is just as great a scoundrel. He wrote a book to prove that the *Blessed Virgin* was conceived in original sin, and he stirred up much sedition with his preaching. He was therefore compelled to recant and publicly to adjure his own preachments and writings at *Heidelberg*—as I myself heard and saw. And now you may judge what manner of men the foes of *Reuchlin* are.”

Now when I heard these things I said, “Sir, it is not meet that you should utter such words as these before the people, even though they be true, for the whole Order hence cometh into ill odour, and folk are set a bad example thereby.”

“Even you,” he replied, “ought not to have acted as you have against *Reuchlin*, for you also have desired to defame him. And he now cannot clear himself without some hurt to you.”

By the Lord, *Herr Ortwin*, I would that this Cause had come to an end, for it is mightily discommodious to us: folk will no longer give us alms. Last week I set out on a tramp for cheeses, and during ten days I collected no more than fifteen, for everybody said, “Get thee to *Johann Reuchlin*, and ask him for cheeses!” May God grant a favourable issue; and now farewell in the Lord.

From HALLE, in Saxony.

VIII

❧ MATTHÄUS FINK, Bachelor, to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius

GREETINGS indescribable, and love ineffable! Honoured Sir, inasmuch as you know right well how it standeth with me here in *Rome*, how that I am of the Chancery, and, by God’s mercy, am in good case; there is no need to tell you of such matters, for you suffer not tedious letters gladly. Nevertheless, seeing that I promised to send you news from *Rome* at least once a month, and, whenever the running or riding postmen set out, to avize

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

you how matters stand with regard to the war and so forth, and concerning the *King of France* and the *Emperor*, perchance you will say within yourself, "See, how haughty this fellow hath become! He hath a fine post in *Rome*, and therefore he taketh not the trouble to write to me, forgetting that I was erst-while his Teacher, and implanted in him Poetry, and the Arts, and a slice of Greek too, whence it cometh that he is no small Grecian." But I swear that it is not so, and may the Devil take me if I have you not ever in my thoughts and in my prayers to God. Saith not *Gregory* that ingratitude is the root of all evil? Wherefore he who committeth the sin of Ingratitude sinneth the sin of sins; and if through pride I fail to write to you, then am I ungrateful to you my benefactor.

Howbeit I can show reasonable cause wherefore I have not sent letters to your worship, for I have been for a long while queasy, and I knew not what ailed me. The leech averred that I had certain ill-concocted baggage in my stomach. But the day before yesterday I took a cathartic, and, saving your honour's reverence, the peccant draff was as it were spoon-meat, and therewith passed a white gobbet of the size of a pear: "Lo!" quoth the leech, "the crudity that caused the fever." And now I can eat heartily again, and have a good appetite, God be praised. If I abide in good health I will write to you oft. For the nonce it must suffice to say that *His Holiness* is at *Florence*, and the Curialists here are cursing him because he doth not come back, and their business is hindered. They should have patience, say I, and should by no means curse *His Holiness*, lest they should be excommunicated.

I quote the Law to them anent this matter—for I frequent the *Sapienza*, and study there, so that I am become an expert in both branches of the Law, in the one as much as in the other. It is said that *His Holiness* aileth in his eyes, and cannot walk in the open air. You must know too that the *King of France* hath returned to his country, and is about to lead a greater host in array against the *Emperor*. The *Spaniards* will help the *Emperor*, and so you may be

assured there will be a mighty war. We must not omit, therefore, to say in our prayers, "Give peace in our time, O Lord!" For war in those parts advantageth not the Curialists. If peace is maintained, prithee send me word concerning any vacant benefice—whether it be a cure of souls or not, and whether in a patron's gift or not.

I am now of ripe experience, and would fain be beneficed. If you have any suit toward, I will use my interest here on your behalf. With regard to *Johann Reuchlin's* case I may tell you that Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* hath culled certain other paragraphs out of the *Augenspiegel*, and they are to the full as heretical as the rest. He is now at *Florence* with the Court, and worketh diligently. Doubt not that the victory will be yours. Send me the news in turn, and farewell, with glory.

From ROME.

IX

☞ *MAGISTER PHILIPP SCHLAURAFF to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius sesquipedal greetings*

VENERATED Magister! you must know that I have received your letter, written in mighty pretty poesy, as is your wont: and you date it "From *Cologne*,

"Where we have good company—
Living all in jollity!
So, a fig for gravity!"

Whereby it hath come into my mind that you are well vinified—that is (to speak poetically) over-flowing with wine: and I trow that you were mellow when you penned those verses.

You bid me send you the poem that I composed concerning my peregrination throughout *Germany*—wherein I visited the Universities on behalf of the Theologians, to influence them, in their favour, against *Johann Reuchlin*—and concerning the tribulations I suffered at the hands of the Poets, who every-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

where abound. I gladly comply, but you must send me in return an account of your own doings. I send my poem by the messenger who conveys this: You must know that I have composed it rhythmically, and not with observance of quantities and feet, for methinks it soundeth better so: besides, I have never learned the other kind of Poetry—but this irks me not. Farewell.

From BRUNCK, in Flanders.

¶ *MAGISTER PHILIPP SCHLAURAFF'S*
Rhythmical Poem that he composed and compiled
when he was Cursor in Theology, and perambulated the whole of Upper Germany

CHRIST omnipotent, the hope of every creature
'neath the sun,
God of gods to everlasting, while the endless ages
run—
Show thou me thy loving-kindness when, with buffet-
ings, the foe
Unrelenting fall upon me: send a fiend from realms
below
Charged all Poets—ay, and Jurists—to the gallows-
tree to hale,
Who have wrought on me—all blameless—without
ceasing, scathe and bale.
First in *Saxony*, a student of the dialectic art
I resided; 'twas *Sibutus* that its mystery did impart—
He of leech-craft was Professor, and was wedded to a
crone,
But the beer she brewed and vended for all blemish
might atone!
There a Poet, one *Balthasar*, with his railing drove me
mad,
And one *Philipp Engentimus*, who was every whit as
bad!
So I deemed it was but prudent, to escape another
broil,
To direct my steps to *Rostock*, and to seek a distant
soil.

Hermann Buschius there resideth, who to death a man
be-rhymes—

But that there the plague was raging, luckily I heard
betimes.

Fain at *Greifswald* I'd have sojourned, but it meagre
cheer supplied,

So by night I tramped to *Frankfort*—*Frankfort* on
the *Oder's* tide:

There *Trebellius*, with his verses blasphemous, reviled
me sore,

And his pupils, the *van Ostheus*, at his bidding 'gan to
pour

Bitter ridicule upon me with their fleers and jeers so
pat,

Till folk cried whene'er they saw me, "*Seht das Köln-
isch Kopulat!*"

To *Vienna* then I hied me—sure beneath a planet dire
I was born, for *Collimitius* there was Rector—may the
fire

Of *St. Antony* consume him! For he proved a bitter
foe,

Calling me a recreant rascal, vowing I to jail should go!
Heckmann timely me delivered: straightway *Vadian*
a new

Quarrel fastened on me, guiltless of his hurt, (altho'
'twas true

Pfefferkorn had soundly lashed him, rightly, in his
own defence),

Shedding bitter tears of anguish, I proclaimed my
innocence,

Praying that upon my journey I might scatheless go
and free,

But the *Lily* Hostel's Rector whispered, "Let him
prisoner be!"

Then outspoke *Cuspinianus*, who the Emperor's friend-
ship wins,

"Masters," quoth he, "of the Arts are Doctors of the
Deadly Sins!"

Then t'wards *Ingoldstadt* I turned me, but one
Philomusus there

Fulminates 'gainst Theologians—him to brave I did
not dare;

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

So resolved, for peace and safety, on to *Nuremberg* to fare.

There a wight named *Bilibaldus Pirckheimer* fell foul of me,

Though no Master he of Arts is—it was told me privily
That, in league with many comrades, sojourners in
divers lands,

He the foes of *Johann Reuchlin* with his voice and pen
withstands,

And against us Theologians many a carping book
hath he

Written; and 'tis whispered, newly hath he censured
Usury—

Tho' the Doctors at *Bologna*, where the question late
was moved,

Have declared that Compound Interest may be by the
Church approved.

In a month I went to *Leipsic*—to the University—

There I met one *Richard Crocus* (Englishman he's said
to be),

When he met me straight he shouted, "That's the
beast I at *Cologne*

Lighted on!" But I the honour of his friendship would
not own.

Then he cried to his companion, "Lo, the ninny-
hammer! he

Johann Reuchlin fain would harass with his vain
Theology."

This to the Magister Nosters I reported, and they
swore

That for lectures *Richard Crocus* stipend should receive
no more.

Then spake *Mosellanus*—taking up his parable, Quoth
he,

"Straightway seize this meddling greenhorn—hang him
on the gallows-tree!"

So from thence they sent me packing, and I set my
face to go

On to *Erfurt*, where arriving, soon I found another foe!
Eberbach began to vex me—*Eobanus Hessus* too,

Ceased not to contrive my drubbing, egging on a
ribald crew

In the streets to basely swinge me, "Dash to bits the
runnion's jowl!

Is he not the bane of *Reuchlin*, and a 'Theologian foul?"
"Whence doth come this callow bejan?" *Crotus*
cried, "He is unknown!"

"I'm a graduate!" "Get thee gone then!" I was
minded to *Cologne*,

Through the *Buchenwald* to journey, but a comrade
cried, "Beware!"

Warning me of *Mutianus*, with his bludgeon, lurking
there!

Through *Campanien* I evaded, and again to *Meissen* came,
But to *Aesticampiannus* all too quickly spread the fame—
Straight he sent forth his disciples, and they dragged
me by the hair,

And his neighbour *Spalatinus* came and threatened
then and there

For a private grudge to swinge me—but my bruised
and battered hide

Hardly saving, I escaped me to a forest dark and wide;
Did the Devil, or an angel of the Pit my footsteps
lead

Then to *Sturnus*? When he saw me parlous was my
plight indeed!

Mercy! How my lugs he basted! So I fled in evil
case

To *Franconia's* river valley—and met *Hutten* face to
face!

Solemn oath, with upraised fingers, made he that a
scourging sore

He would give me if I lingered—so to save my skin,
once more

On I hurried into *Swabia*, and to *Augsburg* won my
way—

Peutinger, the foe of *Brulfer*, would not suffer me to
stay

'There in peace, so passing *Stuttgart*, knowing *Reuchlin*
there did dwell,

Heretic by me suspected—ay! and dreaded, sooth to
tell—

'Thence to *Tübingen* I journeyed—many ribald fellows
there

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Write new-fangled nonsense, and they never Theologians spare;
Of them *Schwarzerd* was the vilest—might his corse rejoice mine eyne,
Gladly would I tramp, a footsore Pilgrim, to *St. James's* shrine!
Bebel, *Johann Brassicanus*, with *Paul Vereander*, swore
That, to save my back from bruises, I must go, and come no more!
But by help of one *Franciscus*—blessed be his saintly name!
I, his prudent counsel heeding, safely from that country came.
Eager then to leave those Poets far behind me, straight I hied me
On to *Strasburg*, where *Gerbellius* with distracting quibbles plied me:
Tangled in sophistic meshes, I was held to open scorn,
In the street before the vulgar—would that I had ne'er been born!
Then *Sebastian Brandt* cried “Follow me!” and took me by the neif,
“You’re the man for *Narragonia*—welcome to the *Narrenschiff*!”
Schurer too, gor-bellied glutton! grinning, wheezed “I understand
You’re the kind of lubbard losel that they want in *Lazyland*!”
Girding up my loins, I scampered, and to *Schlettstadt* took my flight—
In a greasy gown of leather, straightway *Wimpheling* hove in sight;
Jakob Spiegel, too, who shouted, “Whence? thou ninny-hammer, whence?”
Murmuring I came from *Swabia*, “Beast!” I got for recompence!
Wrath was I, and one *Kirherus* bade me off to *Athens* pack,
Greek to learn—and *Johann Witz*, with all his scholars at his back,
Thwacked me, till the Queen of Heaven I invoked;
then, “Down the stairs

Pitch him!" *Storckius* cried, but *Phrygio*, softened
 maybe by my prayers,
 Saved me: then *Rhenanus* asked me if from *Germany*
 I hailed,
 "Ay, from *Flanders*!" but the answer, humbly spoken,
 naught availed!
 Thumps upon my pate descended, Whack! and Whack!
 on either ear,
 And my staggered cerebellum buzzed till I could
 scarcely hear.
 Then to *Hagenau* I hied me; out upon thee, *Wolfgang*
Angst!
 For mine eyes thou foully smotest—but *Gott gebe dass*
du hangst!
 Comes a youth, one *Johann Letzer*, with a folio thick
 and wide,
 Knocks my breath from out my body, hurling it against
 my side!
 "Hear, oh hear my last confession!" gaspingly the
 words I said,
 "Shrive me in my deep contrition!" But at midnight
 from my bed
 Soft arising, off to *Friburg* I departed, seeking ruth—
 There were nobles, clad in armour! *Reuchlin's* fautors,
 and in truth
 Terrible to see! Their aspect threatened me with
 instant death!
 But an old juristic gaffer, *Zazius* hight, with husky
 breath,
 Coughed out "Art thou then a Scotist?" With
 disdain I straight replied,
 "Nay, but *Thomas*, Holy Doctor, of *Aquino* is my
 pride."
 Up to scorn he held me, shamefaced, while *Amorbach*
 shouted "Thick
 Tho' his pate be, something novel I'll implant there;
 fetch a stick!"
 Born to sorrow, *Basle* I fled to, where *Erasmus* famed
 doth dwell,
 I addressed him: "By your favour, will your ex-
 cellency tell
 One who humbly asketh, are you candidate for a degree,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Or a postulant for licence?" "Oh, assuredly!" quoth he.

There, within the house of *Froben*, many heretics abide,
Notably one *Glareanus*, who my aching back and side
Buffeted with thumps resounding, then to finish,
knocked me down,
Though I cried aloud for pity, "Mercy! by thy laurel
crown!"

Taking boat, to *Worms* I drifted; there I met within
an inn

Theobaldus, a physician—quickly did our strife begin!
How he raved 'gainst 'Theologians! "Thou'rt a
gowk!" I mildly said,

Scarcely had the words been uttered when a cheese
replaced my head!

Wounded, I to *Mainz* betook me, where with kindness,
in my need,

Good *Bartholomaeus Zehner* took me in, and gave me
rede:

"Go ye not to the *Corona*! Pardy! 'tis a dangerous
inn!

Certes, there the guests will shend you! Men of
violence and sin!"

Carbach there on *Livy* lectures: Woe is me! an
ancient foe,

One *Huttichius*, with a joint-stool, felled me at a single
blow!

For a bounce that all unwitting, slipped me, *Weydmann*,
standing there,

Smote me—while I vengeance threatened for the insult,
down the stair

Königstein propelled me headlong; but—the danger
'scaped, by flight—

As beside the *Rhine* I wandered, Doctor *Murner* met
my sight!

In a boat upon the river—Thomas *Murner*, Minorite!

"'Tis my dignity that saves thee!" cried he, "or thou
straight should'st lie,

Underneath the rolling waters!" Shivering, I made
reply:

"Wherefore?" "Knave and fool!" he shouted,
"*Reuchlin's* wrongs will tell you why!"

But, at last, to *Köln* I drifted, where I found good
 company,
 And I heeded not though *Buschius* and *Caesarius*
 flouted me,
 With their Livy-reading pupils jeering; for with open
 arms
 The Theologers received me faint from dangers and
 alarms.
 There I dwelt in happy leisure, and I heeded not a hair
 Tho' he boasts himself a Poet, *Hermann, Graf von*
Neuenar.
Pfefferkorn hath somewhere written, that their rank
 doth not excuse
 Nobles, who to duly answer for their deeds may not
 refuse:
 Writing as *Obscuri Viri*, they must pay the penalty—
 Ends my story: for the honour of the University.

X

¶ DOCTOR BARTHEL GOWK to
 Magister Ortwin Gratius

GREETINGS innumerable, with the utmost respect,
 reverend Magister!

Without tedious preamble or ambagious circumlocution,—seeing that you lately sent me word that you desired me to let you know how matters stand here with regard to the Cause of the Faith, I would have you know that it prospereth, but that the definitive judgment hath not yet been promulgated.

There is a Jurist here, one *Martin Gröning*, a Doctor of *Sinigaglia*—so he saith—and vengeance proud and arrogant. He must needs translate the “*Augenspiegel*,” and is mighty boastful, for he would cut a figure. Some men praise him, and of such I lately demanded, “What more does this fellow know than another?” They made answer that he had competent knowledge of Greek. You see therefore that you need not pay any regard to him, for Greek is not material to Holy Scripture. I believe that he knows not a jot of the “Book of Sentences.” Neither can he frame me a

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

sylogism in Baroco or Celarent, for he is no logician. Not long ago he called me an ass, and I said, "Come now, if thou art so bold, dispute with me!" for I made free to "thou" him. But he was silent. Then pressing my attack, I said "I will prove that thou art an ass. Thus: whatever bears a burden is an ass—thou bearest a burden—therefore thou art an ass. The minor premiss is evident, since thou bearest that book." Now this was true, for he was carrying a book, that *Jakob von Questenberg* had given him to read, against Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten*; and he was not shrewd enough to deny my major, although I could not have proved that—but I knew full well that he was unversed in logic. Then quoth I, "Herr Doctor, you wish to thrust your nose in Theologians' affairs, which pertain not to your Faculty; I counsel you to hold aloof, seeing that you have no knowledge of the matter; else you will surely come to grief, for the Theologians are not minded that Jurists should meddle with questions of Faith." Forthwith, fuming he cried, "I not only understand these things, but I can see that thou art a damned beast!" Then I was enraged, and started up, and that day the strife was hot between us! But Doctor *Peter Meyer*, parish priest of *Frankfort*, said to me, "Come now, let us go to the inn, and seek some victuals, for it is dinner-time; and let this worthy gentleman be, for he doth not yet know his rudiments; he must go to school and learn."

But, mark you, Magister *Ortwin*, we will roundly avenge that insult; the fellow is a student of *Cologne*, and I know for certain that he resided at *De Monte* hostel; if therefore you will prevail on the University to cite him, we will convict him of perjury; for when he matriculated he made oath that he would work for the good of the University, whereas now he sideth with *Johann Reuchlin*, against it. Prithee, do this forthwith—and send me that treatise of *Johann Pfefferkorn's* entitled, "The Defence of J. P. against slanders." A student lately brought it hither, and my heart acheth to possess the book, for it containeth many subtle propositions. The Lord grant you welfare and peace.

Amen.

XI

❧ *JODOCUS SCHNEIDER to Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

SALUTATIONS unending, and a New Year full of as good fortune as there is to be found on earth—nay, more if possible—I wish your worship. You must know that I am prospering, by the grace of God who hath granted me His mercy, and, as the *Psalmist* saith, “The Lord hath heard my petition; the Lord hath received my prayers.” Daily do I pray for my sins and beseech our Lord to keep me in body and soul. Especially the soul, for the body is but dust, and, as Holy Scripture saith, “Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.” I hope, moreover, that it goeth not ill with you, for he who by the grace of God always repenteth of his sins, and devoutly telleth his beads, even if he fasteth not oft—with him the Lord willeth not that it should go ill.

I know that your conscience is good, and you are ever studying how to forward the good of the Church. I well know how that lately you wrote a book against a certain heretic, *Johann Reuchlin* by name, and it was composed so masterly that I was held in admiration thereby. I said to a Cursor of the *Order of Preachers* who was carrying that book, “I think the man must have a pair of heads to handle a matter so canonically as that.” Then the Cursor told me that you were writing a commentary on that book of Doctor *Arnold von Tongern’s* that he composed, in the title of “*Articles*,” against the heretical propositions of the “*Augenspiegel*.” Prithee, send me this Commentary when it is completed. I trow that, without doubt, it will be a miracle of art—expounding all the arguments, and notabilia, and propositions, and conclusions, and corollaries which few fully comprehend; for the Doctor is exceeding subtle in his writings, as is the wont of the School of the Albertists. You must not take it ill if I praise the Albertists—you yourself being a

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Thomist—for their diversity is not great, and on certain points they closely agree. Nevertheless the Holy Doctor is the more profound, and this by the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit; hence it is that he is called the Holy Doctor, although *Reuchlin* nameth him not thus in his writings—wherefore is he a heretic, and, in the devil's name, let him so abide. I was lately wrath against a Jurist who defended him, and I wrote an ode in verse against him. For I, too, am wont to poetise when I am alone, by aid of *Bebelius'* "Art of Versifying," which is very subtle. The Ode runneth thus:—

"Turn not away thine ear from the humble prayer of thy servant!
Hearken, O Mother revered of the astripotent god!
'Tis for Theology's sake, O Mary, thy servant beseecheth;
Reuchlin the wicked Jurist, holy Theology's foe
Hath no light from above nor mental clarification,
As there needeth to be in him who wisheth to please thee.
To recite to your son our prayers therefore remember,
That he may come to the aid of his own Faculty."

These are elegiacs, and they are scanned after the manner of the first metre in *Boethius*, beginning "Carmina qui quondam studio," &c.

If the messenger had not told me that he must make haste and be off, I would have sent you a pile of verses that I have written in defence of the Church and the Faith. Do not forget, then, to send me the commentary you have constructed, and I will send you further news in return.

Farewell—hurriedly, happily, fervidly.

From OLMÜTZ, in Moravia.

XII

¶ *WILHELM LAMP, Master of Arts, sendeth greeting to Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

REVEREND Sir, inasmuch as you bade me, and commanded me to write to you as soon as I reached Rome, and to tell you all that befell me on the way, and how I stood with regard to bodily health—you must know that by God's grace I am quite well, and I should

rejoice to hear that you are quite well too. I hope that, please God, you are in good case.

Now you must know how that as soon as I arrived at the "*Crown*" at *Mainz*, I found certain folk there who were talking about the Cause of the Faith, and were of Doctor *Reuchlin's* part; and when they saw me to be of *Cologne*, they but talked the more, and treated me with disdain. They praised *Johann Reuchlin*, and disparaged the Magisternosters at *Cologne*, and called them bats that could do nothing in the light of day, but flew by night and busied themselves in the darkness. Then quoth I, "Hear the other side!" and I quoted to them the "*Flores Legum*." Then they began to assail me with many words, till I said, "What have I to do with *Reuchlin*? Let me eat my money's worth." Perhaps you will say, "Herr *Wilhelm*, you ought to have maintained your ground and answered them boldly." But that was out of the question in such a place. I heard that in that Inn a man had just been basted with a joint-stool because he had said a word for Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten*. The men who come there for their victuals are very terrible rufflers, who wear swords and cutlasses, and one of them is a Count, who is a tall man and hath white hair. They say that he can take an armed man up in his hands and dash him to the ground. His sword is as long as a giant's. And when I set eyes on him, I held my peace and let them talk on. I intended to write to you forthwith, but there was no messenger at hand.

When I reached *Worms* we lodged at an Inn where there were many Doctors, assessors at the Supreme Court. They said dreadful things about the Theologians, and I heard that they had indicted *Johann Pfefferkorn* on account of the "Tocsin." One of them said, "Mark my words; in a few years these Magisternosters will be swept away, and will be heard of no more." Then said I, "Who then will preach to you, and instruct you in the Catholic faith?" He replied, "That will be the work of learned Theologians who understand the Scriptures, such as *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, *Paul Ricius*, *Johann Reuchlin*, and the like." Then I held my peace, and thought within myself, "Fools

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

talk foolishness." There was one sitting at the board, *Theobald Fettich* by name, who is now Doctor of Medicine, and him I recognised, for he formerly resided at *Cologne* at *De Monte* Hostel; and he talked more than all the rest together. Then said I to him, "You ought to bear in mind the oath that you took to the Rector and University of *Cologne*."

"To the jakes with the pack of you," quoth he. But let this pass.

Afterwards, when we had taken our departure from *Worms*, certain fearful men on horseback met us, with cross-bows in their hands, and made as though they would shoot us. Then my companion cried out "Jesus! Jesus!" but I, being of good courage, bade him cry not out thus, and I said to the men, "Most noble Sirs, shoot us not! We are not armed—we are no foes of yours—we are clerks who are on our way to *Rome* to seek benefices." Then cried one of them, "What are benefices to us? Give us money that we may drink withal—or the Devil take you!" And so, to get out of their clutches, we had to give them two florins. And I whispered privily, "Drink! and may the Devil give you his blessing!" After a while my companion asked, saying, "What think ye? Shall we cite them before the Curia?" But I told him that this could not be, inasmuch as we knew not their names.

Thereafter, through deep mire, we reached *Augsburg*, and meanwhile it rained and snowed so hard that we could scarce open our eyes. Then said my companion, "Good luck! how cold I am! If I were back at *Cologne*, I should never set out for *Rome*!" But I laughed. Now at the Inn there was a comely damsel, and in the evening there was a dance, and my companion joined the dancers. But I chided him for this, in that he was a Magister and ought not to partake of such frivolities. But he cared not a whit, and swore that he would eat a peck of dirt if only that damsel would join him for the night. But I would hearken to no more, and quoting from the *Preacher* "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" I went to bed. Next morning we reached *Landsberg*, and my comrade must needs lie with the serving-maid that night. In the morning when we quitted the Inn his horse fell

lame. "More damsels abused?" quoth I. But a smith came to the rescue.

Afterwards we came to *Schongau*, where we bought some fine glasses. Then we set forth for *Innsbruck*. But the ways were so foul that the horses could not make way, and sank up to their girths in the mud. And so after much tribulation we attained to *Innsbruck*, and there we found his *Majesty* the *Emperor*, with his vassals, and his courtiers, and his knights, and soldiers, and men-at-arms—having silken cloaks, and gold chains round their necks. And there were some who looked very fierce, with beards, and caps slashed soldier-wise; and I feared to sit at meat in the Inn, for I heard one of them say, "If I were Emperor, I would hang every one of these blood-suckers at the Court who come to *Rome* and learn wickedness. They cog and cozen one another for benefices, and seek to oust country parsons in *Germany*, and cause much money to flow from *Germany* to *Rome*." Hence I perceived that the Curialists heed neither God nor man, and therefore they will perish like dust before the wind.

Afterwards we passed over a mountain all covered with snow, and so high that I trow it reached half-way to heaven. And so bitter was the cold on the summit thereof that I feared lest it should give me a fever; and I thought of my stove at *Cologne*. And my comrade said to me, "Oh, if I but had my cloak!" Then said I to him, "You are for ever complaining of chills when you are abroad, and when you get to an Inn you desire revelry. Know you not that venery cooleth the blood?" But he replied that it seemed to him not to cool it, but warm it. I must tell you, Master *Ortwin*, that never in my life have I seen a man so given to lechery. Whenever we entered an Inn the first thing he did was to ask the drawer, "Is there aught within for my lap?"

Next we reached *Trient*; and your worthiness will forgive me, and take it not ill that I tell you the truth, that there for once I purged my reins in the stews by stealth. Nevertheless at night I read my *Hours* to the *Blessed Virgin* for my sin. At *Trient* were many soldiers preparing to advance against *Verona* and work

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

wonders there! And they made boast to us how that the Emperor was going to capture *Venice*. We saw bombards there, and many other engines that I had never set eyes on in my life.

On a Sunday we reached *Verona*. This is a fair city, with walls, and forts and bastions. We saw there the house of *Dietrich von Bern*, where he lived, and where he overthrew and slew the many giants who fought with him.

Afterwards, when we would fain have proceeded on our way, for a long while we could not, for fear of the *Venetians*, who, it was said, had taken the field. And this was true, for afterwards at *Mantua* we heard the sound of their bombards as they laid siege to *Brescia*. At *Mantua* I said to my companion, "Here *Virgil* was born." But said he, "What care I for that heathen? Let us go to the Carmelites and see *Baptista Mantuanus*, who is twice as good a poet as *Virgil*, so *Ortwein* hath ten times told me." And I reminded him how that you had once censured *Donatus* for saying that *Virgil* was the most learned of poets and the greatest of men. You said, "Would that *Donatus* were here, that I might tell him to his face that he lied; for *Baptista the Mantuan* is above *Virgil*." But when we came to the Monastery of the Carmelites, it was told us that *Baptista* was dead. "May he rest in peace!" quoth I.

Thence we came to *Bologna*, where was his *Holiness*, and also the *King of France*. There we heard a Papal Mass, and gained many indulgences for all our sins, both venial and mortal, and made confession. The reverend Father *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, Magister-noster, and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity was there too; and when I saw him, I said, "Reverend Father, what doeth your Excellency here? I thought you had been at *Rome*." Then I delivered to him your letter and that of Doctor *Arnold von Tongern*, and he told me that he was seeking by the help of the *King of France* to bring it about that *Reuchlin* should be declared a heretic, and that the "*Augenspiegel*" should be burned. I asked him, saying, "Doth the King, then, understand this matter?" He replied, "Of himself

doubtless, he doth not, but the Theologians of Paris have instructed him, and his Confessor *Guillaume Petit*, a very zealous man, hath told him, in confession, that he will not shrive him, unless he bring it about, through the Pope, that *Reuchlin* shall be declared a heretic." Then I rejoiced greatly, and cried, "May the Lord grant that it shall be according to your words!" I met many courtiers there who were known to me, and I invited them to the Inn.

Thence we proceeded to *Florence*, which is as fair a city as any upon earth.

Afterwards we came to *Sienna*, where there is a University, but the Theologians are few. Then we came to sundry small towns. One of these is called *Montefiascone*. There we drank of the best wine that I had ever tasted in my life, and I asked the taverner how it was named. "Lacrima Christi," said he. Then said my companion, "Would that Christ shed tears in the Fatherland!" And there we had a roaring bowse.

Three days later we reached *Rome*. The Lord be praised, who hath delivered us from so many dangers by the way—not to speak of botched shoes. I have as yet heard no news at Court, except that I have seen a beast as big as four horses, and which hath a snout as long as I, and is a wondrous creature. When I saw it, I said, "God is wonderful in his works." I would give a florin for you to see that beast. And now, pardy, I trow I have acquitted myself well in writing. Do the like, or I will never write to you again. Farewell soundly.

From ROME; in haste.

XIII

¶ *THOMAS KLORBIUS, of Theology a humble Doctor, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortuinus*

SINCE, as it is written, "affliction giveth understanding," take it not amiss if, in some measure, I censure you, seeing that I do it with all good will.

Lately, in a tractate, you described a certain theo-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

logian as being well-lettered, and a Doctor of long standing, and a profound Scotist, and deeply versed in the Book of the Sentences.

You also averred that he had conned by rote the whole book of the Holy Doctor "Of Entity and Essence," and that he knew "The Fortress of Faith" like his paternoster, and that by memorative art he had impressed the Formalities of *Scotus* upon his mind like so much wax; and, finally, you alleged that he was "a member of ten universities."

You commit—pardon me—a solecism. One member cannot have many bodies; but, on the other hand, one body may rightly possess many members.

Thus, the human body hath a head, feet, hands, arms, belly, parts male and female; and a foot is a member of a man, and the head is a member of a man, and so forth.

Now, the whole body of a man consists of these members, and these members are comprised in the body, as species are comprised in a genus.

But none of these members consists of many bodies. On the other hand, if you were to aver that a certain Doctor was a body of ten Universities, I should still censure you. For any one might hence conclude that the ten Universities were members of that Doctor, and that he consisted of ten Universities. But if this were granted, it would be a scandal to those ten Universities, and they would be vilified if a single man—for even Doctors of Divinity, as you know, are men—was declared to be more worthy than so many Universities. It is an impossible case. For even the Holy Doctor himself is not greater than ten Universities.

How then shall we mend the matter? What should we rightly say?

Perpend; for the question is mightily intricate, and although it appertaineth to Grammar, yet many a Doctor knoweth not how to resolve it:—

A man who has been matriculated at ten Universities, who has studied therein for the appointed time—attending lectures and observing the statutes—when he has taken and kept the oaths, and has rendered honour to the Masters and Doctors, is entitled to

say—"I am members of ten Universities"—not "a member."

This phrase is not solecistic, notwithstanding a certain lack of concord in the numbers.

It is a case of Apposition, as in *Virgil*:—

"Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,
Delicias domini,"

For here *Alexis*, who is but a single swain, is yet called "delights"—by Apposition.

Believe me, this is a most subtle and notable resolution. I learned it when I was at Louvain, and was not yet Bachelor: the question was debated for four days.

Take not this in dudgeon. I write to you with good intent. Farewell.

COBLENZ.

XIV

¶ *MAGISTER OTTO HÄMMERLIN to*
Mag. Ortwin Grätius

VAST store of salutations! Reverend Magister, your worship hath done me a great favour in sending me that notable book of *Johann Pfefferkorn's* intituled, "*Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence*." I cannot sufficiently admire how notably and excellently he reprehendeth *Johann Reuchlin*. When I read it I cried, "Would that that fellow *Reuchlin* were dead!" But a certain parish priest, who is a stiff *Reuchlinist*, always resisteth me—and favoureth the argument *a fortiori*. Yesterday, when before Vespers I walked with him, these words proceeded from his mouth, "If the Theologians have not overcome *Reuchlin* in Germany, much less will they overcome him in *Rome*; for in Italy there are very learned men, and they instantly recognise the stupidity and emptiness of the Theologians—for they pay no heed to such nonsense at *Rome*. What a testimony it is," quoth he, "against the Theologians that they do not dare to write against *Reuchlin* and his allies in their own names, but foist in a jack-pudding, who hath neither honour nor goods to lose, and ascribe their books to him." Then I made

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

answer, "*Pfefferkorn* of a truth compiled the work, but Magister *Ortwin* afterwards Latinised it." Said the priest, "I know well enough that *Ortwin* composed the Latin, for I recognised his style at once. I know too that *Ortwin* is of a good stock—a priestly one, to wit. But tell me one thing: you must confess that *Pfefferkorn* knoweth not the Latin alphabet, much less can he read. And if he cannot read, much less can he understand. And if he cannot understand, much less can he write and compose. And if he can neither read, nor understand, nor write—much less can he discuss questions that none but a deeply learned man can deal with. Therefore, how is it possible that he put together that material, either in Latin, or German, or Hebrew?" I replied that I supposed that *Pfefferkorn* had such an enlightened intellect, and had heard so much of the subject-matter that, by God's help and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, he was well able to dispute concerning it. "The matter is such an easy one that *Reuchlin* could be vanquished therein by *Pfefferkorn's* wife." Then said the priest, "That is very sooth. I trow that five sturdy young Westphalian boors could not vanquish *Johann Pfefferkorn's* wife, and much less could *Johann Reuchlin*, who is an old man and feeble, and impotent withal. But I marvel that his Holiness the Pope, and the Emperor as well, can allow such scandals to be perpetrated by that Jewish buffoon, and permit him to stand in a holy place, and preach to the people, and pronounce benediction, and do such things that if a layman who had always been a Christian were to do them, nevertheless we should have no good opinion of him—much less is it seemly in the case of a baptized Jew, who cannot be shewn to be a true Christian until he be dead. And such things as this ought not to be suffered, much less should he be permitted to thrust himself into the disputations of learned men and thus be an offence to all honest folk. He ought to be hanged—with his books and his scandals—as he hath long deserved."

I made answer that his preaching was not pontifical, and was but simple instruction such as a layman might

give. And as for his books, it is evident that he doth but defend himself against *Johann Reuchlin*, who disparaged him. And in his *Hand-spiegel* he chideth the injustice of *Johann Reuchlin*. And that he is a good Christian may be presumed from the fact that if he did not intend always to remain a Christian he would not be so wrathful against the Jews, and do them so much hurt. The priest said, "To write, or compose, a book is no small matter, and only great and learned men who have taken high degrees are competent for this, not a lewd fellow like *Johann Pfefferkorn*: and therefore the Theologians of *Cologne* ought never to have thought that they could persuade folk that *Pfefferkorn* wrote the like. If I were Emperor, I would hang *Pfefferkorn* and *Hoogstraten* on the same gallows."

Quoth I, "What hath Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* done? He is a good Imperialist, as I can prove by his Letter to the Emperor, in the which he saith 'May his Imperial Majesty prosper and rejoice for ever; and may God preserve him for a thousand years.'"

Quoth the priest, "I have seen ten malefactors suffer death, and none of them was so worthy of death as *Hoogstraten*, who persecuteth so unjustly a good and innocent man; moreover he hath sought the aid of the King of *France*, who is the Emperor's open foe, against *Johann Reuchlin*. And this is the crime of High Treason, over which he lamented at *Rome*."

I replied that *Hoogstraten* had done this through zeal for the faith; for the faith is greater than an Emperor, and theologians pay no heed to secular rank. Then departed the priest, crying, "Oh most innocent *Reuchlin*! Why should you be harassed by these vile and wicked persecutors? May God preserve you! If there is any justice on Earth, you cannot be overthrown in such a cause! Therefore can I say, 'the heathen have raged, and have imagined a vain thing.'" I answered, in my sleeve, "Let his days be few, and his bishoprick may another take." Pardy, Master *Ortwin*, our troubles are many. I would that our cause made way. Write to me how matters stand at *Rome*. Farewell—for as long as lived *Methusela*.

From BRESLAU.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XV

❧ *MAGISTER PETER STEINHART*
to Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting

I WAS minded, Domine Ortwin, to write to you at large concerning all manner of news—about wars and battles, and about *Johann Reuchlin's* affair, and now I am so beflustered that I cannot sit me down for wrath; and I cannot write about such things when my heart is a-thumping me like a fist—because there is a German here from *Meissen* or thereabouts, and he promised to give me a Juristical Vocabulary, and now he denieth it to me; I have often exhorted him friendly, but it is of no avail. It is manifest that he meaneth to insult me. And since, as you know, every promise createth a debt, I thereupon summonsed him. Then, to-day he sends me an abusive letter and gibeth at me as if I were a dotterel. And so I am choleric to such a degree that I know not what to be at. But I shall to the magistrate, and apply for a warrant of arrest, inasmuch as that fellow is by me suspect of absconding himself. And if he sendeth me not that book incontinent I shall set on the catchpoles to attach him and put him in gaol—and then if he getteth a turn or two of the strappado he must e'en put up with it, for I will learn him to fail a man, and not keep his promises. Mark my word, I will set that fellow to rights—my life else! Because I must have that book, since I am setting in order my studies, and I have bought books about law and other things, going every day for four hours to the *Sapienza* to hear the Institutes, and the Infortiatum, and the Canon Law too, and the Precepts of the Chancellery. And I have found here a right useful book—it exceedeth! I have learnt many things from it—I doubt that you have it in *Germany*—it is marvellous and mightily explicatory, and it is intituled “*Casus longi super Institutis*,” and it treateth of the prettiest matters, and expoundeth the Institutes so deeply that it often divideth one para-

graph into ten parts, and it runneth after the fashion of a dialogue—and as for its latinity, it is hugely elegant. I cannot tell you how useful it is to have a book like that.

But you must not blab to those Jurists in *Cologne* who are on *Johann Reuchlin's* side, for if they had that book they could practise the more subtilly.

I know very well that you commend not my studying Law, because you have often told me that I ought the rather to study Theology, which giveth a blessing, and is of higher desert than the Jurisprudence which maketh the crooked straight and the straight crooked—and you cited a passage in *Richardus*. Nevertheless I say unto you that it is my duty, inasmuch as the science of Jurisprudence toucheth the earning of our bread, as it is written:—

“Con well Justinian’s code, if pelf you’ld gain,
And Galen: chaff all else, but they the grain.”

Moreover you know right well that I am a poor man; and my mother has written to tell me that I must bestir myself to get cheer and gear, because she will not send me another stiver—and, by the Lord, that’s how it standeth.

And now again I bethink myself of that fellow who hath so mightily stirred my choler. From my heart, fare ye well.

ROME.

XVI

¶ *MAGISTER JOHANN HUTER to*
Mag. Ortwin Gratius

I SEND you more salutations than there are thieves in *Poland*—heretics in *Bohemia*—boors in *Switzerland*—scorpions in *Italy*—pimps in *Spain*—vermin in *Hungary*—Articles in *Paris*—topers in *Saxony*—chapmen in *Venice*—courtiers at *Rome*—chaplains in *Germany*—nags in *Friesland*—vassals in *France*—fishes in the *Marches*—swine in *Pomerania*—sheep in *England*—cattle in *Dacia*—harlots in *Bamberg*—artisans in

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Nuremberg—Jews in *Prague*—Pharisees in *Cologne*—priests in *Würzburg*—ships at *Naples*—needle-makers at *Herzogenbusch*—furriers at *Frankfort*—nobles in *Franconia*—sailors in *Zealand*—children of *Sodom* at *Florence*—indulgences among the Dominicans—weavers at *Augsburg*—locusts in the summer—pigeons in *Wetterau*—cabbages in *Bavaria*—herrings in *Flanders*—sacks in *Thuringia*!

In a word, greetings infinite I offer you, reverend Magister, for you are beloved by me to the verge of possibility—with love unfeigned. But you may say that I pretend this affection, and that you do not believe it to be so heartfelt, therefore I will say but little about it. The saying goes, “Self-praise defileth the lips,” or vulgarly, “Eigenlob stinkt.” Nevertheless in token of my love I send you herewith two gifts; the first is a rosary made out of ox-horn, which hath touched the tomb of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, and many other relics at Rome. And over this I have read three masses. They say that it is sovran against robbers and all murderous assaults, if one telleth his beads with it. The second gift I send is something wrapped up in a piece of cloth which hath a virtue against serpents, and I have seen trial made thereof. And if ever a serpent bite you—which heaven forbid—it will do you no hurt. This I gave a Carlin for. There was a man here in the *Campo dei Fiori* who worked miracles by virtue of St. *Paul*, and he had a mort of serpents of terrible shapes, so that it was a marvel to behold. He touched them and they did him no hurt—but when they bit any one else, then he cured him by this talisman, giving him this kickshaw tied up; and they say that he is of that stock on which St. *Paul* conferred healing power. For when St. *Paul* walked the earth he was once entertained by a man who treated him with the greatest reverence, and played the good fellow, giving him victuals and drink and good lodging, and in the morning he asked him, saying, “Sir, take it not amiss—I see that you are a great man, and have especial grace from God, and I doubt not that you are a saint, for but yesterday I saw you work a miracle. Tell me,

I pray you, who you are." Then answered Saint *Paul*, "I am *Paul*, an apostle of Christ." Then the man fell on his knees, saying, "Forgive me, Saint *Paul*, in that I knew not who you were; I ask you to pray for my sins, and to give me by way of valediction a special grace from on high." Then said Saint *Paul*, "Thy faith hath preserved thee;" and he gave to him and all his posterity, the gift of healing men who had been stung by serpents. And the man who gave me this remedy is of his posterity, as hath been proved many a time. Accept it therefore with all good will. Write and send me tidings concerning the war; and tell me whether that Jurist *Johann Reuchlin* still composeth treatises against you—which mayhap he still doth out of mere hardihood and from no demerits in yourself. But I trust that you will fairly set him at nought, for Herr Doctor *Hochstrat* telleth me that his cause prospereth, and that I should avize you thereof. Farewell.

From ROME.

XVII

❧ *FRIEDRICH GLANTZ to*
Magister Ortwin Gratius

A CONGLOMERATION of greetings. In case, Reverend Sir, you know it not already, let me forthwith tell you that I have been at odds with a certain quirister here who thinketh himself to be somebody, and yet is merely a poor student, like myself and the rest.

We were bousing together, and he declared that he had pledged me in a full tankard of beer. I averred that he had not—for, by the Lord, I never saw him drink it. Then said I, "Master quirister, I did not see you drink; an I had seen you, right gladly would I have pledged you again, for I am not the man to be scared at a tankard of beer." Thereupon the fellow swore that he had in sooth pledged me, and argued that therefore I must needs drink to him. "Nay," quoth I, "drink to me, and I will hob and nob with

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

you." Again he declared that he had pledged me, and that it behoved me to do my duty. I made answer that there was no statute to compel me to drink against my will. Said he, "Nay, but I can compel you." Said I, "Where find you that?" Said he, "In the Code: 'Vinum, etc., si certum putatur.'" Said I, "You cite the Code to me, but I am no Jurist; I will enquire further on this matter." Thereupon I paid my shot, and took myself off. The fellow cried that never, so long as he lived, would he drink with me again. "So be it!" said I. And thus the matter standeth, Herr *Ortwin*.

Send me now some news in return: and fare thee well, till a sparrow weigh a quintal.

MÜNSTER.

XVIII

❧ *BROTHER SIMON WURST, Doctor of Sacred Theology, to Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting*

EVER since *Johann Pfefferkorn's* "Defence," which he composed in Latin, reached us here, daily there have been fresh rumours. One man saith this, another saith that. One man is on *Pfefferkorn's* side, another on *Reuchlin's*; whom one man upholdeth, another blameth. There is sore brangling, and folk would fain be at fisticuffs. If I were to relate all the squabbles that have arisen over that book, a whole Olympiad would fail me.

Briefly, however, I will glance at one or two matters. Many folk—especially the lay Magisters, and the priests and friars of the Franciscan Order—roundly declare it to be a thing impossible that *Pfefferkorn* composed that book, seeing that he never learned a word of Latin. I reply that this objection is futile, though it hath been for the undoing of great men even to this day, but with injustice—for *Johann Pfefferkorn*, who beareth with him a pen and an ink-horn, can jot down that which he heareth at public preachments, or at

assemblies, or when students and Dominicans come to his house, or when he goeth to the baths. Sonty! how many sermons hath he not heard in twelve years! How many exhortations! How many opinions of the holy fathers! And these he could either lay up in his own mind, or dictate to his wife, or scratch upon the walls, or enter in his notebook. I added, moreover, that *Johann Pfefferkorn* avoweth of himself—without boasting—that he can apply, without help, everything contained in the Bible or in the Holy Gospel, to any purpose, good or evil, and that in German or in Hebrew. He knoweth too, by rote, all the gospels that are read throughout the year, and he can recite them to the letter—and this is more than the Jurists and Poets can do. He hath, moreover, a son named *Lorenz*—a right towardly youth—who studieth until he hath grown pale; I marvel however, that he is allowed to study those diabolical poets. He gathereth for his father saws from the Orators and poets—both personally and from the lips of his teachers—to be applied to any subject and any argument; moreover he can quote *Hugo*. *Johann Pfefferkorn*, forsooth, hath profited much from this sagacious youth, inasmuch as what he for lack of learning cannot attain to, his son despatcheth.

Let them therefore be put to shame who have falsely spread it abroad that *Johann Pfefferkorn* hath not composed his own books, but that they have been written by the Doctors and Magisters at *Cologne*: let *Johann Reuchlin*, too, blush, and groan to all eternity, in that he declared that Pfefferkorn composed not the *Handspiegel* himself—concerning which there hath been before now much discussion amongst the learned—since three men furnished him with the authorities he citeth therein. One asked me, saying, “What three men be they?” And I replied that I knew not, but that I deemed them to be the same three men who appeared unto *Abram*, of whom we read in the Book of Genesis. But when I said this they all made mouths at me, and mocked me as if I was a greenhorn. Would that the devil would smite them with heavy blows, as it is written in the book of *Job*, which just now in our

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

monastery we are reading in the refectory. Exhort *Johann Pfefferkorn* to have patience, for I trust that the Lord will sooner or later work a miracle. Greet him, too, in my name. Prithee salute also his wife for me—you well know how: but privily. And now, farewell.

ANTWERP: written in hot haste, and without deliberation.

XIX

❧ *KONRAD UNCKEBUNCK to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

I MARVEL greatly, reverend Herr Magister, that my parents have sent me no money, though they know that I have not a doit, and I have sent them twenty letters at the least. If they will send me no money, then, by the Lord, I have another plan in my head. Mark my word, I have been minded of late to bind myself under a bond to the Chamber and borrow two or three Rhenish florins, and come home and expound to them my opinion—in form thick enough for them to feel. The devil! Think they that I grow upon a tree—or that I can eat hay like a beast? Devil take me if I have had a Carlin these six months! and I never have any victuals save salad, and onions, and garlic, and once in a way a dish of beans or kail, or some spinach in Italian fashion. But well I know how my brethren at home guzzle fish and fowl and all manner of dainty dishes, and never give me a thought. But I will endure it no longer. Prithee tell them so, and then I will urge my master here to press forward your suit as you would have me do.

Moreover, I pray you, when my parents hand over the money, send it to me, and with it send me a piece of chalk, for there is no good chalk in *Rome*, if you were to give a florin for it. And, as you know, one must have chalk—for I am a logician, and when I want to make syllogisms there is not always ink at hand. Besides, it is irksome to make them with ink; send

me, too, some German laces for my boots, for it is wonderful what bad laces they make in *Italy*.

Herewith I send you a vernicle that hath touched the heads of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* and many other relics—also I send an *Agnus Dei*. Greet for me the reverend Doctor Herr *Valentin von Geltersheim*. By the Lord, I could never have learnt logic so well had I not resided in his hostel, for he is mightily explicit, and his pupils gulch their facts when he lectureth.

Fare ye well—in all health of mind and body.

THE COURT OF ROME.

XX

¶ *MAGISTER MARQUARD FOTZENHUT*
to *Magister Ortwin Gratius* tendereth greeting
and friendly offices

YOU ask me, Reverend Herr Magister, to tell you how it fareth with Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten*. You must know, then, that the Jurists withstand him sorely. Yet, as I hear, the devil will undo them; for many Cardinals are on your side, especially the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who will be pope when the Pope dieth. I hear that he said, “I will defend that worthy Theologian *Jakob van Hoogstraten* against *Reuchlin*, though all the Jurists in the world should back him:” so he stood up formerly against *Peter* of *Ravenna* in the matter of those theses, which were mightily heretical.

And you may take it for certain, Herr *Ortwin*, that the Cardinal will overthrow the Jurists, for he is on good terms with the Theologians. He is in the good graces, moreover, of the King of *France* and the University of *Paris*, and the old King of *France* would fain have made him Pope. Matters prosper, too, in other quarters. To that end Doctor *Jakob* a week ago gave a thumping bribe to the referendary of a certain Cardinal (whom here I name not), that he might work upon his Eminence as he well knoweth how to do. A rumour goes here that the Bishop of *Cologne* is dead,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and that the Count *von Neuenar* has been elected the new Bishop. If this be true I must say that the Canons of *Cologne* are great fools, since Poet and Bishop are a pair of opposites. It is ill, too, for the cause of the Faith, for the Count is a stubborn ally of *Reuchlin*. A certain Curialist told me that when he left *Cologne* for *Italy* the Count gave him a letter to take to *Reuchlin*; and I have heard from others that he consorteth with many poets, and new-fangled Theologians like *Erasmus of Rotterdam*. When I was in *Würzburg*, there was a poet there, *Ulrich Hutten* by name, who was ever deriding and girding at the Theologians and Masters of Arts; and sitting at table in an Inn, he told another person of quality that he had that very day sent the Count a letter. Then quoth the noble, "What do you write about, when you write thus to one another?" And he made answer that he wrote to urge the Count to do good diligence in the Cause of the Faith, and to work for *Reuchlin* against the Theologians, so that they should not commit the *Augenspiegel* to the flames; and that he heartily commended *Reuchlin* to him; and he averred that he loved *Reuchlin* as his own father: but I held my peace, lest he should suspect that I was on your side. And for this reason it is not good for that man to be made Bishop. But I hope the rumour lieth. Tell me, then, the whole truth, and fare ye well from the soles of your feet to the crown of your head, as saith *Esaias*.

THE CITY OF ROME.

XXI

☞ *JOHANN HOLKOT* to *Magister*
Ortwin Gratius

GREETING, in all amity. Excellent Sir, I have received the letter which you drew up at *Cologne*. The said letter was dated on *St. Margaret's Day*, but it reached me on *St. Bartholomew's Day*; and when I received it I cried, "The devil! that letter was written a long time ago, and Herr *Ortwin* will be nettled with

me, and will say, 'How haughty the fellow is! he deigns not to send me a reply.'"

Wherefore I beseech your Reverence to hold me blameless, and to know of a certainty that the matter standeth not thus.

You thought, forsooth, that I abode still at *Cassel*, but mine host there, when he received the letter, forwarded it to me at *Marburg*, and thus much time was spent. For I am at present at *Marburg*, and am grounding two young men of quality. When, therefore, you send me a letter, prithee address it hither. I gather that you are busy composing a notable treatise, and that you intend to send it to the printers, but deem it better to entitle it "Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies." You tell me that you shall not put your name to this, but shall attribute it to *J. P.*, inasmuch as *Pfefferkorn*, since he heeds not such things, has no fear of *Johann Reuchlin* and his complices, should they take it into their heads to concoct a rejoinder. But I would fain put this question to you: What an if *Reuchlin* should say, "Marry! *Pfefferkorn* hath no Latin, so he could not have written this: it is the Theologians of *Cologne* and that poet of theirs, *Ortwin*, who compose these lampoons, and then say '*Pfefferkorn* wrote them, not we!'"

I trust therefore that you will take much thought before you do this. If you were afterwards to deny the authorship, *Reuchlin* might recognize your style and prove that you wrote the book, and then you would be drawn into a scandal.

Forgive me, for I write but out of affection. Farewell.

MARBURG.

XXII

❧ JODOCUS KLYNGE, *Bachelor of Arts, to
Magister Ortwin Gratius*

REVEREND Sir, albeit in the flesh I am far from you, nevertheless I would have you know that in the spirit I am ever near you when I call to mind our

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

mutual amity when we abode at *Deventer*. But when the freshman came hither, bearing with him your treatise, he told me that you had said to him, "*Jodocus* now dwelleth at home, and he leadeth a merry life, and thinketh no more of me." I answer that this is not true. I am not a man of that kidney, but I well remember how you used to scribble on the wall at *Deventer*, "Out of sight, out of mind."

Yesterday, pardy, when we were at supper, and were discussing some of those fish of my native country, called *Amae*, that my father had brought me, I yearned for you to be there, and I cried "Oh, if Magister *Ortwin* were only here to guttle fish like these, how my heart would rejoice!" Then said my father, "Who is this Magister *Ortwin*?" Thereupon I told him that you were an old crony of mine, my comrade at *Deventer*, and when I abode with you, you were in the first class, and afterwards at the University of *Cologne* you were my inductor when I was initiated as freshman, because you came to *Cologne* a year before me; and then we kept terms together, till I took my Bachelor's degree, and you proceeded Magister. But I, when by God's grace, I had become Bachelor, migrated to the University of *Wittenberg*; and then I was a schoolmaster in one place and another—and thus I lost sight of you. The things I told him about you! And I described how that once I made you laugh by quoting to you this verse:—

"Veni Spandaw aggere, tunc inspexerunt me *Amae*!"

and telling you how the freshmen at *Spandau* had done this verse into Latin out of German—for in the vulgar tongue it runneth thus:—

"Ich kam gen Spandau auf den Damm,
Da schauten mich die plötzen an."

And then you told me that you never knew before that that sort of fish, roach to wit, went by the name of *amae* in Latin; and when I quoted the verse you laughed consumedly—and I went on to tell you that fish like that were very plentiful with us, and that one as long as my arm scarcely costs a groschen. Then you cried, "By Cocke, if we were but there!" And

this is why I longed for you to be with us yesterday. But my father said, "Thinkest thou that there are no fish at *Cologne*?" "Yea," said I, "but they are plaguy dear!"

You tell me that things go ill with you, and that your cause prospereth not at *Rome*, and that *Johann Reuchlin's* allies vex you sorely. Believe me, I grieve for you as though you were my mother. Yet I trust that the Lord will "give that which is good; and our land shall yield her increase"—that is to say that you Theologians at *Cologne*, now that you have burnt the heretical books, will yield your increase, by preaching, arguing, disputing, writing treatises on new subjects, and so forth. And may Christ, the Son of God, bring this to pass, and show you loving kindness. Amen.

The MARKET-PLACE, BERLIN—where there are prime fish.

XXIII

¶ *MAGISTER BERTHOLD HÄCKERLING to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

BROTHERLY love, by way of salutation. Honoured Sir, having in remembrance the promise I made you on parting, that I would tell you all the news, and how I fared, I would have you know that I have now been two months at *Rome*, but as yet have found no patron. An assessor of the Rota would fain have bespoken me, and I was well pleased, and said, "I am nothing loth, Sir; but I pray your magnificence to apprise me what my charge will be." He replied, that my lodgment would be in the stable, to minister unto a mule, serve it with victuals and drink, curry-comb it, and keep it clean; and that I must have a care that he was ready to carry his master, with bridle and saddle and so forth. And then it would be my office to run by his side to the court, and home again.

Thereupon I made answer that it was not meet for me, who am a Master of Arts of *Cologne*, to drudge thus. Quoth he, "If not, the loss is yours." I am

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

resolved, therefore, to return to the fatherland. I, to curry-comb a mule and mundify a stable! The Devil run away with the stable and the mule! I verily believe it would be flying in the face of the Statutes of the University! For a Magister must needs comport himself as a Magister. It would be a scandalous thing for a Master of Arts of *Cologne* to do such drudgery. Nay, for the honour of the University I will return to the fatherland.

Rome moreover pleaseth me not in other ways. You would not believe how arrogant are the Clerks and Curialists. One of them said but yesterday that he would besquatter a *Cologne* Magister. "Besquatter the gallows!" quoth I. Then he made answer that he, too, was a Magister, to wit of the Curia, and that a Magister of the Curia took precedence of a Master of Arts of *Germany*. "That," said I, "is impossible. Would you fain make yourself out my equal, seeing that you have never offered yourself for examination, as did I when five Magisters sifted me with rigour? You are naught but a Magister by diploma."

Then began he to dispute with me, saying, "And what is a Magister?"

"A Magister," I answered, "is a person duly qualified, promoted, and graduated in the Seven Liberal Arts, having first undergone a magistral examination; he is privileged to wear a gold ring, and a silken lining to his cope, and he comporteth himself towards his pupils as doth a king towards his subjects. The name 'Magister' hath a fourfold derivation. First, from *magis* and *ter*, for a Magister knoweth three times as much as a lewd person. Secondly, from *magis* and *terreo*, for a Magister is terrible in the sight of his disciples. Thirdly, from *magis* and *theron* (that is, rank), for a Magister is of higher rank than his disciples. Fourthly, from *Magis* and *sedere*, for a magister ever sitteth in a higher room than any of his disciples."

Then quoth he, "What is your authority?" I answered that I had read all this in the *Vademecum*. Forthwith he began to carp at that book, and declared that it was in no way authentic. Then said I, "You find fault with the Ancients, because you know no

better. But I never heard of any man at *Cologne* making light of that book. Have you no sense of shame?" And in high dudgeon I departed from him.

So, be well assured, I shall hie me back to *Germany*; for there Magisters are paramount; and rightly. I can prove it by the Gospel: Christ called himself Magister, and not Doctor, saying, "Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am."

But I can now write no more, for paper faileth me, and it is a great way to the *Campo dei Fiori*. Farewell.

From the COURT OF ROME

XXIV

¶ MAGISTER PHILIPP MESUE to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

HUMBLE duty by way of greeting.

Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as I promised to impart to you all that I hear and see touching that cause of yours,—rightly called "The Cause of the Faith," seeing that it pertaineth to the Christian Faith universally—I must tell you that when I first came hither the Magisters all cried, "What news, what news, Magister *Philipp*? What news from *Cologne*?" Then I made answer that all the news I had knowledge of was, that lately my lords the Theologians, and the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, had burned an heretical book entitled "Johann Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel*." Thereupon Magister *Egbert von Harlem*, a learned and upright man, and, believe me, indifferent withal, replied, "We know full well that they have burned that book, but we have also learned that they acted not well in that matter, but committed a scandalous deed, for we have read that book and have found naught that is heretical therein. What is worse—the Theologians have passed sentence while the cause is still pending before the Roman Curia, and his Holiness hath committed it to two Cardinals, and hath imposed silence on both parties to the suit. Yet in despite of this

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

the Theologians have burned the book." Thereupon I answered that they acted thus at the instigation of the University of *Paris* and the four other Universities that withstood *Reuchlin*. Quoth Magister *Egbert*, "Though ten Universities opposed that Doctor, yet should they obey the supreme Pontiff, who is the head of the Church." I replied that it was taken for granted that so many universities could not err. "That postulate is baseless," he replied. "Mark my words, this business will have a bad ending." I was fain to make no further answer, but said, "'Tis all one to me, whether it turn out A or B."

Now I tell you these things, Herr *Ortwin*, that you may be forewarned, for I fear me the decision will go against you, since the Pope is wrath; and if you lose your case at *Rome*, the Devil will hold the candle! The men of *Rostock* are bitter foes of the Parisians, for the Parisians have a statute by which they forbid the admission of the Magisters of *Rostock* to their Faculties. And in turn the Rostockians will not admit the men of *Paris*. But now you will know right well what you ought to do. I commend myself to you.

ROSTOCK.

XXV

¶ *MAGISTER ADOLF KLINGESOR to
Magister Ortwin Gratius*

SALUTATIONS, Magister *Ortwin*, so abundant that this letter cannot contain them, nor messenger bear them, nor can any man utter them nor pen them.

I trust, to boot, that you are of jocund heart, and are not in a taking concerning that Cause of the Faith. I counsel you never to be dumpish, but to give yourself repose.

Folk here often rail at me because I am of *Cologne*. But I snicker as though I heeded not; yet now and again I make retort and give them a whirret in turn. For example, the other day a fellow who had resided

at *Cologne* ten years ago, told me that he believed not that *Pfefferkorn* was yet a good Christian: for he declared that he met him a year back and that he still stank like any other Jew—and yet it is common proof that when Jews are baptised they smell rank no longer. He believes, therefore, that *Pfefferkorn* is still a knave at the back of his head, and when the Theologians think him the best of Christians he will turn Jew again: “We should put no trust in him,” quoth he, “for all men have misgivings concerning baptised Jews.”

Then said I, “Sonty! Will you syllogise on a suspicion? ‘Men suspect baptised Jews to be botched Christians—therefore *Pfefferkorn* is a botched Christian!’ It followeth not. I might be apt to suspect Doctor *Arnold von Tongern* to be of the brood of *Sodom*—yet would it not therefore be sooth, for all the Colognese hold him to be an unspotted virgin. Moreover, I will resolve that other objection of yours: you say that *Pfefferkorn* savoureth: put case that he doth—though I believe it not, neither have I ever perceived it—then I maintain that there is another cause of this emanation; for *Johann Pfefferkorn* when he was a Jew was a flesher by trade, and fleshers are commonly rank.”

Then all they who stood near vowed that my reasoning was just. So I conjure you that you disquiet not yourself overmuch in this matter, for a broken spirit drieth the bones. Farewell.

FRANKFORT-ON-ODER.

XXVI

❏ HEINRICH SCHAFMAUL to *Magister*
Ortuinus Gratius many greetings

INASMUCH as before I journeyed to Court you charged me to write to you oft, and propose from time to time knotty points in Theology, which you would straightway resolve better than the Courticians at *Rome*: therefore, I now write to ask your reverence

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

what opinion you hold concerning one who on a Friday, that is on the sixth day of the week—or on any other fast-day—should eat an egg with a chicken in it?

For you must know that we were lately sitting in an inn in the *Campo dei Fiori*, having our supper, and were eating eggs, when on opening one I saw that there was a young chicken within.

This I showed to a comrade; whereupon quoth he to me, “Eat it up speedily, before the taverner sees it, for if he mark it, you will have to pay a Carline or a Julius for a fowl. For it is the rule of the house that once the landlord has put anything on the table you must pay for it—he won’t take it back. And if he sees that there is a young fowl in that egg, he will say ‘Pay me for that fowl!’ Little or big, ’tis all one.”

In a trice I gulped down the egg, chicken and all.

And then I remembered that it was Friday!

Whereupon I said to my crony, “You have made me commit a mortal sin, in eating flesh on the sixth day of the week!”

But he averred that it was not a mortal sin—nor even a venial one, seeing that such a chickling is accounted merely as an egg, until it is born.

He told me, too, that it is just the same in the case of cheese, in which there are sometimes grubs, as there are in cherries, peas, and new beans: yet all these may be eaten on Fridays, and even on Apostolic Vigils. But taverners are such rascals that they call them flesh, to get the more money.

Then I departed, and thought the matter over.

And by the Lord, Master *Orwein*, I am in a mighty quandary, and know not what to do.

I would willingly seek counsel of one of the Courticians, but they are not devout men.

It seemeth to me that these young fowls in eggs are flesh, because their substance is formed and fashioned into the limbs and body of an animal, and possesseth a vital principle.

It is different in the case of grubs in cheese, and such-like, because grubs are accounted fish, as I learnt from a physician who is also skilled in Natural Philosophy.

Most earnestly do I entreat you to resolve the question that I have propounded. For if you hold that the sin is mortal, then, I would fain get shrift here, ere I return to *Germany*.

You must know, too, that Doctor *Jakob von Hochstraten* hath received a thousand florins through the bankers, and I trow he will gain the day, and that the devil will overthrow *Johann Reuchlin* and the rest of the Poets and Jurists, because they would fain withstand the Church of God—that is, the Theologians, on whom the Church is founded, according to Christ's words—"Thou art *Peter*, and upon this rock I will build my Church."

And so I commend you to the Lord. Farewell.

ROME.

XXVII

¶ *MAGISTER WILHELM STORCH* sendeth many salutations to *Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

HOW cometh it that you write much to me concerning yourself, and nevertheless send me not the book that you have indited against *Johann Reuchlin*?

You tell me that you were full of inspiration when you wrote that book, and that you believe it will be a notable work, and that a publisher offered you twenty florins to entrust it to him. You tell me moreover that you will send me a copy to show to the Curialists and scribes here, and vex them thereby, since they will not believe that there are in *Germany* poets as good as there are in *Italy*. It is indeed most desirable that you should send it to me. And yet you send it not—although you are for ever promising it. I entreat you to send me that book, or tractate, for I would fain plague some clerks here who think that nobody else understandeth aught. They scoff at my odes, too, when I write them, declaring them to be faulty. You shall see for yourself whether this be true, for I send herewith a poem that I composed of late when Doctor

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Hoogstraten arrived here, and I posted it on *Pasquin's* statue in his honour—for he is an eminent man, and defendeth the Catholic Faith against many a heretic. The ode runneth thus:—

AN ODE,

Upon the solemn entry of the Reverend Father Jakob van Hoogstraten, of the Order of Preachers, Magisternoster and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity: By Magister Wilhelm Storch of Deventer.

Be it known to all—both young and old, by these presents,
That a grave Divine, immersed in learning profoundly,
Hath to the city come, and with great solemnity stalketh,
Jakob van Hoogstraten y-clept: this also his name is.
He from Germany came, where he abounded in cheeses
Which he collected in heaps—until at last at a Uni-
versity he a degree Theological haply attained to;
Craftily could he dispute, syllogisms subtly devising
In Baroco and Celarent, till all the world wondered.
This Theologians marked, and they in the Faith being zealous,
Made him Inquisitor 'gainst Heretical Pravity. If you
Ask, saying, "What doeth here this man so mighty in learning?"
Lend me your ears awhile, and I will shew you the reason.
There is in Germany now another Doctor—a Jurist,
Johann Reuchlin his name, and him the Inquisitor cited
Here at Rome to appear, because he lately indited
A book of Theology void, but crammed with heresy hurtful;
'Gainst the Faith it hath a heap of scandalous theses,
And—be it known to all—it likewise cockers the Hebrews;
Therefore suspect it was, and, by th' Inquisitor tested,
It to the fire was doomed—to recantation, its author.
(Would you know its name? The *Augenspiegel* its title.)
Now the Inquisitor grave hath hither come on the matter—
No delay nor rest would the Theologians allow him.
Swift to Rome must he fare, and rend that Jurist to tatters.
Therefore is honour his due, and reverent low salutations
When he walked abroad—for he is a disputant stalwart,
And in Logic few are worthy his latchet to loosen.

They say that this is not composed according to rule, and limpeth upon its feet. "What have I to do with feet?" say I. I am not a heathen poet, but a Theological, and I care not for such childishness; 'tis the sense I heed. Wherefore, Herr *Ortwin*, it be-
hoveth you to answer this my composition, and deliver your letter at the bank.

But I have some news for you. Some men called

Spaniards have invaded *Lombardy*; and it is said that the Emperor would fain drive out the King of *France*, and this would be a bad thing for Doctor *van Hoogstraten*, for it is through the King of *France* that he advanceth his cause before his Holiness, and the King of *France* doeth his utmost for him, for the honour of the University of *Paris*, which would be disgraced if the *Augenspiegel* were not burned. I know no more. Farewell, in all happiness.

From *Rome*.

XXVIII

¶ *MAGISTER BERNHARD GELFF*, one of the lowliest, to *Mag. Ortwin Gratius* greeting

HONOURABLE, or excellent Sir; notwithstanding that I have not personal acquaintance of you, I nevertheless know you by reputation, and for many a day I have had cognisance of that Cause of yours which is known as "The Cause of the Faith against *Johann Reuchlin*," and I have the whole process in my possession.

Daily do I dispute with the Courtiers and the scribes who defend *Johann Reuchlin*, and when the Cursor who bears these presents told me that he was starting for *Germany* and would make his way through *Cologne*, I said, "Then will I, by the Lord, make acquaintance of Magister *Ortwin* and write somewhat to him." Then said he, "Ay, by the Lord, do so, and he will be right glad. When I left *Cologne* he charged me, saying, 'Bid all the Theologians, and Doctors, and Artsmen and Poets who are in *Rome* to write to me; for gladly do I receive the missives that learned and well-skilled men send me, and then I collect the letters that they have written to me, and afterwards make a volume of them, and have them printed.'"

Thereupon I replied, "I know that full well, for I have seen a book entitled *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, and it greatly delighted me when I read it, for it is mightily fine and containeth notable matters collected from all quarters!"

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

And therefore, Herr *Ortwin*, I beg that you will look upon me graciously, for I am an astonishing ally of yours and love you incredibly. Commend me also, I pray you, to *Johann Pfefferkorn*, once a Jew, but now happily baptized in Christ. His treatise entitled “The Defence of *Johann Pfefferkorn* against Calumnies” hath been brought to me from *Germany*, and I have read it through and have jotted down notabilia and summaries in the margin. I think very highly of the said book. But you must tell *Pfefferkorn* that one of the officers of the Curia is a mighty upholder of *Johann Reuchlin*. He has collected sundry paragraphs out of *Pfefferkorn’s* book, and seeks to prove that in these passages both Heresy and the crime of High Treason are to be found; and he declares that he wishes proceedings might be taken against *Johann Pfefferkorn* on the grounds of Heresy and High Treason. I send you herewith a schedule in which these passages are copied out, and subjoined are the refutations which I have composed—for I held a disputation with that officer, and defended *Johann Pfefferkorn* to the utmost of my ability. And so, farewell, and look upon me as an acquaintance as well as a friend.

THE COURT OF ROME.

(Enclosure.)

PASSAGES EXTRACTED FROM A BOOK BY JOHANN
PFEFFERKORN AGAINST REUCHLIN AND THE
REUCHLINISTS: THE WHICH BOOK IS ENTITLED
“JOHANN PFEFFERKORN’S DEFENCE AGAINST
CALUMNIES.”

Following are the passages alleged by the Reuchlinists to be heretical, and to involve the crime of high treason—which, by God’s help, is not, and hath not been, and never will be true.

ARTICLE I.

The Reuchlinist alleges, that *Johann Pfefferkorn*, in that book of his that is entitled “*Johann Pfefferkorn’s* Defence against Calumnies,” in his Letter to His

Sovereign Holiness Pope Leo, etc., utters blasphemy, and commits the crime of High Treason, in that he calls the Pope "the hand-maid of the Lord," as though he were a woman—as, indeed, we read that a woman was once Pope—for he saith (A. ii. 1), "And thus your holiness as the Vicar of Christ on earth, and 'ministrum.'" There is also heresy contained in this passage, for Pfefferkorn herein hints, not explicitly but nevertheless implicitly, that the universal church hath erred in making a woman a pope, which is the greatest of errors. But whosoever saith that the Church errs is necessarily a heretic. Q. E. D.

I reply, that Johann Pfefferkorn, who is not a good grammarian, and doth not understand Latin, thought that "Papa" was of the feminine gender, like "Musa": for he had heard from others that "nouns in *a* are of the feminine gender, with exceptions;" as Alexander puts it:

"Sit tibi nomen in *a* muliebre, sed excipe plura."

Whence it is manifest that Johann Pfefferkorn in the present tractate writeth like a Theologian, and Theologians pay no heed to grammar, for they belong to another Faculty.

ARTICLE II.

The Reuchlinists argue: Johann Pfefferkorn in many places, as for instance (A. i.) and (K. iv.), when he wishes to swear that something is true, says "mediusfidius," as though he should say "by my god Fidius." For "mediusfidius" is by interpretation "meus deus fidius:" whence it is manifest that Johann Pfefferkorn himself is an idolater, and hath for his Lord, not Christ, but Fidius, which was an idol among the pagans of old.

I reply, that Pfefferkorn in making oath "mediusfidius" did not think of this word "fidius"—which may be the name of some idol or other—but he used the term adverbially. And Donatus puts it thus, who is authoritative and is read in the schools, that "mediusfidius" means "assuredly" or "truly." Again, we may allege, as before, that Johann Pfefferkorn pays no heed to grammar: or again, that "mediusfidius" means "by my faith," as I heard from a Humanist.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

ARTICLE III.

The Reuchlinist objects: “Whoso declares that he supports the Church is a heretic: but Johann Pfefferkorn declares that he supports the Church: ergo, he is a heretic. The major premiss is manifest, since he who boasteth that he supports the Church assumes that the whole Church is in error, and that unless he supported it, it would fall and be destroyed. Such an one would also appear to be Anti-Pope, that is, desirous of being Pope in opposition to that pope who has been chosen by the Catholic Church. For to support the Church is the duty of the Pope; but Pfefferkorn arrogates this duty to himself—therefore he is Anti-Pope, and a heretic who implies that the Pope erreth and is not a good shepherd. The minor premiss is manifest from the words of Johann Pfefferkorn, who alleges in the aforesaid book that he is “a lowly member of the Church.” Now in the body a lowly member is the foot, because the feet stand on the ground, that is upon the earth; and if the feet were removed the body would fall: ergo, Pfefferkorn pretends that the Church stands on him, and that he supports the Church.

I reply, that Pfefferkorn does not use the words in such strictness, nor as in accordance with their primary signification. But he calls himself a member, that is a part, of the Church, in the sense that every good Christian man is a part of the Church—or even a member, to use the term in a wide meaning. “Lowly,” too, is to be taken as signifying devout and simple; as the same Johann Pfefferkorn saith in his Epistle to the Pope: “All unworthy though I be at thy most holy feet, etc.” Therefore it must not be inferred that Pfefferkorn speaketh against the Pope.

ARTICLE IV.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn again commits the crime of High Treason, not once but many times. For he saith, (O. i.) that all the friends and upholders of Johann Reuchlin, both nobles and other learned and

unlearned men, sin in that they show favour to Johann Reuchlin: but among these are to be numbered in Germany full ten Princes, and his Highness the Emperor himself, and at Rome many Cardinals and Bishops, and his Holiness Pope Leo in person, who lately, when he had read Johann Reuchlin's letter, highly praised the writer, and said he would defend him against all the Friars; and so said the Very Reverend Cardinals of S. Marco, and S. Georgio, and S. Chrysogono, and many more.

I reply, that Pfefferkorn did this from the love of truth, which is greater than Pope, and Emperor, and all the Cardinals, and Bishops, and Princes. And for this cause in his final protest (O. 4) he excuseth himself, saying, "I have defended myself, truth alone being my guide, and without offence of any man. For Jeremy the prophet saith, "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood: and, it is better to fall into the hands of man, than into the hands of Almighty God." And therefore he deems it better to offend Pope and Emperor rather than Truth—that is God. For God is Truth.

ARTICLE VII.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn in that book commits heresy and High Treason in one and the same passage. For he saith (O. i. col. ii.), "I fight not with the sword, nor with violence, I march not into the field with a spear like a soldier of the king, (for that would be sinful pride), etc." Here then he saith that it is sinful pride to make war and take the field: but the Pope and the Emperor do this, and always have done so, and so have many who are in the Calendar of Saints. If, therefore, to take the field is sinful pride, then the saints, and the reigning Emperor, and even the Pope have committed deadly sin, and consequently the Church, which regards them as holy, is in error. Hence Pfefferkorn is in direct conflict with the Canon and Civil Law, with the Emperor and the Pope, with the Church and the Empire.

I reply, that these words are to be understood with a reservation, namely that those who make war and

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

take the field are guilty of the sin of Pride only in so far that they do these things unjustly to the injury of others. But when the Emperor and the Pope wage war, it is to be assumed that they do so in defence of the Church and the Empire, and therefore Pfefferkorn's censure doth not apply to them.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn accuseth the Emperor of falsehood, for he uses these words, (O. ii. col. i.), against Reuchlin, "I accuse him of being a betrayer of God and man and of his Imperial Majesty a faithless Counsellor." In these words he flatly contradicts the Emperor, and calls him a liar. For his Majesty the Emperor, in his Letter to the Pope, and in many mandates and commissions calls Johann Reuchlin his faithful counsellor and adviser. What greater slander can he utter than to call him a liar? Hence he is irremissibly deserving of the penalty of High Treason.

I reply, that this passage distinguishes, and should be punctuated with a comma after the word "Majesty." For Reuchlin is perchance a faithful counsellor of the Emperor in his affairs, but not faithful to Johann Pfefferkorn, as he has shewn by many proofs. And hence no man can suppose that Johann Pfefferkorn speaks against the Emperor, seeing that he is a good imperialist, as his writings everywhere show, whether German or Latin.

ARTICLE IX.

The Reuchlinist objects: that the chiefest and greatest, and most terrible, and most horrible, and most diabolical, and infernal charge of all is that Johann Pfefferkorn blames both the Pope and the Curia by accusing them of the sin of deceit. For he writes, (I. iv.), "But all these matters, his commission obtained, not justly, but with the greatest injustice, from Rome, the Master of Heretical Pravity heeded not, etc." Now it was the Pope who gave that commission; therefore Johann Pfefferkorn accuses the Pope

of not rightly administering justice, and deserves to go thrice to the stake as a heretic.

I reply: Pfefferkorn does not say that the Pope or the Curia issued that Commission unjustly, but means that Reuchlin obtained it unjustly. Therefore it is Johann Reuchlin and not the Pope whom he calleth unjust.

ARTICLE X.

The Reuchlinist objects: Pfefferkorn once again commits the crime of High Treason, in that he lies manifestly concerning the Emperor and the Bishop of Cologne. For he alleges that a certain Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, by the authority of His Majesty, and with the approval of the Bishop of Cologne, burnt the *Augenspiegel* at Cologne. This is utterly false. For neither did his Majesty authorise this, nor did the Bishop of Cologne approve of it: for if the Emperor had authorized this, he would not have laboured in Reuchlin's behalf by writing to the Pope, and desiring him to defend his Counsellor against the envy and craft of the Theologians. Therefore Pfefferkorn is plainly a forger, for he forges, or contrives, Imperial Commissions.

I reply, that it matters not about the Bishop of Cologne, for he is dead. But, as to the Emperor, Johann Pfefferkorn speaks deliberately with regard to what was implicitly the Emperor's intention. For at the first, when Pfefferkorn took up this laudable work in the Cause of the Faith, to wit, the condemnation of all Jewish books to the flames, the Emperor was minded, as it seemed, to burn all books that are contrary to the Christian faith. But Johann Reuchlin's book is one of these: therefore the Emperor was minded to burn that also. Hence Pfefferkorn declares what the Emperor intended—but implicitly, not explicitly and expressly. And he deems it to suffice that the Emperor once for all gave him authorization to deal with Jewish books, with which heretical books may be also included. For I have heard that if the Emperor had adhered to that laudable proposal, the Theologians would have made a visitation of all the libraries throughout Germany, and would have burnt

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

all wicked books, and especially those works of the New Theologians which are not founded upon the Angelic Doctor, the Subtle Doctor, the Seraphic Doctor, or St. Thomas Aquinas. This would without doubt have been praiseworthy and highly profitable; and I believe the time will yet come—which may the Omnipotent grant who reigneth through all, and above all, and for ever. Amen.

XXIX

❧ *EGBERT THE NAMELESS to Magister
Ortwin Gratius greeting*

VENERABLE Sir, who art mine own familiar friend! for a long while I have found no convenient messenger by whom I could transmit letters to your worship, or long ago I would have written to you.

Grant me forgiveness therefore, for gladly would I have written to you if I could but have found a messenger.

But since you have written to inform me that Doctor *Valentin von Geltersheim* asked you to let me know that I still owe him two florins, for lectures when I resided in his hostel, you may tell him I will not pay him a penny. For he promised me all manner of things, and told me he would give me a bouncing gratuity if I would go twice or thrice a day to the Rhine wharf, and scan the boats coming up or down the stream, see if any freshmen were in them, and persuade them to come and lodge at his hostel. And, by the Lord, I netted for him twenty yellow-beaks at the least, and I lost no end of time in running hither and thither, when I ought to have been studying.

But the Doctor never gave me anything, except what he gave us all—sorry commons, meagre meat, and sour drink. Bid him bear that in mind.

But fare ye well, in all affection.

Lo[UVAIN].

XXX

¶ *BALTHASAR SCHLAUCH to Mag.
Ortwin Gratius greeting*

UNTO you thanks be rendered—immeasurable, infinite, indescribable, incomparable, ineffable thanks—in that you have sent me Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn's* book which is intituled “*Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies.*” I was so gladdened when I received that book that I skipped for very joy. I verily believe that *Johann Pfefferkorn* is he of whom *Ezekiel* prophesied, Chap. ix., saying, “And he called a man clothed in linen, with a writer's ink-horn by his side;” for *Johann Pfefferkorn* ever hath a writer's ink-horn with him, and jotteth down citations and postils at Sermons or in assemblies, and afterwards constructeth his tractates. You rejoyce me greatly when you send me his books, for they are so craftily fabricated that I marvel thereat. I plume myself not a little at *Vienna* in that I am of his acquaintance; and when I mention him, I say, “*Johann Pfefferkorn*, my friend.”

Nevertheless I have gathered from that book that the Theologians are at variance concerning the *Augenspiegel*—for some condemn it to the flames—for instance, the Parisians and Colognese; and others, to the rope—as did Doctor *Peter Meyer*, who when he set eyes on the *Augenspiegel*, cried with a loud voice, “To the gallows, to the gallows with such a book as this!” But you ought to be of one mind, and then would you gain the day against that heretic. I was greatly alarmed when I read of these things, and I said, “Now the Devil will hold the candle, if the Theologians fall out!” But I trust you will once more agree together. Nevertheless it seemeth to me that Doctor *Peter* and his friends are not judicious in holding that the *Augenspiegel* should be hung on a gallows. For the book is heretical, and being heretical, deserveth the stake. Heretics are burned—it is thieves that are hanged. Howbeit they may perchance contend that the *Augen-*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

spiegel hath committed a theft, since *Johann Pfefferkorn* avers that through that book *Johann Reuchlin* hath stolen away his honour—which he would not part with for twenty florins; two Jews, forsooth, who in like manner robbed him of his good name, gave him thirty florins for it. However this may be, I would that you were all of a mind.

There is no news here to tell, save that the Poet *Joachim Vadianus*, who is one of the Reuchlinist faction, hath become Rector of the University. May the Lord smite the whole crew of Poets and Jurists, and leave not one of them of man's estate! I am minded to return home. What place is there for me in a University that hath a Poet for its Rector? There are here a host of Reuchlinists, such as are in no other University. There is *Joachim Vadianus* the Rector; *Georgius Collimitius Tanstetter*—now a Physician, formerly Mathematician; *Joannes Cuspinianus*, servant and counsellor of the Emperor; one *Thomas Resch*; *Simon Lasius*, a fellow-countryman of *Johann Reuchlin*, and many more. Yet Magister Noster *Heckmann* is with us, and he hath declared that he will cleave to the Theologians so long as he liveth. He saluteth heartily you and *Johann Pfefferkorn*. Farewell.

From VIENNA.

Once more, farewell—so long as *Pfefferkorn* abideth a Christian.

XXXI

¶ *ALBERT STRUNCK* to Magister
Ortwin Gratius of Deventer

MY humble duty, by way of greeting, reverend Herr Magister! I earnestly crave your indulgence, in that I write not to you oft, because, pardy, the weather in *Rome* is so sultry that one can neither walk in the streets, nor sit at home: in sooth I can neither write nor compose a scantling, by reason of the fervid heat. And well you know what heavy

labour it is to frame theses, for you told me at *Cologne* that you could scarce put together a seemly exercise in a sennight. You cited Horace to me—how that poet hath laid it down that we ought to spend nine years in the inditing a fair treatise. And that, I trow, is the manner fit. For it behoves us to be wary, and to take heed that there are no false concords. Sometimes congruity sufficeth not, for embellishments are needed—according to the twenty precepts of the *Elegantiae*, and the Art of Letter-writing of *Pontius*, or of *Paulus Schneevogel*, who was Magister of *Leipsic*. Those Poets too, now-a-days, are vengeance captious, and when one writes anything they straightway cry, “See, in this place and that, there is sorry latinity!” and they come here with their new-fangled whim-whams, and subvert the good old grammar. And so I cannot write amidst such heat as this. Therefore I pray thee hold me excused. Farewell.

ROME.

XXXII

¶ *MAGISTER HEINRICH SIEBMACHER*
with greetings to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

VENERABLE Master! First, and before all, be it known to you that two judgments have gone against me, and if I lose a third, the devil will be Abbot! I am in great fear, for an Assessor just now said to me, “If I were you, I would not appeal, for you are in the wrong:” and therefore I know not what to be at. I trow that this year is an ill-starred one for Theologians; for even that eminent man, Herr Magister-noster *Peter Meyer* prospereth not in his cause against the Canons of *Frankfort*, and they harry that pious and devoted father. It seemeth to me that the Canons act thus on *Johann Reuchlin’s* behalf, whom they love for his poetry’s sake. And therefore, being minded to do him a pleasure, they bait the good pastor, who is mightily at loggerheads with *Johann Reuchlin*—and rightly, for he representeth his

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Faculty. *Johann Reuchlin* is a foe to the Theologians; Magister-noster *Peter* is a Theologian; therefore—etc. And for a man to defend his Faculty is a thing most permissible. Even Herr *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, Magister-noster and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, has met with no good fortune in the Cause of the Faith. The Curialists now all desire to be thought Poets, and hence they belittle the Theologians and withstand them. And yet I trust it will profit them but little; for the Lord will look upon his servants and deliver them.

I lately heard that the Emperor hath sent a letter to the Pope on *Johann Reuchlin's* behalf, and that he wrote in the sense that if his Holiness doth not speedily make an end of the business, and pronounce judgment, he will himself take steps to defend his Counsellor. But what boots it? If the Pope is on the side of the Theologians, I have no fear. A man of weight, an officer of the Curia, said to me, "What care we for these letters? If *Reuchlin* hath any money, let him send it hither. In the Curia one must have money, or naught goeth forward."

Another officer hath told me privily that Magister-noster *Jakob* hath again given donatives to certain referendaries. Hence it cometh to pass that when they meet him they greet him with respect, and converse with him in friendly wise. Now therefore we are the more hopeful. If I miss the benefice, then I shall aim at the vicarage in *Neuss* that you wot of. My proctor hath told me that my claim is good. I have heard that news hath lately come hither that the University of *Erfurt* intendeth to withdraw its judgment, or decision, against *Johann Reuchlin*. If this be sooth, I declare all the Theologians there to be liars and traitors, and I shall ever hold it a scandal that they abide not by their own Faculty, and defend not that most zealous man Herr *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, who is the light of Theology, and shineth like a star by reason of his doctrines and arguments on behalf of the Catholic Faith. As a Theologian he hath no peer. Lately he disputed here, very learnedly, in the *Sapienza*. Whereupon a certain Italian said, "I knew not that

Germany possessed such Theologians ;” but another averred that he was not well versed in the language of the Bible, and understood not *Jerome* and *Augustine*. Then said I, “O guter Gott! what sayest thou? The Doctor taketh such things for granted; he himself hath other things to attend to, and much more subtle matters.”

May the Lord grant that all turn out well; then cometh our triumph; we will drive out Poetry from the whole of *Germany*, and we will bring it about that the Jurists shall not dare to utter a word when they are in the presence of Theologians; for they shall fear lest the Inquisitor be set upon them, and they be burned for heretics—as I hope will yet happen to *Johann Reuchlin*, by God’s aid, whose judges we are: for as soldiers defend Justice upon Earth, so do we defend the Church by our disputations and sermons. Pardon my verbosity. Farewell.

From the ROMAN CURIA.

XXXIII

¶ *PETER LAPP, Licentiate of the sacred page, to Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting*

INASMUCH as you once told me, Reverend Sir, how great a marvel you hold it that there is now at Cologne a host of illustrious Doctors—not to speak of others not yet graduated but almost Magister-nosters—and super-excellent Theologians in swarms, amongst whom you name to me Magister-noster *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, Magister-nosters *Arnold von Tongern*, *Remigius*, and *Valentin von Geltersheim*, Magister-noster *Peter*, who in my time presided over *Kuick Hostel*, Herr *Roger* the Licentiate, and many others now dwelling in *Cologne*; *Johann Pfefferkorn* too, who, although he is a layman, and unlearned in the Liberal Arts, and hath never attended Christian schools nor learnt Grammar or Logic, nevertheless hath, as you say, a profound intellect and an enlightened heart.

(Even the Apostles were not men of learning, and

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

yet they knew all things; and so we may suppose that the Holy Spirit can instil into the aforesaid *Johann Pfefferkorn* all the knowledge of the Saints, as saith the Scripture.) You also name two Magister-nosters in *Mainz*—Herr *Bartholomew Zehender*, preacher in the Cathedral, and Herr *Peter Bertram* the pastor; as well as, in *Frankfort*, Herr *Peter Meyer*, who excelleth in his sermons, and maketh folk laugh or weep as he willeth, and by his preaching worketh miracles.

Now therefore, having due regard to all these, I would that you all put your shoulders to the wheel to prevail over those Jurists and profane Poets—or impose silence upon them, so that they should no longer venture to write books: or, at least, if they would fain be at botching something together, let them first submit it to the Magister-nosters to decide if it may be printed. And if it meeteth not with the approval of the Magister-nosters let it not be printed—or let it be burnt. The Magister-nosters ought also to issue a mandate that no jurist or poet should write anything concerning Theology, nor drag this new Latin of theirs into holy Theology—as hath *Johann Reuchlin*, and, I am told, another fellow, *Proverbia Erasmi* by name—for they are not grounded in that Science, and 'tis likely that they have never debated publickly, nor held syllogistic disputation thereon, according to precedent. They would ever be putting their sickles into other men's corn—and this the Theologians should by no means suffer.

I beseech you, therefore, to urge these mightily learned men of whom you speak, to dispute against these new-fangled Latinisers and dust their doublets soundly. If they make boast that they know Greek and Hebrew, tell them that Theologians have naught to do with such tongues. Holy Scripture hath been sufficiently translated, and we have no need of any other renderings. Furthermore, it is not meet that we should learn such tongues, lest we bring upon us the contempt of Jews and Greeks. When the Jews see that we learn their tongue, they say, "Lo, the Christians study our sciences, and without them they cannot defend their own faith;" and thereby Christians are deeply humiliated, and the Jews are strengthened in

their creed. The Greeks, moreover, have seceded from the Church ; they should, therefore, be regarded as our enemies, and their learning should not be studied by Christians.

Such is the course I earnestly counsel you to follow. Write to me after a while, and tell me what cometh of it. Farewell.

From HALBERSTADT.

XXXIV

❧ *MAGISTER JOHANN SCHNECK to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

SALUTATION—pronounced with all simplicity, and not with bombastic pomposity as is the wont of the poetising Magisters who ambulate not in the way of simplicity with the Theologians.

Greeting in Christ—and in that Dreadful Day
May He deliver us, we humbly pray,
From all our tribulations—may He, too,
Preserve us from the Jurist Capnion, who
Is yet an infant in Theology ;
No skilled and subtle disputant is he—
If with Theologers he should dispute,
A word of Holy Writ would strike him mute :
For Scripture is the weapon and the stay
Of all who fain would hold the higher way,
Or, like Hoogstraten, to condign confusion
Condemn their foes, with logical conclusion—
Hoogstraten, born to be the Faith's salvation,
Dealing to poets and their crew damnation,
Those erring souls, debile in disputation !

Zooks ! I had no mind to send you poetry, and yet I am sending it. All unawares I wrote it. The metre followeth not the new-fangled secular poetry, but is of that ancient kind that the Doctors at *Paris*, and *Cologne* and elsewhere allow. In my time, when I was a student at *Paris*, it was said that an old Magister who dwelt at *Montmartre* Hostel turned the whole Bible into verse after that metrification.

But I must tell you the news—for all goeth in our favour. *Reuchlin* can no longer study as of yore, since his eyes have become bleared ; as saith the

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Scripture in *Genesis*, "Their eyes were blinded, and they could not see."

A bachelor lately came hither from *Stuttgart*, who had been in his house, and I made as though I knew not of the strife you had with each other, and asked him, saying, "Prithee, Herr Bachelor, take it not amiss that I question you. In the first place, by your favour, I would inquire whether *Reuchlin* is in good health." "Yea," replied he, "but he cannot see very well without spectacles." Then said I, "And will you next tell me what he is now doing in the business of the Cause of the Faith? I have heard that he had some dispute with certain Theologians, and I trow they did him some injury;" (but I spake in irony), "what doeth he? I take it he is for ever composing somewhat against the Theologians." "I know not," he answered, "but I will tell you what I saw myself. When I entered his house, he said, 'Welcome, Herr Bachelor! Be seated!' He had spectacles upon his nose, and a book lay before him in strange characters, so that I could see at once that it was written neither in German nor in Bohemian, nor in Latin. And I said to him, 'Most excellent Herr Doctor, how name you this book?' He replied that it was called *Plutarch* in Greek, and dealt with Philosophy. Then said I, 'Read on, in the Lord's name.' And I verily believe he is skilled in magical arts. Then I espied a little book, newly imprinted, lying beneath his seat. And I said to him, 'Most excellent Herr Doctor, what is this book that lieth here?' He replied, 'It is a scurrilous work that a friend of mine lately sent me from *Cologne*; it is aimed at me, and the Theologians of *Cologne* compiled it, declaring it at the same time to be the work of *Johann Pfefferkorn*.' Then said I, 'What will you do concerning it? Will you not vindicate yourself?' 'By no means,' he replied, 'I am already vindicated. I pay no further heed to such folly, and my eyes scarcely suffice me for studying matters of use to me.' The book was intituled 'Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies, &c.' That is all I know of Doctor *Reuchlin*." And this is all that the aforesaid Bachelor told me. Therefore

Herr *Ortwin*, be of good cheer; for if his eyes grow so weak that he can neither read nor write, so much the worse for him. But you must not stay your hand, but assail him again and again. Farewell.

From ULM.

XXXV

❧ *MAGISTER WILHELM LAMP to*
Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

RIGHT distinguished and high-renowned Man, with the reverence meet to you my promoter!

You tell me that the letter in which I described my journey to *Rome* hath reached you—you tell me, too, that you thence learn of a surety that I love you dearly. These words are well said—for they are true. I love you verily in my heart of hearts. You bid me moreover to make known to you, or to apprise you, how it fareth with me now. You must know, then, that I reside with a Notary of the Rota, and it is my duty to prepare the board, and to go to market to procure pot-herbs, and beans, and bread, and meat and such like; and to put the house in order, that when my lord returneth from Court with his fellows, all things may be ready. Withal, I study. My lord told me lately that, God willing, if I abide with him for a year or two he will procure a benefice for me, as he hath for many others. This is easy of belief; for he hath much love for me.

To crown all—when of late he discovered me to be a poet, he declared that he would love me more and more. It thus fell out: One of those who sat at meat is a poet, after the new fashion, and he is ever talking at the board about Poetry, and he findeth much fault with the ancient fathers—*Alexander*, and the *Graecist*, and *Verba Deponentalia*, and *Remigius*, and the others. And not long ago he averred that any one who desired to write good verses must study *Diomedes*; and of *Diomedes* he spake much. Then quoth I, “It surpriseth me that you pay such heed to these new-fangled

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

grammarians, when you may find all things concerning feet, and the quantities of syllables, set forth metrically in the third part of *Alexander*, not to speak of the Art of Scansion and the rest. Moreover that same *Diomedes* was no good Christian, for I once read that he kept horses that fed upon men, and he himself gave them men to eat."

Then the Curialist laughed loudly, jeering me, and asked me what I made the first syllable of "Abacuck?"

I replied, "We must distinguish. For, in so far as it is a proper name, the first syllable is indifferent, according to *Alexander* :—

'Ad placitum poni propriorum multa notavi;'

but in so far as it is asked what quantity the first hath conformably to the quiddity of common nouns, then it hath the first short; according to *Alexander*, who saith that in first syllables *a* before *b* is short—exceptions excepted."

Then he laughed me to scorn yet again, and said, "Get thee gone, thou Cologne abecedarian, with thine *Alexander*, who was but a Parisian ass—and there are plenty more." And thus, shamefully reviling the good *Alexander*, he went his way. "Ha!" quoth I, "tomorrow you shall see!" And in the morning I drew forth a poem that I had concocted in the night-time in praise of *Alexander*, and I send you a copy thereof. So soon as my lord set eyes on that poem, he applauded me, and cried,

"Oh *Wilhelm*, can you compose such verses as these? And I never knew it! In future I shall love you more than ever!" Therefore I trust I shall get good preferment, and when it pleases Heaven that I achieve somewhat, then shall I betake myself, as a priest, to mine own country once more.

From the ROMAN CURIA.

FOLLOWETH,

An Epigrammatic Ode, confectionate by Wilhelm Lamp, Magister of the Seven Liberal Arts at Cologne, in praise of Alexander Gallus.

Who would of Grammar be an understander,
Must con with care the work of Alexander;
Parcelled it is into four diverse parts,
And disciplineth many useful Arts:
With milk and honey for the young it floweth,
As the Colognian Commentary sheweth.
Would you to metrififying skill attain?
Read Part the third—'twill make the pathway plain:
All ignorance 'twill purge away from you,
As well I know, who thereout wisdom drew!

XXXVI

☞ *JOHANN ARNOLDI sendeth many greetings to M. Ortwin Gratius*

I SHOULD forsooth have been persuaded that at any rate you might have heard, or that it might promiscuously have reached your ears, how that I, instigated by a certain righteous affection of the soul, have very lately betaken myself, by ambulatory journeying, to the Urban Court of *Rome*, in contemplation of remunerative emolument flowing from the acquisition of a trifling foolish benefice, or prebendicule, or other cure of souls, whence, from time present to the ultimate determination of my vital spark, sufficing aliment and raiment be mine, by the divine grace of God. Wherefore, by *Hercules* and *Mediusfidius*, it would have been meet and right for you to have addressed to me, and that not rarely, an epistolet amicably concocted, or compacted, and therein to have affectionately signified how you are situated with respect to every corporeal and mental condition. And how you have been fortunèd by the fates, through that divine predestination which was before the worlds, as saith *Lactantius*—whom I have of late been earnestly

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

studying, since he hath been lectured upon in the *Sapienza* conformably with the regulations. Besides and furthermore, a juvenal hath come hither out of *Cologne* and the hyperborean regions of *Germany*, bearing epistolary missives to him addressed from all parts of the world, from which, forsooth, I have learned how that you have procured to be impressed by the typographical art an opusculum which is understood to be—or to have been intituled, or cognominated, “The Letters of Obscure Men to Magister Ortwin Gratius,” in which booklet, or tractate, are comprehended—so I have been given to understand—all the letters addressed to your worthiness, lovingly and fraternally, by your friends and acquaintances throughout the world; and I have moreover heard that you have therein included my own epistolet, and thereby I have been very marvellously stupefied—to think that you should have glorified me with such sesquipedalian honour and promoted me to everlasting renown! And for this, believe me, I render you all the thanks in my power. I must tell you that I have been studying here to acquire incomparable virtuosity in the Poetic Art, and that consequently my diction differeth from its complexion of yore.

I bid thee a sesquipedal farewell.

From *ROME*.

XXXVII

¶ *FRIAR GEORG BLECK to
Magister Ortwin Gratius*

IN humility and with homage due, Herr Magister! You have sent me hither a book entitled “Johann Pfefferkorn’s Defence.” This I failed not, in accordance with your desire, to lay before the Divines throughout *Paris*, as well as before the Theologians of our Order, and they all cried with one voice, “See! what notable Theologians *Germany* possesseth! If an unlettered man can write thus, what cannot learned men and graduates put forth?” Then it was asked of me

whether the princes of *Germany* paid great honour to *Johann Pfefferkorn*. I replied that some did, and some did not; but that nevertheless he was the trusty and well-beloved Counsellor of the Emperor in all that concerned Hebrew books and the increase of the Christian Faith. I told him, moreover, how that the late Bishop of *Mainz*, of pious memory, loved him dearly, and promised him aid in all things to the extent of his power—and when *Pfefferkorn* journeyed hither and thither on the business of the Faith he was wont to provide him with large sums of money for his expenses. A Theologian present said, “This *Johann Pfefferkorn* doth great diligence, then, in the aforesaid business?”

I told him, as you had informed me, that he had indefatigably circumambulated the whole of *Germany*, notwithstanding that it was discommodious for him at that time to neglect his wife and children, whom it was befitting for him to educate and maintain. Nevertheless during his absence, the Theologians ministered not a little to his wife, affording her consolation, inasmuch as they knew that her husband was occupied in the cause of the Faith. Sometimes, moreover, the Friars from our Monastery come to her and say, “We pity you in that you are so lonely.” And she replieth “Come then sometimes and visit me, for I am as it were a widow, and afford me consolation.” Howbeit the new Bishop of *Mainz* favoureth not *Johann Pfefferkorn*, and the reason is that he hath other Counsellors who strongly support *Johann Reuchlin* and hate the Theologians.

This bishop, indeed, would not give audience to *Pfefferkorn* when he desired to present him with his “Defence,”—as I learnt from your letter. All this I related. Then one asked, “And who is this *Pfefferkorn*?” I replied that he was formerly a Jew—but is now happily baptised into the Church—and that he is without doubt a very upright man, and of the tribe of *Naphtali*. And he said, “Of a truth the blessing conferred upon *Naphtali* is fulfilled in *Johann Pfefferkorn*. For *Jacob* said to his son *Naphtali*, ‘*Naphtalym* shall be a hart sent out, and giving speeches of fairness,’ Gen. xlix.” Thereafter many Divines, and Licentiates

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and other Theologians read that book from beginning to end, page by page, word by word, paragraph by paragraph. But there is here a certain Oberlander who studieth Greek, and he everywhere bruiteth it about that it is not true either that *Pfefferkorn* is an Imperial Counsellor, or that he ever was—and he declareth that the Emperor hath written on *Reuchlin's* behalf to his Holiness, and desireth, without more ado, that the Theologians will henceforth let his upright and trusty counsellor alone. *Jakob Fabri von Estaples*, too, of whom you have heard much, openly favoureth *Johann Reuchlin*, although the Theologians have told him that he ought to refrain. It is even said that in a letter he sent to *Germany* he declared that the Theologians of *Paris* have treated *Reuchlin* just as the Jews treated Christ. But let him say what he will, the fact remaineth that the more part in *Paris* are on our side, for the honour of the University and in despite of the Jurists. Be therefore, of good heart, and rejoice and be glad. Fare ye well for ever and ever.

PARIS.

XXXVIII

❧ *DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS to Magister
Ortwin Gratius greeting*

YOU write to me asking how our University comporteth itself with regard to the Cause of the Faith—whether it taketh your part, or that of *Johann Reuchlin*. You must know, therefore, that throughout the whole of *Switzerland* the Brethren of the Order of Preachers are in ill odour and deep disgrace by reason of those innocent Friars who were burned at *Berne*—for I shall never believe that they did the deeds imputed to them. Therefore are their Monasteries deserted, while the Monasteries of the Franciscans flourish; and where one man giveth alms to a Dominican, twenty give to Minorites, Augustinians and the rest. It is said that it hath been prophesied that the Order of Preachers will be wholly blotted out.

Moreover there is here a Theologian—as he calleth himself, but I should rather call him a Poet—*Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* by name, who is revered by many as if he were one of the wonders of the world. He it is who wrote the Book of Proverbs that you once shewed me at *Cologne*, saying, “What do we want with the Proverbs of *Erasmus* when we have the Proverbs of *Solomon*?” This *Erasmus* holdeth firmly by *Reuchlin*, and is for ever praising him; and lately he printed certain Letters which he sent to the Court of *Rome*, addressed to the Pope and some of the Cardinals. In these he lauded *Reuchlin* and slandered the theologians. When I saw them I cried, “If the Magister-nosters do but cast their eyes on this, the Devil will nab him!”

It happeneth therefore that our University, which highly regardeth *Erasmus*, leaneth towards *Reuchlin*. The Poet *Glareanus*, moreover, hath come hither—a very headstrong man, as you know—and he uttereth outrageous calumnies against you and other Theologians. He declareth that he is going to write a book about the iniquities of the Dominicans, and will relate from beginning to end all the doings that took place at *Berne*. I would gladly beg him, in friendly wise, to refrain from this, but he is a terrible man, and a choleric, for ever threatening buffets—and he must be possessed of a devil. I trust that judgment in favour of the Theologians will soon issue from *Rome*—and then all will go well. But, if it should prove in favour of *Reuchlin*, then the Devil will hold the candle! Farewell.

From BASLE.

XXXIX

¶ *KONRAD STRILDRIOT* to *Mag. Ortwin*
offereth salutations; homage, and my affectionous
duty toward your virtuousness, preventing

I HAVE oft-times told you that I abide not here of mine own free will. The Devil, I trow, carried me hither, and now I cannot get back. There is no good-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

fellowship here as there is in *Germany*; folk are not convivial, and if a man be but mellow once in a day, they take it amiss, and call him a swine. There is no wenching for me, either, for the bona-robas are woundily extortionate, and uncomely withal. I tell you of a truth that in *Italy* the women are as ill-made as is possible, notwithstanding their fine gowns of silks and velvets. For when they are scarce middle-aged they all grow crook-backed, and walk about as if they had the gripes. They eat garlic, moreover, and savour rankly. They are swarthy, too, and not fair like German lasses. Their cheeks are pallid as death—and though some be blowsy, it is plain that they have ruddled themselves with salves. Wherefore the women of *Rome* please me not. They have a saying that it is not physical to go a-wenching here in the dog-days. So, say I, let me get home to *Germany* again, where one can wench the year round.

Ofttimes I call to mind how we both had our doxies—you and I; and how we held in contempt that young tuft who had a design on yours—but she would have beslobbered his visnomy!

I have lately heard that you must needs consort with *Johann Pfefferkorn's* wife for honesty's sake—for she is close-tongued, and—so to say—an honest woman. It is, forsooth, but seemly to possess your leman privily: but it hath been told me that *Pfefferkorn* once fell out with you, and said, "*Herr Ortwin!* would that you would eat from your own plate, and let me eat from mine!" But you for a long time understood him not, for he is a very subtle man, and given to speaking mystically by tropes. But a friend of yours, as I have heard tell, expounded these riddling words, and interpreted them thus: "Would that you would eat from your own plate"—that is, lie with your own wife or mistress—"and let me eat from mine"—that is, lay not your hands on my wife, but leave her to me.

I asked a certain poet, here, to seek out this aphorism in the Adages of *Erasmus*; but he told me that he could not find it therein. "Then," quoth I, "by the same token that Author is not complete but faulty!"

Nevertheless, when I heard these things concerning

Johann Pfefferkorn, I declared him to be over-jealous if he acts thus. For there is a saying that friends have all things in common—though some hold that wives are to be excepted. Nevertheless, with thee he should not be angry, seeing that you have no wife of your own, and we ought to give to those who have not. I have heard, moreover, that you have lain with a maid-servant of *Quentel* the printer's, and that she hath borne you a child. It is not well that you should till fallow ground. I hold ever by the outworn, that beareth no crop. Howbeit, young or old, there are none here for me. Oh, that I were back, therefore, in *Germany*, where I fain would be!

Fare ye well, until that day when a laverock shall weigh a hundred talents.

From ROME.

XL

❏ *MAGISTER JOHANN KRAPP to
Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting*

YOU tell me how mightily pleased your worship was with that my Metrical Epistle, of late composed; you say indeed that you have scarce seen the like; and I take it that you would fain have me ever write to you after that fashion. Yet I must warn you—though you know it well—that one cannot at all times be poetising. You well know in your own case, though you are vastly facund and can write verses in plenty, that nevertheless “oil sometimes lacketh” as the saying goes; sometimes you are lickish for verse, and sometimes for prose. I remember how that I once said to you at *Cologne*, “*Herr Ortwin*, devise me, I pray you, a metrical Ode;” and you made answer, “*Apollo* is afar from me for the nonce.” And you said that sometimes in ten whole days you would not make one good verse; for the weather suffered it not, and you must needs wait the occasion, as saith *Ovid*:—

“Tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis.”

As soon, therefore, as *Apollo* is gracious to me, I will

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN


indite somewhat and send it to you. You desire me likewise to send you some news; all I know is that there are here three eminent Theologians who are of high renown among the Germans, and cause us to be of good and laudable report throughout the Curia. Two of these you know well—the Reverend Father Herr Magister-noster *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, (in the Latin tongue, *de Alta platea*), and Herr Magister-noster *Peter Meyer*, of *Frankfort*, Pastor. The third is Herr *Kaspar*, Preacher at *Kempton*, Licentiate in Sacred Theology, and ere long to become Magister-noster.

They are here occupied with three notable Causes.

The first, Magister-noster *Jakob*, maintaineth the Cause of the Faith against *Johann Reuchlin*, who they say is a heretic; and they say well, for so he is. The second, Magister-noster *Peter*, instituteth a suit concerning competence against the Canons of *Frankfort*, inasmuch as they will not yield him his competence, and therefore he hath come hither to Court, and harrieth them woundily. The third, Herr *Kaspar*, maintaineth a suit concerning certain sacred oil, against certain monks who dwell without the walls of *Kempton*, and hoard this sacred oil; and when folk should be aneled the sacred oil is not forthcoming. Wherefore the afore-said Licentiate desireth to correct those monks and compel them to yield the oil to the Burg for the common good of the inhabitants. I have no other news to relate; and from you I have heard naught. [I know not indeed the cause wherefore I have merited your reverence's neglect.] And now I commend you to the Lord—

May he you in peril save,
Make you as a lion brave,
Wise as prudent Solomon,
Fair of face as Absolon,
Holy as the Baptist, John,
Wealthy as Ahasuerus,
And poetic as Homerus.
Perish Reuchlin! and the crew
Of ungodly poets, too—
Humbly they might learn of you!

Lo! while I was not minded to write poetry, nevertheless I have dropped into verse. How this came to pass

I know not. Glory be to God! Farewell! Finis!
Telos! Tetragrammaton! 

From the COURT OF ROME.

XLI

¶ *MAGISTER SIMON POCOPORIUS to*
Magister Ortwin Gratius greeting

“**S**UCH knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it,” saith the Psalmist. These words I can apply directly to myself when I consider your lordship’s learning, which I lately became aware of through that book of yours entitled “The Orations of Magister *Ortwin*.” Sonty! What a great man you have become, though in days gone by you were but a bungling pupil of mine? And now you overtop your teacher, notwithstanding that Scripture: “The disciple is not above his master.” So then, as I read that book, I cried in a loud voice, “Oh, *Ortwin*, thy knowledge is too wonderful for me, it is high, I cannot attain unto it!” “Wonderful” of a truth it is, for I should never have believed that from my teaching you could have indited compositions so fairly and artificially; I glory greatly when I call to remembrance that by God’s grace I was once your master and teacher. “High” indeed it is, for though in days gone by your knowledge was none of the loftiest, it hath been heightened by the inspiration of the spirit from above that hath enlightened you. Formerly—pardon me—you had no mind to study: oftentimes I have corrected you for knowing not the case of “mei” or “sui,” or the tense of “legat, legant,” and I would say to you this rime:—

You must be a ninny-hammer
If you cannot learn your grammar!

But now you can teach me, and I should feel it no disgrace to learn of you. Nevertheless, I add, “I cannot attain unto it,” since, as *Socrates* saith, “What is

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

above us toucheth us not." Persevere in compiling essays and you will become a notable man. Farewell.

LÜBECK.

XLII

¶ *MAGISTER ACHATIUS LAMPIRIUS to
Magister Ortwinus Gratius with many greetings*

I MARVEL greatly, honoured Sir, that you write to all your friends and adherents at *Rome*, and yet to me alone you write not, although you said that you would write to me oft.

I learn however, of a pilgrim from *Cologne*, that you would fain have knowledge of that art concerning which I once hinted to you—to wit, how a man may compass that a woman shall mightily love him. Now, albeit you have not written to me, yet will I impart this to you, that you may see how dearly I cherish you: for I will keep nothing secret from you, but will disclose matters

“ Which the filosofes of olde,
Would not to their feres unfold; ”

of such a kind is this subtle device. But you must reveal it to no man, for I keep it so covered that I would not whisper it to my brother—but you I love more than a brother. Therefore I am nothing loth to communicate the secret to you.

You must go about in this wise:—

When you are enamoured of a woman, you must first discover what her name is, and what her mother's name is.

Put the case that you are in love with a damsel named *Barbara*, whose mother's name is *Elsa*.

You must first procure a hair from *Barbara's* own head, and must thereupon be shriven as a penitent, or at the least make general confession.

Next, you must make an image of virgin wax, and over this Mass must thrice be read, the hair meanwhile being bound around its neck.

Afterwards, on a morning, having first heard Mass,

you must take a new glazed pot full of water, and having kindled a fire in a room closed in all parts, you must make fumigation with incense, and light a candle made of new wax with which a morsel of a Paschal candle has been mingled. Then you must pronounce this incantation over the image: "I conjure you, by the virtue of the Almighty, by the Nine Choirs of Angels, by the virtue of Cosdriel, Boldriach, Tornach, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, and Starniel, that you set before me, in her proper substance and corporeality, *Barbara* daughter of *Elsa*, to submit herself to me in all things in accordance with my will."

Then you must write these names around the head of the image with a silver style: Astrob + Arnod + Bildron + Sydra +, and forthwith place it in the pot of water, and set it by the fire, uttering this conjuration: "I charge thee, *Barbara* daughter of *Elsa*, by the power of the Almighty, by the nine Choirs of the Angels, by the power of Cosdriel, Boldriach, Tornach, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, and Starniel, and by the power of those names, Astrob, Arnod, Bildron, Sydra, that thou instantly conceive such love for me, that without tarrying thou wilt come to me, because I languish in love." Thereupon, so soon as the water becometh hot, all is accomplished, for she will begin to love you to such a degree, that when she sees you not—she knows not where you are.

This has been proved oftentimes, and never fails. Believe me, this is very precious lore. I would not unfold it to you were it not that I love you so fervently; and, for once, you might in turn communicate a secret to me.

May you abide sound in health.

THE COURT OF ROME.

XLIII

☞ BROTHER OTTO FLASCHENKLIRNER
to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

MY pious prayers by way of greeting.
Reverend Sir! You tell me that all we Theologians should render thanks to Almighty God for that

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Theology is now in blossom, and that there is a cloud of learned Divines in all parts of *Germany*. Moreover all men, masters or servants, nobles or churls, do them high honour, calling them Magisternosters by reason of their pre-eminence, and doffing their hats and caps when they meet one, saying, "Commend me to your egregiousness, eximious Herr Magisternoster!" And when a Magisternoster passeth along the street all folk salute him as though a prince passed by. And this is well—for Magisternosters are as the Apostles of God. So then in your letter you tell me great things. Nevertheless must I hold myself opposed, and say that this doubtless is true enough for *Cologne*, but not elsewhere. Here, especially, in my own country, Magisternosters who are Regulars are paid no honours, but the Canons and nobles shamefully belittle them. Yet the secular priests are accorded honour, and held in respect. Now this seemeth to me unbecoming, for Regulars should ever take the first place, inasmuch as they are the more spiritual, and a Regular with respect to celestiality standeth above a Secular. For Regulars are naturally fitted for chanting lauds to the glory of God, and of his Holy Mother, the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints and Martyrs, and Confessors, and the rest. Therefore it seemeth to me a great error for men to honour Seculars rather than Regulars. Moreover the secular Theologians in high places begin to wax proud, and are, as it were, opposed to the Regulars, while they themselves grow more worldly, and further removed from the Kingdom of Heaven. You know how that Christ hath said, "Ye who follow me shall sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Now Regulars have left their goods and chattels, and are despised in this world, therefore are they nighest to the Kingdom of Heaven. Forgive me in that I write such things concerning secular Theologians, seeing that you are one. But it is otherwise at *Cologne*, for there folk are humble and reverent towards Regulars. Nay, even you may be yourself deemed a Regular, as far as zeal goeth, and you once said to me at *Cologne*, "Herr Otto, I trow that one day I shall

become a monk of your Order, for I have a strong hankering thereafter." Hence I write to you from my heart. But it irketh me mightily that Secular Theologians should now-a-days be so over-weening—as is Doctor *Johann Reiss*, who is a preacher at the Cathedral in this Burg. He is held in high esteem, and all the Canons and nobles make much of him; for he knoweth how to gloze them with fair words. Yet this Doctor seemeth to be mightily prejudiced against the Regulars. One told me, who often sat with him at board, that he altogether holdeth a way of his own, and is neither an Albertist, nor a Scotist, nor an Occamist, nor a Thomist. And if any one asketh him, "Most excellent Herr Doctor, of what way are you?" he answereth, "The way of Christ." He laugheth when the Doctors of Theology call themselves Magisternosters.

Moreover he holdeth not greatly with the Regulars, saying that it is not needful for us to put on a cowl, but that we can be saved by other means. He declareth that God hath no respect for vesture. In this he seemeth to me to be heretical, for he lacketh reverence towards the Regulars and the Holy Father. He useth moreover an uncouth method of preaching—for he doth not, as do others, propound subtle questions and construct arguments *contra*, and afterwards solve them and deduce Corollaries, but he proceedeth without art or rule. I marvel, therefore, that folks listen his sermons gladly, for he preacheth not canonically. I have by two instances been convinced that he is ill-disposed towards Regulars. Once when you at *Cologne* instituted, with the aid of our Order universally, that laudable strife against *Johann Reuchlin*, I brought him a paper containing the decree concerning *Johann Reuchlin*, that his book should be burned and he himself be forced to recant. I said to him, as I had been instructed by our Provincial, "Excellent Herr Magisternoster, your excellence here hath a decree that *Reuchlin* is a heretic and that his book is to be burned. Be pleased, therefore, to publish it from the pulpit; and at the same time we request you to join us in withstanding the aforesaid heretic."

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Thereupon he read the mandate, and said :

“I cannot see that aught is decreed herein save that the *Augenspiegel* is not to be sold publicly until the charge is heard and decided. It doth not appear that *Reuchlin* is pronounced a heretic.” I answered that this might be piously presumed from the fact that the sale of his book was banned, and I asked him to espouse our Cause from the pulpit. He made answer, “I pray thee leave me in peace : I am here to spread the word of God, and to offend no man. For it is written, ‘But whoso slandereth one of these small,’ etc. ;” and so I could not bring it about that he should aid the Cause of the Faith.

On another occasion I observed that when Brother *Jakob* of our Order was here, and distributed the indulgences that we had procured at *Rome* for the Monastery at *Augsburg*, he also asked the aforesaid Doctor *Reiss* to extol the Indulgences in the pulpit, and exhort women, and others, so that money might flow into the chest, for it would be well spent. But he neglected to say what was required, and would not even utter a single word concerning Indulgences. Thereupon Brother *Jakob* said to him, “Lo, you grudge our collecting money ; yet collect it we will, if it should break your heart ;” and from the pulpit he cried, “Lo, here you have indulgences, and letters of indulgence, and that which is written in them is as true and credible as the Gospel ; and when you receive these indulgences, you are as surely shriven as though Christ had come hither and shriven you himself.” Then Doctor *Reiss* argued to the contrary, and said :

“Naught can be evened with the Gospel ; and it will go well with him who doeth well. If a man receiveth those indulgences a hundred times over, and yet liveth not uprightly, he shall perish ; nor shall the Indulgence profit him. But, on the other hand, if a man liveth righteously, or, after sinning repenteth and amendeth his ways, I tell you that he will be an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven, and will need no other helper.” And hence it hath entered my mind that this Doctor *Reiss* is an enemy of the Regulars :

and it seemeth to me that he favoureth *Johann Reuchlin*; but I cannot tell. You will perceive therefore how matters stand. I allow that the Theologians in *Cologne* are held in high reverence, and that the Secular Theologians and lay folk are in close bonds with the Regulars—but here it is not so. Yet I trust that when *Reuchlin* is overthrown, then the Theologians will rejoice in their turn; which may our only-begotten Saviour grant. Amen.

From WÜRZBURG.

XLIV

¶ *PETER OF WORMS to Mag. Ortwinus*
Gratius sendeth many greetings

EXIMIOUS Sir; Inasmuch as you are by nature well-disposed towards me, and have shewn me much favour, I too will do on your behoof what lieth in my power.

Now you said to me, “O *Peter*, when you attain to *Rome*, mark whether there be any new books, and send me some.” Receive, then, with this, a new book that has been printed here.

I trow, indeed, seeing that you are a Poet, you will learn from it for the perfecting of your art.

For I heard, at a session of the Court here, from a Notary, who was doubtless proficient in that mystery, that this book is the well-spring of Poesy, and that its author, one *Homer*, is the father of all the Poets.

He told me moreover, that there is another *Homer*, in Greek.

“Nay,” quoth I, “what care I about Greek? The Latin one is better, for I want it to send to *Germany*, to Magister *Ortwin*, who pays no heed to those Greek fantasticalities.”

Then I sounded him concerning the theme of this book. And he told me that it treated of certain folk called Greeks, who made war on some other folk called Trojans, whom I had heard tell of before. These same Trojans had a great city, and the Greeks pitched before it and lay there for more than ten years. And anon

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

the Trojans sallied forth and laid about them mightily, and they slew one another so wondrously that all the ground was bloodied, and there was a certain river there, and that was all dyed with blood and made quite red, so that it flowed like so much gore—and the noise was heard in heaven; and a wight threw a stone that twelve men could not lift, and a horse began to speak, and prophesied.

But I do not believe such things as these, for they seem to me impossible, and yet I suppose that this book may be very authentic. Write to me, I beg you, concerning it, and let me know your opinion. And now, farewell.

ROME.

XLV

¶ *JOHANN GERLAMB to Magister
Ortwin Gratius*

AS the saying goes, “A friend in need is a friend indeed,” and I desire to make proof whether you still hold me in remembrance, and this I shall put to the test in manner following: The bearer of this letter is my kinsman, he is a youth of good parts, and desireth to study the liberal Arts; his father was minded to send him hither to this University, but I dissuaded him, because I would fain have him study after the methods of the Ancients, as I myself had been taught. I pray you, therefore, receive him as your charge. Although I am an Albertist, I should disapprove not of your sending him to *De Monte* Hostel, where they cleave to the methods of *Thomas*. The Rector there is an Oberlander, and, after all, there is no great difference between Thomists and Albertists—except that the Albertists hold that adjectives are appellative, and that the mobile body is in nature the object, while the Thomists hold that adjectives are not appellative, and that the mobile Ens is in nature the object. The Albertists assert, too, that logic proceedeth from terms of the second intentions to first intentions, while the Thomists assert that it proceedeth from first to second

intentions. Again, the Albertists hold that a mobile body *in vacuo* moveth continuously, but the Thomists hold that a mobile body *in vacuo* moveth instantly. Again, the Albertists say that the Milky Way is celestial in its nature, but the Thomists say that it is elemental. Yet it matters not much with which side a man holdeth, so long as he followeth the ancient ways. I desire that this young man should have his commons in the hostel, and that he should be kept under strict control and not permitted to run wild wheresoever he willeth. And when he transgresseth, chastise him. For it is written in the Book of Proverbs, Chap. xxii. : "Withhold not correction from the child ; for if thou beatest him with the rod he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod and deliver his soul from hell." Induce in him the habit of joining in the disputations of the hostel, and take heed that he attendeth not the lectures of *Caesarius*, or other poets. I rejoiced when you told me that *Buschius* no longer abideth at *Cologne*, for he was a stumbling-block to the University, enticing students away with that poetry of his. There are two Poets here—*Eoban Hesse* and *Peter Aperbach*, who are enemies of mine, but I pay no heed to them. Whenever they see me they fall to talking about *Johann Reuchlin's* case, making him out to be in the right, and defaming the Theologians. But I hold my tongue—though a little while ago I did say, "*Johann Pfefferkorn* knows right well what to call him," and I shewed them that book of his called "*J. P.'s Defence against Slanders*," and with that I took myself off. God grant that the judgment may go in your favour, or else these poets will laugh us to scorn. And now I commend the young man to your charge. Farewell.

ERFURT.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

XLVI

¶ *MAGISTER KONRAD UNCKEBUNCK*
sendeth to Magister Ortwin Gratius abundant
greetings

“**M**OUTHS have they and they speak not; eyes have they and they see not; ears have they and they hear not,” saith the Psalmist: and these words will serve as preamble and text of my discourse:—

Magister *Ortwin* hath a mouth and speaketh not—else would he have said to some Curialist setting out for Rome, “Salute Herr *Konrad Unckebunck* for me:” Eyes hath he and he seeth not—for I have written him many letters and he replieth not, as though he could neither read nor see them: and, in the third place, ears hath he and he heareth not—for I have commissioned many a comrade departing hence for the provinces to greet him, but he cannot have heard my salutations, inasmuch as he reciprocate them not.

In this you sorely err, for I love you, and you therefore ought to love me in return. Howbeit you do not—for you write naught to me. It would gladden me exceedingly were you to write to me very oft, for when I read your letters they inwardly rejoice the cockles of my heart.

Nevertheless I have learnt that you have of pupils but a few, and complain that *Buschius* and *Caesarius* lure the students from you—notwithstanding that they lack your skill to expound the poets allegorically and to cite thereanent the Scriptures. The Devil, I trow, is in those Poets. They are the bane of the universities.

An old Magister of *Leipsic*, who hath been Master for these thirty years, told me that when he was a lad, then did the University greatly prosper: those were the days when there was not a Poet within twenty miles. He told me, too, how that the students then diligently attended lectures—whether public or bur-

sarial; it was deemed a great scandal that a student should walk in the street without having *Peter of Spain* or the *Parva Logicalia* under his arm; or, if they were grammarians, then they would carry with them Alexander's *Doctrinale*, or his *Opus Minus*, or the *Vade Mecum*, or the *Exercitium Puerorum*, or Johann Sinthen's *Dicta*. Then were there zealous students in the Schools, who held the Masters of Arts in honour, and if they spied a Magister they fell to trembling as if they had seen a devil. He told me that in those days there were four promotions of bachelors each year, and many a time fifty or sixty graduated at once. In those days the University was in full bloom; and when a student had resided for a year and a half he was made Bachelor, and after three years, or two and a half years, in all, a Magister. Thus it came to pass that his parents were well pleased, and freely sent him money when they saw that their son had attained a place of honour. But now-a-days all the students must needs attend lectures on *Virgil* and *Pliny* and the rest of the new-fangled authors—what is more, they may listen to them for five years and yet get no degree: and so, when they return home, their parents ask them, saying, "What art thou?" And they reply that they are naught, but that they have been reading Poetry! And then the parents are perplexed—but they see that their sons are not grammarians, and therefore they are disgruntled at the University, and begrudge sorely the money they have spent. Then they say to others, "Send not your sons to the University—they'll learn naught, but go trapesing in the streets anights; money given for such a bringing-up is but thrown away."

The old Magister furthermore told me that in his time there were full two thousand students at *Leipsic*, and a like number at *Erfurt*; four thousand at *Vienna* and as many at *Cologne*—and so with the rest. Now-a-days there are not as many students at all the Universities put together as there were then in one or two. The Magisters at *Leipsic* bitterly lament the scarcity of scholars. It is the Poets that do them

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

this hurt. Even when students are sent by their parents to hostels and colleges they will not stay there, but are off to the Poets to learn stuff and nonsense. He told me that at *Leipsic* he used to have two score pupils, and when he went to the Church, or to the market, or to stroll in the *Rosengarten*, they would all follow after him. In those days it was a grave offence to study poetry. If a penitent admitted in the confessional that he had privily listened to a Bachelor lecturing upon *Virgil*, the priest would impose upon him a thumping penance—to wit, to fast every Friday, or to rehearse daily the seven penitential Psalms. He swore to me, on his conscience, that he saw a candidate rejected because he had once been detected by one of the Examiners reading *Terence* on a feast-day. Would that it were thus in the Universities now; then I should not have to drudge here at the Curia. For what work is there for us at the Universities? We cannot make a living. Students no longer will dwell in Hostels under Magisters. Among twenty students you will scarce find one with a mind to graduate. Yet all of them are eager to study the Humanities. When a Magister lectureth he findeth no audience; but, as for the Poets, when they discourse it is a marvel to behold the crowd of listeners. And thus the Universities throughout all *Germany* are minished and brought low. Let us pray God, then, that all the Poets may perish, for “it is expedient that one man should die—” that is that the Poets, of whom there are but a handful in any one University, should perish, rather than so many Universities should come to naught.

And now you will surely send me a letter—or long will be my lamentations over your neglect. Farewell.

From ROME.

XLVII

¶ *FRIAR BENEDICT the SCOT to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

SENDETH brotherly and heartfelt love by way of salutation.

Let me tell you, in reply to your question, that your letter reached me on Michaelmas Day, and I will now answer it categorically.

First, you ask why we Predicant Friars chant with a louder voice than any others. I answer that I trow it is for no other reason save that it is written in Isaiah lix., "We shall roar all of us like bears, and shall lament as mournful doves;" and that I believe *St. Dominic* desired to fulfil this prophecy.

Secondly, you ask whether I hold *St. Thomas* or *St. Dominic* to be the holier? I answer that it is a moot point, and that Doctors of our Order dispute with one another concerning the matter. Some hold *St. Dominic* to be the holier as touching his life, but not as touching his doctrine; and, on the other hand, *St. Thomas* to be the holier as touching his doctrine, but not as touching his life. Others contend that *St. Dominic* is absolutely the holier, and this they maintain for two reasons: The first is that *St. Dominic* was the founder of our Order, and therefore that *St. Thomas*, who was a member of the Order, was his disciple: and the disciple is not above his master: Q.E.D. The second is that learning hath no pre-eminence over life and conduct, and that therefore, perchance, *St. Thomas* was more learned than *St. Dominic* and yet not necessarily holier. Others again will have it that *St. Thomas* is absolutely the holier, inasmuch as no other Doctor among all the saints is called the Holy Doctor except *St. Thomas*. Hence, just as *Aristotle* is called "The Philosopher," and *Paul*, "The Apostle," so *St. Thomas* is called par excellence "The Saint"; therefore, not only in learning but also in sanctity doth he excel *St. Dominic*.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

To this it is objected that *St. Thomas* is called "Holy," not as being absolutely holier than all other saints, but merely as being the holiest of the canonized Doctors. Hence he is not holier than *St. Dominic*. But an aged member of our Order hath told me that he will show me a very ancient book in which disputation concerning the relative sanctity of these two saints is prohibited. Wherefore I dismiss this question, and pronounce not my judgment thereon.

You ask me, in the third place, whether I think *Johann Pfefferkorn* will persevere in the Christian Faith. I answer that, by the Lord, I know not what to say. It is a mighty ticklish point. You will call to mind that precedent at St. Andrew's in *Cologne*—how a Dean of that Church, who was a baptized Jew, abided long in the Christian Faith, and lived an upright life. But upon his death-bed he ordered a hare and a hound to be brought to him and enlarged, whereupon the hound in a trice seized the hare. Then he ordered a cat and a mouse to be brought—and the cat pounced on the mouse. Then said he to many who were standing around, "You see how that these animals cannot cast off their natures; and a Jew can never cast off his faith. Wherefore to-day I would fain die a true Israelite," and so speaking he died. Thereupon the citizens of *Cologne* in memory of this event set up the brazen images which still stand on the wall before the cemetery. I have heard, too, of another Jew who in like manner upon his death-bed commanded a large stone to be brought, and to be placed in a pot full of water beside the fire. After it had stood there quite three days he asked whether it was yet cooked. They answered, "Nay," for it was not possible that a stone should be cooked. Then said he, "As that stone can never be sodden by the heat, so can Jews never be turned into true Christians. But they are baptized for gain's sake, or through fear, or to work some treachery. And to-day I will die a faithful Jew." And therefore, by the Lord, there is much to be feared concerning *Johann Pfefferkorn*, though I trust that God will grant him especial grace and keep him in the faith, and at any rate it behoves us—on account

of *Johann Reuchlin* and his allies—always to maintain that for a certainty he will continue a Christian.

In the fourth place you ask me my opinion about Proper Nouns; whether they are wanting in a plural, as the ancient grammarians, *Alexander* and the rest, hold—or, have a plural, as the modern and new-fangled writers, such as *Diomedes* and *Priscian*, contend. I answer that we should say that Proper Nouns, in so far as they are proper, have no plural. Nevertheless sometimes they are declined in the plural, and can then be classed with common nouns: as “two Jameses,” that is, the two Apostles named *James*—“two Catos,” that is, two Kings or wise Roman Senators so named—“three Maries,” that is, three women named *Mary*.

I have now answered you to the best of my ability; if I knew more I would answer you better. Take, then, my words in good part. Greet for me with right good will Dr. *Arnold von Tongern*, mine own esteemed preceptor. Farewell.

ZWOLLE (?)

XLVIII

☞ *JOHANN KALB to Magister Ortwin Gratius
amicable greeting*

HONOURABLE and Reverend Herr Magister, I would have you know that I marvel greatly how it cometh that you importune me in continually bidding me to send you “some news.” You are endlessly craving for news, notwithstanding that I have other business to attend to, and therefore cannot occupy myself with gossip; for I must needs run hither and thither in canvassing, lest I miscarry in my candidature, and come not at the benefice.

Nevertheless, I will write to you this once, to satisfy you, so that, after, you may leave me in peace with your “news!”

You have doubtless heard that the Pope had a huge great beast called *Elephant*, and held it in great

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

honour, and mightily loved it. And now I would have you know that this beast is dead. When it was ill the Pope fell into great grief, and he summoned a host of physicians, and said, "If it be possible, cure *Elephant* for me." Thereupon they bestirred themselves, and cast its water, and gave it a cathartic that cost five hundred golden crowns—yet were not the bowels of *Elephant* moved thereby, and so it died. Sorely doth the Pope grieve for *Elephant*, for whom, they say, he gave a thousand ducats.

In sooth it was a marvellous brute, and it had a great abundance of long snout; and when it saw the Pope it would kneel to him, and cry in a terrible voice, "Bar, bar, bar!" There is, I trow, not the like beast in the whole world.

The rumour goes that the King of *France* and King *Charles* have made a treaty of peace for many years, and have exchanged oaths. But some think this peace is but politic, and will not long endure. I know not if this be so—nor do I greatly care. For when I come home to *Germany*, then I shall betake me to my parsonage, and spend happy days. There shall I keep flocks of geese and hens and ducks, and I shall have in my byre five or six cows to yield me milk for the making of cheese and butter. And I shall keep a cook who can turn her hand to such work. She must be of ripe years, for if she were young she might sorely tempt me, and I might fall into sin. She will spin for me, and I will buy the flax for her. I shall keep two or three pigs, and fatten them to furnish me with good bacon. Before all things I shall keep in my house great store of victuals. Once a year I shall kill an ox and sell half to the country-folk, and cure the rest in the reek. And behind the house there is a garden where I shall sow garlic, and onions and parsley—with pot-herbs, turnips, and the like. Then in the winter I shall sit in my chamber and study how to hold forth to my flock, out of the *Paratus*, or the *Simple Sermons*, or even out of the Bible, so that I may become practised in preaching. But in the summer I shall go a-fishing, or dig in my garden; and I shall take no heed of wars, for I shall live my own life, and preach sermons

and read mass, heeding not those worldly concerns that bring damnation to the soul. Farewell.

THE COURT OF ROME.

XLIX

¶ PHILIPP SCHNEIDER VON ERFURT to Magister Ortwin Gratius

REVERENTIAL Salutations to your Reverence. Venerated Herr Magister, you lately wrote to inform me that a certain Poet in *Germany*, *Erasmus* by name, of *Rotterdam*, inditeth many books, and that in particular he hath drawn up a letter to the Pope in the which he commendeth *Johann Reuchlin*. I must tell you that I have read that letter. I have moreover seen another book of his, a big one, intituled "The New Testament," which he hath sent to the Pope, and I understand that he would fain obtain the Pope's approval of it. I trust that he will not get it. For the Master of the Sacred Palace, a man of consequence and of high repute, declared that he could manifestly prove *Erasmus* to be heretic, inasmuch as in certain passages he reprehendeth the Holy Doctor, and maketh light of the Theologians. Besides this he hath written a treatise called "*Moria Erasmi*," which containeth many scandalous and irreverent passages, and, here and there, open blasphemies. Wherefore the Parisians are desirous to burn that volume. I trow, therefore, that the Pope will not grant his approval to the big book. The hopes of Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* run high. Yesterday he invited me to his board and told me of a truth that a Cardinal had assured him that judgment would go in his favour. But *Johann Wick*, who is *Johann Reuchlin's* Proctor, withstandeth him sorely: Doctor *Jakob* once said to him, in my presence, "You, forsooth, are now my adversary, but, mark my words, if I gain the day, I will harass you so that you will not find a place of safety in the whole of *Germany*." And another time he said to him, "I know that *Reuchlin* hath no money to give you, and are you so foolhardy

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

as to wish to make enemies of the whole Order?" And then there is another man, Dr. *Martin Gröning* by name, who must needs translate the *Augenspiegel*. I hear that Doctor *Jakob* will privily give him a hundred ducats if he will falsify that book—and if this be done, the victory is yours. I trust Dr. *Martin* will consent. Write, and tell me all the news you hear. Farewell.

ROME.

L

¶ *MAGISTER ADOLFUS CLINGESOR*
sendeth much greeting to *Magister Ortwin*
Gratius

NOT long ago I sent you word that folk here were wont to dispute with me concerning *Johann Reuchlin* and the Cause of the Faith. I would have you know, therefore, that after you sent me that book of *Johann Pfefferkorn's* intituled "J. P.'s defence against Slanders, &c.," I took it to a certain man who held an opposite opinion, and shewed him how that it was written in that book, at the end of O. ii.: "Twenty years ago, if I remember right, this was prophesied to us at *Cologne* by *Johann Lichtenberger*, otherwise *Ruth* the outlandish eremite (whose prophecies have been printed at *Mainz* in Latin and German). In them it is written, fol. 16, 'Take heed, O ye Philosophers of *Cologne*, lest ravening wolves break into your sheep-fold! For in your days strange and unheard of things shall arise in your churches, which may the All-bountiful avert.'" Now when he had read this, he stood for a while in thought. Then quoth he, "I marvel at the folly of the Theologians! Think you all men to be children, that you practise upon them with such fustian? But since the Theologians of *Cologne* thus desire to appear subtle, I will show you a prophecy concerning *Johann Reuchlin* which will be much more to the point: and afterwards I will prove that the prophecy which they have cited tendeth in *Reuchlin's* favour and not against him. Turn, therefore, to the first

Chapter of the Book of *Zephaniah*, where saith the prophet, 'And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with candles, and will punish the men that are settled on their lees, that say in their heart, &c.' Now since you men of *Cologne* make bold to wrest the scriptures after your own good pleasure, hearken how I interpret those words of the prophet. The Lord saith, by the mouth of the prophet, 'And it shall come to pass at that time that I will search Jerusalem,' that is to say, I will visit my Church, to the end that I may reform her, and remove whatsoever errors may be within her; and I will do this 'with candles'—that is, by the mediation of enlightened men, such as are *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, *Johann Reuchlin*, and *Mutianus Rufus*, and others in *Germany*; and 'I will punish the men'—that is, the Theologians; 'settled'—that is, obstinately bigoted; 'on their lees'—that is in a sorry, misty, and bootless Theology, which a few centuries ago they took to their bosoms, deserting the ancient and learned Theologians who walked in the true light of the Holy Writ. Knowing neither the Latin, the Greek, nor the Hebrew tongue, they cannot understand the Scriptures. Therefore, casting aside the veracious and primitive Theology, they do naught but dispute, and wrangle, and moot unprofitable questions. And in so doing they declare that they are defending the Catholic Faith, notwithstanding that there are none among the disputants who attack the Faith. And thus to no purpose do they spend their days, and do not advantage the Church of God. If, indeed, their disputations were of any profit, they could turn them to account in the service of the faith of the Catholic Church, by journeying throughout the world and preaching God's Word, as did the Apostles, and convincing the Greeks that they should come again into union with the Church of *Rome*. Or, if they wish not to wander far from home, at least let them go amongst the Bohemians and put that folk to silence with their Arguments and Syllogisms. Nevertheless they do none of these things, but wrangle concerning unprofitable matters. Therefore will the Lord punish them, and will send among them Doctors learned in Greek, and in Latin, and in Hebrew, who, purging

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

those 'lees'—that is, sweeping away the sophistries, and the false and darkening commentaries of Theology, shall bring their 'candles' and cast light upon the Scriptures, and give us once more the primitive and true Theology; in like manner as the aforesaid *Erasmus*, for example, hath lately emended the works of *St. Jerome* and caused them to be imprinted. He hath emended the New Testament also, and this, I take it, is of more profit than if twenty thousand Scotists and Thomists were to wrangle for a hundred years concerning Entity and Essence." Now, when he had made an end of speaking, I cried, "God preserve me! What do I hear? You are *de facto* excommunicate!" and I would fain have left him. But he detained me, saying, "Hear yet the conclusion of the matter." "I will not hear the conclusion," said I. "At least listen while I expound your prophecy," said he. Then I thought within myself that I would listen, for it is not a sin to listen to excommunicates so long as we do not eat or drink with them. Straightway he began, "Hearken, oh ye Philosophers of *Cologne*—the prophet saith not 'Theologians' but 'Philosophers,' inasmuch as the theology of the men of *Cologne* is rather to be termed philosophy, that is, the Art of Sophistry, than truly Theology, for it consisteth of naught but diabolical garrulity and fatuous loquacity. 'Lest ravening wolves,' namely *Jacob von Hoogstraten*, *Arnold von Tongern*, and the like, who, by their lying and frauds, with rage and violence ravish the innocent sheep—such as are *Peter of Ravenna* and *Johann Reuchlin*—desiring to brand them as heretics by reason of their learning and their renown which they envy. And since they perceive that they cannot do such mighty works as those most learned men, they would fain destroy them. These then are the 'ravening wolves' who lie in wait against the repute and the very lives of the innocent. And now for seven years have they on all sides harassed and maltreated *Johann Reuchlin*, that poor old man, and unless the Almighty had averted their wickedness, they would have altogether destroyed him. It cannot be alleged that *Reuchlin* himself is a ravening wolf, for in all his life he hath ravaged no one, that is he hath

accused no man falsely, nor has he attacked the life or reputation of any man by word or deed. Hearken once more—what mean the words that follow, ‘Break into your sheepfold’? *Reuchlin*, good man, never entered the University of *Cologne*—never, indeed, did he pay any heed to the ‘Theologians or the Church at *Cologne*, for he was occupied with more useful matters. Therefore it is impossible to reckon him as one of the ravening wolves of whom *Lichtenberger* speaketh; for such must be found in the *Colognese* sheepfold. Then followeth, ‘For in your days strange and unheard of things shall arise.’ ‘Strange and unheard of’ is good. For neither hath eye seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, that so learned and upright a man, who hath profited so many and done hurt to none, should, in his old age, be so cruelly and so treacherously harassed and tormented and persecuted. Then, too, the words that follow, ‘in your churches’ cannot by any possibility be applied to *Reuchlin*, for, most fortunately, he hath lived outside the jurisdiction of the Church of *Cologne*—namely, within the diocese of *Constance*. ‘And so I hope that the dogs will come,’ that is, the faithful warders of the flock, who, without envy and malice, will humbly and faithfully feed Christ’s sheep—that is, all Christian folk—‘and will tear those wolves that lay waste God’s fold, and will purge the Church of God’—that is, drive out those base and lewd theologians who know nothing and boast to know all things.” Now when he had done speaking I departed from him, and swore by all that is holy that I would write to *Cologne*. I therefore humbly entreat you to report these things to the Magisternosters, and to *Johann Pfefferkorn*, who is, as it were, the mouth-piece of the *Colognese*, and wondrously skilled in composition—and let him trounce the fellow soundly with his pen. The man who said these things is a native of *Berlin*. If you wish to learn his name, send me word, and I will tell you. He once resided at *Bonn*, where he was strictly disciplined, nevertheless he continues to speak against the ‘Theologians and is no good Christian—he abideth in wickedness, and will therefore perish in hell—from which may God preserve you, and the Theo-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

logians and the Friars Predicant, world without end.
Amen.

FRANKFORT-ON-ODER.

LI

¶ *JOHANN HELFERICH* (latine *Juppiter*) to
Magister Ortwin sendeth greeting and humbly
commendeth himself

REVEREND Herr Magister, you tell me that you marvel how it cometh to pass that I dub myself *Juppiter*. You must know, then, that when I resided at Vienna I attended lectures on poetry, and there was a certain young poet there—*George Sibutus* by name—who had been a pupil of *Conrad Celtis*. He was my companion, and we were ever together, and he said, “You ought to be named *Juppiter*, for *Juppiter* hath in Latin the same meaning as *Helferich* in German.” So *Juppiter* is my cognomen. *Sibutus* now dwells at *Wittenberg*, and he has taken to himself an old trot seventy-eight years old and more. I visited his house a while ago when I was making my way out of *Prussia*—and there sat the crone behind the stove. “Is that your mother?” I asked. “No,” said he, “that is my spouse and wedded wife.” “Why did you marry such an old woman?” quoth I. He made answer that she was still not so over-ripe as to have lost all sapor, and had good store of pelf; moreover she could brew rare stingo, which she sold and turned to profit. Then said I, “Thou hast done well; and how call you your wife?”

“My *Corinna*,” he replied, “my *Lesbia*, and my *Cynthia*.” But let this pass.

You tell me that it seemeth to you that the Day of Judgment is at hand: for the world hath become so depraved that it cannot by any means grow worse, and men walk in such evil ways that the times are portentous. The young are fain to put themselves on a level with their elders, scholars with their teachers, and Jurists with Theologians. All things are out of joint, and heretics and mock Christians are springing

up—*Johann Reuchlin*, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, one *Wilibald*—something or other—with *Ulrich Hutten*, *Hermann Busch*, and *Jakob Wimpheling*, who wrote against the Augustinians, and *Sebastian Brant*, who wrote against the Dominicans—the pity of it! and wantonly rails at them. Thereby many scandals arise within the Faith, and I can well share your belief, for I have read that such happenings will immediately precede the Last Judgment. Moreover I will declare to you somewhat else, to wit that I have heard (it was told me as truth by a Father Superior) that Anti-Christ hath been born, but is as yet a child. He told me, too, that a revelation had been made to a certain Carthusian Monk, who, as he was sleeping in his cell, heard a voice from heaven crying, “The world shall perish! The world shall perish! The world shall perish!” Then the monk feared, and would fain have spoken, but silently made supplication against the wiles of the Devil. Then once more began the voice to cry out—and yet again a third time. Then perceiving in his heart that it was the voice of the Lord, he cried, “Why, Lord?” and the voice answered, “By reason of its sins.” Then cried the Monk, “When, Lord?” and the voice answered, “There are yet ten years.”

Wherefore I go in great dread. When I passed through *Bologna* I heard that there was a citizen there who had a familiar Spirit called *Rilla*: and that wondrous spirit speaketh to him concerning the King of *France*, and the Emperor, and the Pope, and the end of the world. I have read his prophecies. And now, I have told you what I know, and commend you to the Lord.

The ROMAN CURIA.

LII

¶ HEINRICH SCHLUNTZ to
Magister Ortwin Gratius

ALL amity and humble duty to your excellence, first and foremost, with my uttermost service to your excellence, here and everywhere—in all honest places.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Reverend Herr Magister, herewith I send your excellence a notable and right profitable book. It seemeth to me that this book is most skilfully composed; it containeth very masterly propositions, and is named "*Rationale Divinorum*." I bought it here, at the fair, for I said to myself, "That is the book for Magister *Ortwin*! The Lord be praised that I have lighted upon it! Now will I send it to him, just as he lately sent me *Johann Pfefferkorn's* work entitled '*Johann Pfefferkorn's Defence against Calumnies*,' which he compiled in the intent that it should be a bulwark of the Holy Catholic Faith against *Johann Reuchlin* and his followers, and wherein he flouted them with many a shrewd gibe." But you may say, "Why doth this fellow send the book to me? Doth he think that I have not plenty of books myself?" I answer that such was far from my mind. If indeed you think that I was for this reason moved to send you this book, you do me an injustice, for I do but send it with fair intent. You must not believe that I disparage you in that you possess but few books, for I know that you have many. Indeed, when I was in your study at *Cologne* I could see well enough that you had a multitude of volumes, both great and small. Some were clad in wooden boards, and some in parchment bindings,—some were covered all over with leather, red and green and black, while some were half-bound. And there you sat, with a whisk in your hand, to flap away the dust from the bindings. "Pardy!" said I, "Magister *Ortwin*, you have full many a fair volume, and you hold them in high esteem." Then you replied that in this we might know whether a man were learned or not; for he that honoureth books, honoureth knowledge; and he that honoureth not books, honoureth not knowledge. And that saying I have laid up in my heart, and I will keep it there world without end. Amen.

NAUMBURG.

LIII

¶ JOHANN SCHLUNTZIG to Mag. Ortwin Gratius

YOU have lately sent me a most vituperative letter, and you lay it to my charge that I tell you not how standeth the controversy, concerning the Faith, with *Johann Reuchlin*. When I read the letter I was very wrath, and said, "Wherefore writeth he to me in this fashion? Have I not sent him two letters in less than half a year! Is it my fault that the messengers have not delivered them?"

Believe steadfastly that I have related to you, precisely and word for word, all that hath come to my knowledge. But peradventure the messengers have not given you my letters. In particular did I inform you that when I was riding from *Florence* to *Rome* I overtook upon the road the reverend Father *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, Magister-noster, and Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, coming from *Florence*, where he had been on business concerning your cause to the King of *France*. Thereupon taking off my hat, I said, "Reverend Father—are you, or are you not?" and he replied, "I am that I am." Then said I, "You are Herr Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity." Quoth he, "Of the truth, I am." Thereupon I gave him my hand, saying, "Mein Gott! how cometh it that you walk afoot? It is a shame that such a man as you should walk on his feet through the mire and clay!" He made answer, "Some with chariots, and some with horses; but we come in the name of the Lord." Quoth I, "Yea, but now it raineth sorely, and it is bitter cold." Then lifted he up his hands towards heaven, saying, "Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness!"

Then thought I within myself, "Pardy, is it not right pitiful that such a Magister-noster should be in these parlous straits? Two years ago I saw him enter

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Rome with three horses, and now he goeth afoot." Then said I to him, "Would you fain have my horse?" And he answered, riming:—

"'Willest thou have?' he need not say
Who fain would freely give away."

Then said I, "Pardy! Excellent Sir, there is a vacant benefice awaiting me, and I must needs make haste—else would I yield thee my steed," and thereupon I left him. So now you see how matters stand. It is manifest that the Doctor is in great straits: procure money for him, therefore, or it will go ill with the Cause.

Reuchlin's proctor—*Johann von der Wick*—worketh zealously for him, and runneth hither and thither. Lately he laid before the Court certain libels against Magister-noster *Jakob*, so scandalous that I marvel the Lord did not then and there smite him with plagues; moreover, he abused the aforesaid Magister-noster to his face, saying, "I will bring it about, by the help of the truth, that thou shalt perish in infamy, misery, and sorrow, and *Johann Reuchlin* shall triumph: and this all the Theologians shall behold, even though they burst." It is manifest, therefore, that the aforesaid *Johann von der Wick* putteth himself forward as the enemy of all Theologians; he is a woundily daring man—and foolhardy beyond belief. I have heard that Master *Jakob* said, "If it had not been for that fellow I should have obtained judgment in my favour as soon as I arrived at *Rome*."

And this is sooth; for I have heard from others that when Doctor *Jakob* first came to Court he was so overbearing that all the Curialists were in dread of him; and none of the proctors would act for *Johann Reuchlin*, for they all feared the Doctor; and *Jakob von Questenberg* sought in vain for a proctor throughout all *Rome*, and could find none—for they said that in all else they would gladly serve him, but in a matter of Faith they feared lest the Inquisitor *Jakob* might inquisite them to the stake. In these circumstances this Doctor—if he deserve such a title—*Johann von der Wick*, came to *Jakob von Questenberg* and said,

"I am ready to oppose myself to this monk's fury." Then Doctor *van Hoogstraten* openly threatened him, saying, "I will make you repent ever having said one word on *Reuchlin's* behalf." And I heard him declare, with his own lips, at the time, that when he had obtained judgment against *Reuchlin* he would instantly proceed against Doctor *von der Wick*, and denounce him as a heretic, inasmuch as he had collected certain heretical propositions out of his words. But now all is changed! Believe me, the business fareth but ill—and you may now find anywhere ten upholders of *Reuchlin* and not one of the Theologians.

Moreover upon a division after a disputation by Theologians, eighteen were found to vote for *Reuchlin*, and only seven for his accusers: nay, even those seven did not declare that the *Augenspiegel* ought to be burned, but spake with limitations.

Therefore I can hold out but little hope. You must do all in your power to bring about *Johann von der Wick's* death, for he it is that is the cause of *Reuchlin's* ascendancy, and the Theologians' decline. Had it not been for him such things would never have happened.

And now I trow I have acquitted myself so well in letter-writing, that never again will you have grounds for vituperating me. And so, farewell.

From the COURT OF ROME.

LIV

❧ *WILHELM BRIKOT to*
Mag. Ortwin Gratius

YOU entreat me for news without ceasing, and albeit I write to you oft it availeth not: I will therefore write to you yet once again, and pray that this may suffice.

I have received a letter from the Roman Court wherein it is related that your especial supporter, *Matthew Finck*, is dead; and certain Curialists, his

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

compatriots, have desired me to write his epitaph. This I have done in manner following:—

“ Old Finck is dead — His cloak was red
For him be said — A prayer, for he
Full joyously — Right Corsic swilled,
His belly filled — and piously
Lived in true faith and charity.”

There is one thing concerning which I would fain seek instruction from you, and that is in what manner I am to understand the Parisians in setting forth their opinion concerning the *Augenspiegel* to use these words, “Without reproach, however, to the writer himself, whom, by reason of his humble submission, and his other laudable writings, we regard as a true Catholic.” I know not how this might be—that the *Augenspiegel* can be burned as a heretical work without shame to *Johann Reuchlin* who composed it, and still defendeth it. It is manifest that the workman, as the efficient cause, is more blameworthy than the work that he produceth. Moreover I would that the Doctors of *Louvain* had not boasted, in their letter to the Pope, that the opinion of the Parisians, and their condemnation of the *Augenspiegel*, brought them much spiritual delight; for his Holiness the Pope may think to himself; “Lo, I now perceive that all this is mere envy on the part of these Theologians; if they were true Theologians, nay, if they were Christians, they would have compassion over the misdeeds of a fellow-Christian rather than rejoice and exult over them.” Mark me, this will greatly further *Johann Reuchlin's* cause, and folk will believe that out of envy he is persecuted: which however admitteth of no proof. For that adversary of ours—friend, I should say, in Christ—and the Philocapnions, that is “Sons of *Johann Reuchlin*,” have done much hurt to *Johann Pfefferkorn*, who defendeth himself, and hath written but the truth; he desireth indeed, that he may die if he hath lied in the smallest particular. Nevertheless, as the Psalmist saith, “All men are liars.” Nor should it be objected that *Johann Pfefferkorn* was habituated to villainy and crime from

his youth—alas!—as he himself admitteth in his “Defence.” For even though for a long time a man may be wicked and abandoned, nevertheless he may full well be rendered righteous again; and this is piously to be believed in the case of *Johann Pfefferkorn* who was regenerate by the grace of the Holy Spirit, by the mediation of baptism, and therefore now is upright—as I doubt not, and he will remain a Christian till the end of the world. It has likewise come to my knowledge that an infamous rumour everywhere spreadeth abroad concerning you; to wit, that you are the son of a priest, and are illegitimate. I marvel that those ribalds have no sense of shame, and are so bold. Have you not letters of legitimisation? I should cite the fellows who say such things. I pray you to have great diligence in the Cause of the Faith, so that that heretic may go to the gallows; and so farewell.

From Worms.

LV

¶ *MAGISTER SYLVESTER GRICIUS to Mag. Ortwin Gratius*

INASMUCH as I have sworn an oath to defend my Faculty, and by all means to further its interests, I will therefore set down for you, in order, the names of all those who here stand by the Theologians and by *Johann Reuchlin*, respectively; so that you may lay them before the Theologians, and they may act accordingly.

First, there are certain fellows who sojourn at the sign of “The Crown,” and who are ever deriding the Magister-nosters and brethren of the Order of Preachers, and have thus brought it about that no one at that inn giveth alms to a Dominican. I know the names of some of them. There is Magister *Philipp Keilbach*, who is continually singing *Reuchlin’s* praises—and once Pastor *Peter Meyer* of *Frankfort* put him down finely; then there is one *Ulrich von Hutten*, an arrant brute, who once declared that if the Preach-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

ing Friars insulted him as they have *Johann Reuchlin* he would be their foe to some tune, and wherever he came across a monk of that order he would lop off his nose and his ears. The fellow hath many friends at the Bishop's Court, who also take *Johann Reuchlin's* part. But now he hath departed for a year—God be thanked—to be made Doctor. The Devil fly away with him!

Then there are two brothers—sprigs of nobility—*Otto* and *Philipp von Bock*—who gird at all the Theologians. Once, during the solemn Act which the Magister-nosters celebrated against the *Augenspiegel*, Magister *Jakob van Hoogstraten* by virtue of his office granted indulgences to all those who were present at the rite; and these same brothers with other scoffers, in the presence of the Theologians who were sitting in the Inn, cast dice for the indulgences.

Then there is a fellow, *Johann Huttich* by name, who also is your enemy; and another, lately made Doctor of Law, one *Conrad Weydmann*, who always sideth with those who withstand you. There is a Doctor, too, who was once an Artist—in the way of the Moderns—who calleth himself *Eucharius*. Then there are *Nikolaus Carbach*, who lectureth on Poetry; and *Heinrich Brumann* who is Vicar at the Cathedral, and a good organist: I am ever telling him to mind his organ, and leave the Theologians in peace. But, worst of all, the Canons are almost to a man on *Reuchlin's* side—as well as many other Magisters who hanker after Poetry but whose names I have forgot.

And now I will tell you of your own friends and supporters. You have here an ally who is a very eminent man—Herr *Adular Schwann* by name; he is of noble birth, and beareth a cup on his scutcheon: his father was a bell-founder. He is a very subtle disputant, after the school of the Scotists, and he argueth profoundly, and averreth that he would put down *Johann Reuchlin* in a crack if he might but dispute with him. There is another very peculiar prop of yours, named *Heinrich Han*—otherwise *Glock-*

enheintz, since he taketh great pleasure in bell-ringing. He is a most skilful man, and hath a marvellous intellect; you would scarcely credit the profundity of his genius. He is ever ready for a disputation, and when he argueth, he laugheth; and by his laughter he putteth down his adversary. When he saw *Johann Reuchlin's* heretical theses he declared that on the score of a single one of them *Reuchlin* ought to be burned.

Next you can reckon amongst your company a young nobleman and soldier, *Matthias von Falkenberg* by name: he is a very warlike man, and goeth ever armed as becometh a knight; he always sitteth on the hither side of the board, and never behind it—for, as he saith, it is not possible for one sitting behind the table to leap up on a sudden and smite one's foes if war should break out. He is moreover a very subtle disputant after the school of the ancients, and he declareth that if *Reuchlin* doth not yield, he will come to your aid with a hundred horse. Then there is a burgher of *Mainz* named *Wigand von Solms*. He is but a youth, yet so learned that he is the equal of a Magister-noster, and he saith that he would fain dispute with *Reuchlin* for ten florins. A little while ago he out-argued *Johann Huttich* so that he was undone and could answer nothing.

Besides these there is also on your side *Herr Wernher*, who is prodigiously well up in the "Summa Thomae contra Gentiles" and knoweth the "Formalitates" of *Duns Scotus* by rote—and he saith that if Magister *van Hoogstraten* were not already at the Curia he would go there himself and settle *Johann Reuchlin*. These allies of yours that I have named, meet together once a week at the house of the eminent Herr Magister-noster *Bartholomew*, who is chiefest of all your friends, and there they discuss matters of mighty abstruseness. They oppose one another in turn, and one holdeth the opinion of *Johann Reuchlin* while the rest argue against him, and their disputes are very notable.

Of the others here who are on your side I have no knowledge, for they are not of my acquaintance.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

When I have knowledge, I will let you know. And now I commend you to God.

From MAINZ.

LVI

¶ *GILBERT PORRETONIUS, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws, to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

GREETING, and good-day to you, Reverend Sir. I have read the letter which you have sent me here at *Ingoldstadt*, and I wholly understand your meaning. You tell me that you rejoice that I, though a Theologian to begin with, now study the Law, for it is meet that some Theologians should be learned in the Law, that they may be able to dispute with the Jurists. Furthermore, you consult me concerning certain technical terms—as desiring to know what they signify, and you suspect that they appertain to matters juridical. You are right: they do.

I subjoin their significations, gathered from the glosses, and from *Accursius*. You will hence perceive that I have laid a firm foundation in the study of Law. A *laticlave* is a title of dignity: or, it is a wand of metal that the tribune used to throw into the thickest of the enemy, and then all the other soldiers would fight furiously to recover the said wand. *Epistographum* is a wooden tablet on which debts are inscribed, as is done unto this day: it is so named from *opibus* and *graphia*—that is writing—as being a record of wealth. *Abaces* meaneth precious vessels. *Corinthia* meaneth vessels of common material, such as straw or reeds, which are sold at *Bologna*. *Balnea* is a shining vessel, or—so to say—“*bajulans lucem, vel lancem.*” *Prothyrum* cometh from *thyros*—that is, master—but what it meaneth I know not: or, it is “*quod procul trahitur,*” that which is brought from afar—as water to wit, or anything else, as the hydraulic engine in *Accursius’* own house. *Obsonatores* are they who guard their master when he is abed; or, those who are sonorous, and sing to their master at table. *Hypo-*

caustum is a place where sick folk stand when they need the fire. *Gallus gallinaceus* is a caponed cock, impotent, yet the more courageous in combat with the serpent. Or, he is named *Gallus gallinaceus* as being a lover of hens—as we call a man uxorious who is a lover of wives, witness *Horace* in his Odes. *Dieta* is a place at Court where the gentlemen stand by the fire. A *Chorus* is a multitude of slaves, singing to a certain instrument of music named a chorus.

Centumviri are senators, one hundred in number.

Patritius signifieth *pater principis*, the father of a prince: witness that place of *Sallust*, “O patres conscripti,” for their names were inscribed either on their headgear, or elsewhere. Whenever you entertain a doubt in matters pertaining to Canon or Civil Law unfold them to me, and I will resolve them as fairly as *Johann Reuchlin*, or any other Jurist that is in the world.

And now—farewell.

INGOLSTADT.

LVII

¶ *GALEN OF PADERBORN to Mag.
Ortwin Gratius greeting*

REVEREND Sir, a direful rumour hath reached me, and hath made the hairs of my head to stand upright. It is this: Almost all the clerics and students who have come hither from *Cologne* declare that there is a report that the Preaching Friars, rather than suffer *Johann Reuchlin* to get the better of them in the Cause of the Faith, will preach another religion. And it hath even been said that it is quite possible that if the Pope giveth judgment against them, they will hie them to *Bohemia* and stir up the heretics to disbelief in the Church and the Pope, and will thus be avenged of their wrongs. Oh, my good Herr *Ortwin*, counsel them that they act not thus, for it would be a dreadful heresy! Yet I trust 'tis a lying rumour. Nevertheless I have thought within myself, “Peradventure the Preachers utter these threats against the Pope, seeking to intimidate him, that he might say to himself, ‘Lo, if

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

I pronounce not judgment in their favour, they will be held in sore contempt and laughed to scorn, and the whole world will be their enemy, and no man will give them alms, and their monasteries will be razed; and then they will depart to *Bohemia*, or even to *Turkey*, and preach, saying that Christianity is not the true faith—and this would be a great evil.”

Be this as it may, I trust that you Theologians will have patience, and fly not in the face of the Pope, lest ye make all Christians your foes. Fare ye well, in the name of the only-begotten son of God.

BREMEN.

LVIII

❧ *MAGISTER IRUS PERLIRUS to
Mag. Orteim Gratinus*

GREETINGS in plenty, Reverend Sir. Your writings against *Johann Reuchlin* have reached our University. The Senior Magisters praise them highly, but the greenhorn Juniors make light of them, saying that you do but assail *Reuchlin* out of envy. And when we took counsel as to whether we, too, should resolve somewhat against the *Angenspiegel*—these Juniors, who are still void of experience, held themselves opposed to the Seniors, and declared that *Reuchlin* is blameless, and that he hath never written aught that is heretical. And thus far they continue to withstand us, and I know not what the upshot will be. I believe the University will ere long perish because of these poets who abound marvellously.

Lately one hath come here calling himself *Peter* of the *Mosel*, and he is a Grecian. There is also another who lectureth on Greek, *Richard Croke* by name, and he cometh from *England*; and just now I said, “Cometh he from *England*?” The devil he doth! I believe that if there dwelt a Poet where the pepper groweth, he would straightway come to *Leipsic*!”

Hence it happeneth that the Magisters have so few students that it is pitiful. I remember that in days

gone by when a Magister went to the baths more pupils would follow him than now go to the Church on a Festival. Moreover, students then were as decorous as so many angels; but now they run wild, and pay no heed to the Magisters; and they are all minded to dwell in the Town, and to have their meals without the Hostels, and the Magisters have very few boarders. On the last degree-day only ten bachelors graduated; and when we held the examination the Magisters had some talk of rejecting certain candidates. Then cried I, "Heaven forbid! for if we reject a single student, hereafter not a soul will come forward for examination, or even study for the degree—they will all be off to the poets." And so we made shift to let them pass. We found grounds of dispensation under three heads. First, with regard to age: for it is ordained that a graduating bachelor must be at least sixteen years of age, and Magisters, twenty. Yet, if they be not of full age, a dispensation may be granted.

Secondly, there is dispensatory power in the matter of conduct. For if undergraduates have not shown sufficient respect to Magisters and graduates, they must be rejected—unless admitted by dispensation. And with this view inquiry is made concerning their trespasses; whether they have been uncivil in the streets, or have consorted with harlots, or have borne arms, or have thou'd a Magister or a priest, or have made a disturbance at lecture, or in a hostel. Thirdly, there is a dispensation in Liberal Arts, when candidates are ill-conversant with their subjects, and have not fulfilled the prescribed conditions. A little while ago, during an examination, I asked such an one, "Tell me, how cometh it that you answer nothing?" He replied that it was because he was "so fearsome." "Nay," said I, "I trow that it is not so fearsome, but so dulsome, that you are." Then he cried, "Nay, by the Lord, Herr Magister—I have store of knowledge within me, but it won't come out!" Thereupon I gave him dispensation.

It is manifest, then, that the Universities will be sore losers. The other day I questioned a student about some transgression—straightway he turned upon me and thou'd me! Then said I, "I will store that up

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

for degree-day," hinting that he might suffer rejection. But he snapped back, "To the jakes with you and your baccalauriate; I shall go to *Italy*, where teachers do not cheat their pupils, and have no such mummary when they make their bachelors. If a man is learned the honour is conferred on him—if unlearned, he is treated like any other ass."

Then said I, "Thou rascal! Wilt thou belittle the degree of Bachelor, that high dignity?" He answered that he thought but little even of Magisters—"And," quoth he, "a friend told me that when he was resident at *Bologna* he observed that all the Masters of Arts from *Germany* were inducted like freshmen; not so the mere students. For in *Italy* it is deemed a disgrace to hold the degree of Bachelor or Magister of a German University."

See to what a height these scandals grow! Would that all the Universities might join hands and make an end of all these poets and humanists who are their bane. Mag. *Langschneyder*, Mag. *Negelin*, Mag. *Kachelhofen*, Mag. *Arnold Wüstenfeldt*, and Dr. *Ochsenfurt* salute you. Farewell.

LEIPSIK,

LIX

¶ JOHANN LÖFFELHOLZ sendeth greeting
to Magister Ortwin Gratius

YOU desired me to inquire of the merchants who flock hither from all parts during the fair, concerning that complot you have heard of; to wit, the conspiracy entered into by sundry poets and jurists to defend *Johann Reuchlin*, and write against the Theologians of *Cologne* and the Dominicans, unless they forthwith leave the aforesaid *Johann Reuchlin* in peace.

You must know, therefore, that I made great diligence in inquiring and searching out, and at last I lighted upon a bookseller from the Oberland who told me many astonishing things. He named me sundry of

the conspirators, and said that he had seen the writings that they send to one another.

In the first place he declared Doctor *Murner* to be the head of the junto, and he assured me that this fellow was the author of a book concerning the misdeeds of the Friars Preachers, and of another in defence of *Reuchlin*. Then he mentioned *Hermann Busch*, and said that he had seen a letter of his, in which he promises his companions that he will not be backward, but will stand up boldly for *Reuchlin*. Next he specified the Graf von *Neuenar*, Canon of *Cologne*, as being of the plot; this man hath concocted wondrous accusations against the Theologians, and they are shortly to be published.

Then there is *Wilibald*—something or other—who, I suppose, lives at *Nuremberg*; he hath uttered many threats; declaring that he will send all the Theologers packing with his writings. Then quoth I:—

“Qui moritur minis, Ille compulsabitur bombis;”

that is to say:—

“Wer vom Drohen stirbt, dem soll man mit Fürzen zu Grabe läuten.”

“He who by empty threats is felled,
With airy bounces shall be knelled.”

Then he named to me one *Eoban Hesse*, of *Erfurt*—a young man, it seemeth, and a poet of great skill. He hath a comrade, *Petreius Aperbach* by name, and the twain are now composing certain books that they will forthwith publish unless the Theologians make peace with *Reuchlin*.

Then there is at *Leipsic* an Englishman—I know not what his name may be, but I trow that it is he who two years ago dwelt at *Cologne*—and he also is one of them. Besides these, there is *Vadianus* at *Vienna*, who is said to be a woundy great poet. At the Cardinal's Court, too, there is one *Caspar Ursinus*, who knoweth how to make Greek verses, and hath promised *Reuchlin* his aid: he is among the band.

The bookseller moreover told me that he had heard

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

that *Philipp Melanchthon*, and *Jakob Wimpheling*, and *Beatus Rhenanus*, and *Nicolas Gerbellius*, were all of the plot. He averred, moreover, that they write letters to *Ulrich Hutten*, who studieth at *Bologna*, seeking that he should join them. Besides these he had heard of none. Then I enquired in other quarters whether *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* taketh their part? And a certain merchant answered, saying, “*Erasmus* taketh his own part; but, be assured he will never be the friend of those Theologians and Friars; and he hath evidently, in his words and writings, defended and vindicated *Johann Reuchlin* and hath addressed letters to the Pope on his behalf.”

From others I learnt that *Paul Ricius* is also of the number. Some say that *Johann Speisshammer* and *Konrad Peutinger*—who are in high favour with the Emperor—also consort with this crew, and do all in their power against the Theologians of *Cologne*, and in honour of *Johann Reuchlin*. A certain student of *Erfurt*, a friend of mine, tells me that *Konrad Mutianus* is the bitterest of all, and that Theologians are so hateful to him that he cannot endure to hear those of *Cologne* as much as named; he saith, too, that he hath seen full twenty letters of his, in which he urgeth certain students to join the Reuchlinists.

This is all the information I have gathered so far; when I learn more, I will impart it to you. Farewell in Christ.

FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN.

LX

¶ *MAG. WERNHER STOMPFF* to
Mag. Ortwin Gratius greeting

SIR, I would have your magnificence to know, that when I received your letter I was affrighted beyond measure, my face mantled and the hair of my head stood up. And I doubt whether I stood in greater dread in the Red Room at *Cologne* when I sought to be made Bachelor, and offered myself for examination; for then I had grievous fears lest the Examiners should reject

me. You tell me that the Cause of the Faith fareth ill at *Rome*. Gadzookers! what can we say? Those Jurists and Poets will overthrow the whole faculty of the Artists and Theologians; for even here, in our University, they would fain brow-beat the Magisters and the Divines. A fellow here claimed of late that a Bachelor of Law should take precedence of a Master of Arts. Then quoth I, "That is impossible. I can prove that Masters of Arts rank higher than Doctors of Law. Doctors of Law are learned in one science only—namely Jurisprudence; but Magisters are Masters of the Seven Liberal Arts, and therefore are the more learned. "Go to *Italy*," said he, "and tell them that you are a Magister of *Leipsic*, and see how they will bait you!" But I made answer that I could defend my Mastership as well as any that cometh out of *Italy*. And so I departed, thinking within myself that our faculty is sorely maligned, and this is a crying shame. For it is the Masters of Arts who should rule the Universities, and now the Jurists claim to govern them, which is a thing most indecent. But I bid you be of good cheer, and call not in question the victory of the Cause of the Faith. May the Lord provide for you. And now, fare ye well—so long as *Pfefferkorn* abideth a Christian.

PRINCE'S COLLEGE, LEIPSIC.

LXI

¶ *PETER LIEB, Cursor in Grammar, and Professor of Logic, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

REVEREND Herr Magister—two drinking-bouts a day are the custom here at *Vorpech*, or *Vorharz*. The first is called the Burgher-bout, which beginneth at noon and is kept a-going till four or five of the clock: the second is the Night- or After-bout; this beginneth at five, and lasteth until eight, nine, or even ten of the clock—nay, it is sometimes kept up till midnight or one of the clock in the morning. Well-to-do folk, and the burgomasters and the guildmasters, when they have sat drinking long enough at the first bout, pay their scores

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and go home ; but the younger folk, and good fellows who care not much what the corn costs, sit long at the After-bout, and drink for dear life.

Now it happened that we were of late thus making merry, and there was with us Herr *Peter*, a friar of the Order of Preachers, who is mightily well disposed towards you by reason of *Jakob van Hoogstraten* the Inquisitor at *Cologne* ; and between ten and eleven at night a warm dispute arose concerning the derivation of your name. I held the opinion that you were named after the Roman *Gracchi*. But Herr *Peter*, who is pretty well versed in humane letters, declared that this was unapt, and that you were named *Gratius* after the grace that cometh from on high.

Now there was a braggart there who spake very crinkly Latin, so that I could not understand half he said, and he declared that you were called *Gratius* neither from Grace nor *Gracchi* ; and he spake such a deal of superfluous nothing that I asked him, saying, "Whence then cometh *Gratius* ? Very learned men have held high dispute over the matter, and have determined that the name proceedeth either from *gratia* or *Gracchi*." Quoth he, "They who discussed the matter were friends of Magister *Ortwin Gratius*, and they therefore interpreted his name in a favourable sense, but their opinions do not affect the naked truth." Then said Herr *Peter*, "What is truth ?" and he thought that the fellow would hold his peace, as our Lord did when *Pilate* put this question to him. Yet he did not hold his peace, but continued, "There is a hangman in *Halberstadt*, Herr *Gratius* by name, and he is *Ortwin's* maternal uncle, so it is after him that *Ortwin* was named *Gratius*." Then I could not contain myself, and cried, "Fellow ! that is a vile outrage, and I protest against it ! Herr *Ortwin* must not let that pass : I know you say this out of envy, since you are at enmity with him. A child receiveth his name and surname from his father and not from his mother. Wherefore then hath this worthy Magister been named after his mother and his maternal uncle, and not after his father like other folk ?" Then he replied, speaking loudly so that all should hear, "What you say is true enough, but

he cannot, in honour, mention his father, because his father is a priest, and if he were named after his father all folk would know that he was the son of a priest and a whore—and a bastard if ever there were one!” Then again I cried aloud, saying, “How can this thing be? Is he not a Magister of *Cologne*? Hath not the University a statute which declareth that no man may graduate unless he be legitimate? Therefore—” Then saith he, “Whether graduates must be legitimate or illegitimate, the fact remaineth that Magister *Ortwin* is a bastard, and a bastard he will remain world without end!” Then said I, “But what if the Pope hath perchance given him dispensation? Then he would be legitimate after all, and you would be in grievous error, speaking against the Church of *Rome*!” Then said he, “It matters not if he had a thousand dispensations—he would not be legitimate for all that.”

Then he cited a case in point, “Take the case of a Jew baptised with the water of baptism: if the Holy Spirit be absent, the water profiteth nothing, and he is still a Jew. So it is with those bastards who are the sons of priests and whores—for priests cannot lawfully enter into wedlock with whores, and therefore a dispensation profiteth their children nothing.” Then I asked him, saying, “What opinion holdest thou concerning Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*?” And he answering said, “I firmly believe that he is still a Jew.” And in reply to the citations made he further quoted Matthew iii., where it is written, “Unless a man be born again of water and of the spirit he shall not enter into eternal life.” “And since,” saith he, “*Pfefferkorn* was not born again of the Spirit, the water profiteth him nothing, and he will abide a Jew for ever.” Then I could no longer answer him, and we arose, Herr *Peter* and I, and went home to bed. And now I hear that this reprobate boasteth himself that he hath overcome us in disputation, and is more learned than Herr *Peter* or myself. Wherefore I pray your worthiness to write and tell me how those arguments about dispensations and Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*’s baptism may best be met, and how this rascal may be hoist with his own petard.

May I deserve your favour all my life long. Farewell.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

LXII

☞ *MAGISTER GRATIUS, Uprooter of Tares, that is, Quarterer of Traitors, Scourger of Forgers and Slanderers, Incinerator of Heretics, and much besides, sendeth many salutations to Magister Ortwin, his sister's son*

DEARLY-BELOVED nephew, and most Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as many years have now passed by since we set eyes on one another, it hath come into my mind that it would be a good thing to send you a letter. I hear marvellous tidings concerning you—how that you are of high repute, and are known to all who have even a scantling of learning, not only in *Cologne*, but beyond *Elbe* and *Rhine*, and even throughout *Italy* and *France*.

It is the *Colognese*, however, who honour you most for that singular learning displayed in your writings in defence of the Catholic Faith against one *Johann Reuchlin*, Doctor and secular poet, and they set such store by you that when you walk in the streets they point at you with their fingers and say, "There goeth Magister *Ortwin* who trounces the poets!"

Methinks that if they but knew that you were my nephew they would respect you yet more. For here I too am of high renown, and I exercise my art amidst great crowds of people; and folk honour me in like manner, and when I walk in the streets they point at me, as they do at you at *Cologne*. And I exult greatly that folk thus think not a little of both you and me.

I hear, too, that there are others in *Cologne* who are friendly to you, and also write in opposition to Doctor *Reuchlin*—to wit, *Jakob van Hoogstraten*, and Magister *Arnold von Tongern*, Regent of *St. Lawrence* Hostel. All men deem you three to be the true lights of the Catholic Faith, and they look upon you as three great candlesticks, or lanterns. There are some, indeed, who add a fourth light, or, as it were, a hanging-lamp, which

doth not shine quite so brightly, to wit, Herr *Johann Pfefferkorn*.

And I verily believe that if you four, with all your knowledge, were bound together to a stout stake, in an exalted position, on a pile of dry wood, there might straightway be kindled a light of the world, brighter even than that which blazed at *Berne*. But, dearest nephew, all this is naught save a merry jest of mine, and—quips apart—I hope you four will become a true light of the world: it is impossible that such learning as yours can long remain sunk in the mire.

It hath come to my ears that not long ago you would fain have bussed, after dark, an old trot who selleth pots hard by the fountain at *Cologne*, but she lifted up her voice, and folk came around the house with lanterns, and discovered you. Pardy! I highly esteem such fine pranks of yours, for they smell of my art, which pointeth too in some sort at Theologians also.

There hath of late been a rumour here that a poet hath appeared in *Cologne*. He alone holdeth you for a fool, and calleth you *Porkwinus*—that is, meet dweller in a pig-sty. Pardy! if I could only scrape acquaintance with that same poet, right gladly would I hang him without fee!

And now, in conclusion, beloved nephew, I would earnestly beseech you to strive with great diligence to spread your renown throughout the whole earth, were it not that I well know such counsel to be needless. For this you well know of yourself, and have received it from your grandparents—ay, and from your great- and great-great- and great-great-great-grand-parents; and especially from your mother, my dearly-beloved sister, who had no sooner heard that bastards are ever more the favourites of fortune than the true-born, than she straightway betook herself to a priest, and let him work his will, that there might be begotten such a man as you, whom some day all the world shall hear of! Farewell.

From HALBERSTADT.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

LXIII

¶ *JOHANN VON SCHWEINFURTH, Master of the Seven Liberal Arts, sendeth a thousand greetings, and a few more, to the scientificall, learned, and enlightened Ortwin Gratius, who masterly teacheth the Greek and Latin tongues at Deventer*

PREMISING all honour and submissive respect due to a teacher skilled in sundry branches of knowledge. You wrote to me of late concerning your victory gained at *Rome* over *Reuchlin*, who so temerarily opposed you and *Johann Pfefferkorn* not long divinely enlightened in the Christian Faith. You told me, too, how that the Pope hath imposed silence upon him, forbidding him to write more, "lest a worse thing happen to him," as saith our Lord in the Evangel. For formerly in the *Augenspiegel* he wrote in a fashion so uncouth that the Doctors could not understand him. Nevertheless they declared him a heretic—since it standeth not in their books as he hath written, nor hath that new theologian whom God raised from the stones to be the child of *Abraham*, (as saith the scripture), *Johann Pfefferkorn* to wit, knowledge thereof by divine vision or revelation, or from the authentic intelligence of his wife; and she, I have heard, hath also the spirit of prophecy. But of this you know much better than do I, for you have oftentimes consorted with her when *Johann Pfefferkorn* was not at home. I know not in what manner *Reuchlin* was put down by you or by the Pope. For now they have instituted a new faculty, besides the four faculties we used to have; and they all praise *Reuchlin* and call themselves his disciples; and they pay no regard to the Faculty of Arts, for they say that the Artsmen are so many conceited asses—and that they can scarce speak three or four Latin words—and that, shame to them! these beasts seduce many innocent youths, who after they have wasted a long time, and are, as it were, immersed in this vile sink of barbarism, return to their homes, having learned nothing

save “Arguitur,” “Respondetur,” and “Quaeritur,” and having for their Gods Tartaretus, and Versor, and Perversor, and Buridan and Bruxellensis and the like, differ not from the vulgar herd.

Nevertheless it is a strange thing for a mere student—a greenhorn—to know more of *Aristotle* than a candidate for a Bachelor’s or Master’s degree, who hath attended the courses, and is fully qualified. Moreover they are not respectful to the Magisters, and when they meet one they fail to touch their caps, as would be seemly, and they are perpetually to be found at that house you well wot of. Moreover they never listen to the “Consequentias” of *Marsilius*, nor the “Suppositiones,” nor the “Parva Logicalia”; so that it is not possible that they should be duly trained to take part in disputations. But let this pass. I must now tell you some news: *Jacob Wimpheling*, who is half a Reuchlinist, hath been roundly taken to task by a certain Monk, *Paul Lang* by name, who hath told him plainly that he hath not written the truth in a book of his intituled “De Integritate”—to wit, in saying that learning is not only to be found beneath a cowl. For *Paul* the Monk wrote another book to refute this, which was approved by the Chapter, or Synod, of the Order of *St. Benedict* at *Reinhardtsbronn*, in the year of our Lord 1509. It is fine Latin, withal—almost as good as *Alexander’s Doctrinale*, it hath been said; and I rejoice greatly that such Latin is to be found among monks. They say themselves that it superlatively excelleth the style of *Cicero*—but this I scarcely believe, for that striketh a high note. Nevertheless it argueth learnedly against *Wimpheling* in verse, and in prose, and in rime; and it holdeth, rightly as I think, that all learning lieth under a cowl—that is, with the monks. For, to proceed from things small to great, the monks have written commentaries on grammatical rules, on *Donatus*, on *Peter of Spain*, upon the Physics and the Metaphysics and the Ethics, and have thus submerged them in their comments, and have become masters of all knowledge.

Yet, by your favour, I would fain distinguish. First, with regard to the word “cowled,” for that is an equi-

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

vocal term. First, as applied to the Bohemians, who go about with long hoods down to their middles, and yet have no learning, but, rather, heresy. Secondly, as applied to the Jews, who also are cowled, and yet are ignorant, for they are without the pale of the Church. Thirdly, as applied to Magister-nosters, who are illuminated—but not in the highest degree. Fourthly, as applied to monks; and they have knowledge supereminent, as you have.

I beseech you, therefore, aid that monk—for you also are of his party, being cowled after the third fashion—that he may defend his writings against *Wimpheling*. For I hear that *Wimpheling* hath many followers, and those at *Strasburg* were lately named to me. There is one *Jakob Sturm*, a noble, who is said to be a good Latinist; and there is *Ottomar Nachtigall*, who knoweth Greek as well as *Reuchlin*, and can quote from the *Extra Decretum* and the Digests and likewise from the Bible—which is not to be wondered at, seeing that he studied at *Paris*. Then there are *Lucas Hackfurt* and *Johann Ruserus* and *Johann Witz* and many others, all of whom desire to aid *Wimpheling* against the monks and to trounce them with their writings. They all declare that *Paul* is unsound in his views, and hath deviated from the Rules of his Order in nine particulars, and that he is a mischievous wind-bag, as *Trithemius* himself hath averred in a letter to *Hieronymus Tungersheim* of *Ochsenfurt*—and that it is a great shame for anybody to waste paper and ink, and time too, as he hath done. They also declare that *St. Jerome* once wrote to a monk as followeth: “Never let the Psalter depart from your hand or from before your eyes;” yet if this were true the prohibition would be binding continually and for ever. And it would follow that monks ought to do nothing save read the Psalter. This I am sure is untrue, for *St. Jerome* himself was a monk, and would not write against them. I lately heard a woundy long rigmarole from a disciple of *Wimpheling*. I said boldly to his face, “Your master, *Wimpheling*, erreth greatly, who hath written in opposition to the Abbot *Trithemius*, and against the monks, who are notable both for their learning and

their sanctity, and mightily useful: the Church's only pillars are the monks." Then quoth he, "I divide monks into three classes. The first are holy and useful, but they are in heaven. The second are neither profitable nor wholly useless—you will see them painted in the churches. The third are still alive, and they are mightily noxious and are by no means saints. They are as vain-glorious as any laymen. They take delight in storing up wealth and having fair ladies around them. Not long ago I was at *Heidelberg*; now there liveth near *Heidelberg* a great Abbot—a fat, surly rascal—and he drove out all the monks from St. Jacob's College, saying that he would brew fine broth for them, and naught beside. But they said that they believed that he acted thus—the good brother!—because the Count Palatine was about to introduce new methods, and that a Poet was coming to *Heidelberg* who would make the monks and other students talk the new-fangled Latin. And so the fat Abbot quickly perceived what the event of the jest would be; and, quoth he, 'My monks must not learn the new Latin, for then they would grow proud of knowing more than I, and I should cut a fine figure among them—like an overfed jackass in a rout of monkeys!'"

But of a truth this argument seemeth irregular, for it lacketh a pair of premises and therefore reacheth no conclusion.

I send you *Paul's* book, which you ought to have printed, for it containeth a store of good things in opposition to *Wimpheling* who assaileth the monks; but he will change his tune when he readeth that Christ was a monk—an Abbot, to wit—and *St. Peter* a prior, and *Judas Iscariot* a cellarer, and *Philip* a porter, and so of the rest according to *sub et supra*; all of which this illuminated and learned monk *Paul Lang* so masterly proveth, that *Wimpheling* and his disciples cannot open their lips against him. Yet a fautor of *Wimpheling's* withstood me to my face, and swore that the monks lied like so many scurvy tapsters who would fain make out that Christ was therefore a portentous animal—a cowed beast! And they cried out against me in His name. Then was I sore afraid,

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

and fell into such a pickle that I savoured ill in the nostrils of those who stood by. But, be this as it may, I firmly believe that sooner or later they will all stand dismayed by *Paul's* learning, and will say, "Of a truth the Devil hath brought this monk against us: who else can have instructed him thus canonically in all knowledge? How can this be save by inspiration? He hath resided in no University, and is naught but a mere bejan; and nevertheless he is fit and more than fit to graduate Master—by the leave of our illustrious Magisters." *Thomas Murner*, himself a monk, and a right subtle Doctor, once solemnly declared in the pulpit that Christ our Lord was a monk—and powerfully argued thereon. But one of *Wimpheling's* disciples declared that he would not believe in Christ if he were a monk, and made the following verses:—

"In Christ himself beneath a cowl—
That cloak of guile—I'd not believe:
Let the S. Francis feigned at Berne
Show all how monkish wiles deceive!"

What skills it if he believe not? Then he will be a heretic like the rest of them who were condemned, with *Reuchlin*, by *Paris* and *Cologne* and the other Universities.

Now I beseech you to imprint in the book the verses that follow, which I have made in praise of the book and its author *Paul Lang* the Monk. With great labour have I composed them, for the most part in the night-time when I lay in meditation on my bed, for then in my dreams I became, so to say, a poet, as you will now perceive:—

"This book, which worthless Wimpheling boldly baits,
Hath been by Paul miraculously wrought—
Langius, we mean, who with poetic art
And craft rhetorical hath soothly proved
That every Science lurketh 'neath a cowl:
Trithemius said the like, and Eberhard
De Campis, Volzius (Paul), and Schurer too;
Johann von Miltenberg, and Jacob Si—
Berti, and Roger who Sicamber hight—
All learned men, and hooded monks withal.
Now Jacob is o'erthrown, and crushed to earth
With Wimpheling, Gerbelius, and Bebel,

HERR VOLLWEIN

Sturmius and Spiegel, Nachtigall, and he
 Of Rhenus named; Ruserus, Sapidus,
 And Johann Guida, with Bathodius;
 All bite the dust, and dare not 'Cuckoo!' cry.
 And weltering thus, they have no leg to stand
 Upon; no Greek or Poet can they find
 Who dares to learned Langius answer make!"

Farewell, O man most illustrious, and mine own
 right learned teacher! Hold me, in return, within
 your heart, in that I thus perpetuate your fame world
 without end.

From the Imperial City of *Schnersheim*, in the
 High Street, where the swains make merry on a
 Sunday, when their hearts o'erflow. In the Year of
 the World one.

LXIV

¶ *HERR VOLLWEIN VON GROSSFLA-
 SCHENBERG to the Reverend Magister Herr
 Ortwin Gratianus endless greetings*

REVEREND Sir, although, as it hath been told
 me, you know naught of secular Latin—for the
 which I highly esteem you—and you pay no heed to
 those high-sounding words that the poets delight in,
 nevertheless you know well enough where to lie a-night,
 as the Wise Man saith in his Proverbs.

And it is no great matter to us what those inno-
 vators in Latin do, such as *Erasmus of Rotterdam* and
Johann Reuchlin, neither heed I them. It concerneth
 not the essence of Holy Scripture—even if they and
 the rest are ever ready to attack the old Theologians
 with that Literature of theirs. I know not how they
 presume to ever be mingling that heretical literature
 with the New Testament and the works of *St. Jerome*;
 notwithstanding that *Paul* saith that the Greeks are
 always liars, and hence it seems to me—saving our
 exalted Magisternosters' presence—that their literature
 is nothing else than a lie. Harken now to my syl-
 logism: whosoever desireth to overturn Holy Scripture
 with lies is a heretic; therefore—but they know well

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

enough what followeth, and it would be uncivil for me to openly prove them to be heretics. Oh, if they but knew the subtlety that I possess they would not shew themselves before my face. But keep silence till the end, and then it will be perceived in what key the tune goeth.

No longer can I put off telling you the news. Lately, I know not when, I sat at a feast, and there were many vain-glorious youths present; and certain folk from other parts joined in the symposium—one from *England*, another from *Strasburg*, another from *Vienna*, another (*Angelinus* by name) from *Wimpfen*, another from *Rome*, who was well nigh half a Curialist; and there was that mighty chatter of many mouths, that you well wot of. At last we fell to discourse upon that business of *Reuchlin's*. And one fellow set himself in opposition to me when he heard I was no good Reuchlinist. Quoth he: "Let no Abecedarian Theologian from *Cologne* come across my path, else will I geld him—Magister *Ortwin* in particular."

Thereupon, I held my peace. Then spake one who was out at elbows, and who had failed in many an attempt at the Curia to gain a benefice, and was at loggerheads with most of the Curialists; and many a strange thing he said, as followeth:

"By my soul, I have oftentimes marvelled that those fellows in great hoods who call themselves Theologians, and who abound in that city where are printed Questions on Donatus according to the use of *St. Thomas*, and Grammatical Rules according to the use of the ancients, with this verse:

"Accipias tanti doctoris dogmata sancti,"

why the monks, I say, who ever yearn to declare others heretics, and stir us up against them, and hold an inquisition concerning heretical pravity on them—yet hold so many benefices, one, six; another, ten; another, twenty or more; and heap up so much money, and sideboards with bottles and goblets—as though they were the sons of counts or princes—and keep harlots or concubines within their doors at a great cost, with chains on their necks, and rings on their fingers,

and mantles fit for the wives of knights. Sometimes one of them holdeth three Canonries at one and the same time, and putteth dues in his purse from all three; whence he is able to enjoy many a drinking bout. And yet he can stand in but one choir and not in the others. So in some choirs there is no canon, and no substitute to praise God and pray for the quick and the dead. Can this be right? Wherefore are they not inquisitioned, and asked before a cloud of notaries and witnesses—as of yore at *Mainz*—‘What do you believe? Yes, or no? Do you believe, or do you not believe? What is your belief concerning the sacraments in the Church of God? Tell us, how many are the Sacraments? What do you believe in your heart concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Are the body and blood of Christ present in it? If you believe this, why then after you have read mass—if, forsooth, you read it once in the year—do you go home, and consort with a concubine who hath the manners and aspect of a harlot, at the table or in your chamber? Tell us if you believe the fruit of the mass to be so great and so pleasing to God as that which abideth in the Decretals and the Tractates of the Theologians. Wherefore do ye hold so many benefices, enough to maintain five or six devout priests, who would joyfully read masses, and who with a willing heart would preach to the people and the clergy, and are able to give good counsel for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the liberty of the Church—who would chide evil-doers, and beseech God for our Lord the Pope, for the King, for the Bishops and other Christian folk—and offer that prayer for Peace and Prosperity that in the Low Mass standeth after the *Sanctus* and the *Te igitur clementissime Pater*? If you believe that so much good proceedeth from the Mass both to quick and dead, wherefore do you not give to others of your superfluities, and hand them over to other good, devout, and learned men—that God might hence be exalted and the souls of the dead might be the more speedily redeemed from the fires of Purgatory; and that the wrath of God against us might be stayed, so that he might no longer afflict us

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

from on high with sore blains, nor smite our vines and our corn with hail and frost, so that the times of so great famine in the world should cease? If, on the other hand, ye do not believe these great benefits to flow from the Mass, then are ye, by the Lord, suspect of heresy; yea, ye are more assuredly heretics than *Wessalia* and Doctor *Reuchlin*.”

Lo, Reverend Magister *Ortwin*, I have thought it well to tell you all this—that you may see how that all men hold themselves on *Reuchlin*’s side against you. By my conscience I believe the Devil himself favoureth this *Reuchlin*, and we are finely bemired. And now I commend myself to you.

From *Speier*—where strange scandals are spread abroad concerning us; for all the *Reuchlinists* declare that the *Colognese* are naught but raw tyros. Nevertheless:—

Of pride in you I have a heap,
For you are patient as a sheep;
And all revilings you endure
Like simple priest in country cure.

LXV

¶ *MAGISTER BARTHEL KUTZ* to the learned Master of unlawful Arts, *Ortwin Gratianus*, Theologian of *Cologne*

RECEIVE my salutations, if you will, most learned Herr Magister *Ortwin*. Somebody, once on a time, told me, in some place or other, that you were very sick, and that when you are sick you always demean yourself as though you were crazy. This I commend in you, for it suiteth well with one who hath skill in unlawful arts—to wit how to conjure the devil into a glass, or elsewhere—for such are, almost without exception, oftentimes crazy. It is meet too that all such should likewise be bastards—and that you are one was told me by a dear friend—for they are the better tools wherewith the devil can work for his ends.

The devil, forsooth, doth not yield himself so readily

to the legitimate as to bastards, who are peculiarly fitted for him. And if only you were a monk you would possess every qualification for this art, and you would be an egregious instrument of the devil—but I know not whether you are a monk. If such you be, then I should be right glad. Monks above all men have this gift—that they are very obstinate, and whatever they take in hand that they carry through—as I lately heard from one *Paul Lang* who has written a most excellent treatise, with verses, against *Jacob Wimpheling* and has flouted him finely. They say of that same *Paul*—saving your reverence—that he has run out of the cloister in nine diverse ways.

And what none else attempteth to do, he doeth. I believe too that he is crazy at times, and is base-born. The third condition abideth in him. I rejoice greatly that he also resembleth you who have dealings with the devil—but, let this pass, with all respect. I have here a notable necromantic formula that I would gladly communicate to you openly—but I am afraid lest when you are crazy your servant may find this letter and read it, and then the devil would fetch both him and me. Therefore I will proceed according to my wont, for when I deal with secret matters I write upon paper without ink, and then none save a bastard can read it, and this I have determined to do in the present case. The formula runneth thus:—

You, I know, will understand this, and it is the very truth, but I warn you, and conjure you by the virtue of all the forbidden Sciences not to impart it to a single soul. And now farewell; from *Ruprechtsau*: in a little while you may expect somewhat more, and weightier, from me if you relish these presents.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

LXVI

¶ *MAGISTER ABRAM ISAAK, of the stem of Aminadab, sendeth greeting to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

EXALTED Master of Arts good and evil; may it please your worship to know that I will now fulfil the promise that I promised at your instance, when I departed from *Cologne*—namely, that I would fail not to send you all the news.

Before all things you were desirous that I should notify you concerning that crafty Jurist, *Johann Reuchlin*, with whom Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* hath sharp contention concerning the Faith at the Roman Court. All these matters will I unfold, out of the love that I bear you.

In the first place, then—to relate all things from the foundation of the world—you must know that having set out for *Rome* in the dog-days, as you will remember, I met with no great misadventure on the way, save exceeding great thirst when I traversed the lofty mountains of *Allgäu* with my comrades.

When I reached *Rome* I engaged myself as varlet to a Cardinal, hard by the *Campo dei Fiori*; him I served with great diligence for eight months, to gain a cure of souls at *Kelbertzhausen* in the diocese of *Vollenberg*. Now, with this object, I obtained a brief with the seals of twelve Cardinals, and his Holiness prefixed his own seal for the firmer security. Thereupon with great joy I set forth to take possession—when, lo! the Incumbent was not dead after all! Then cried I in great wrath, “A thousand devils fly away with him! Am I to lose my money?” ’Twas a mighty poor prebend, too. An I had known this, I would never have left *Rome*. I reckoned that it might bring me in good twenty gulden every year. You well know that I should not think of residing in such a place. I would far rather have a prebend near home at *Deventer* of a hundred gulden, with a simple handmaid of twelve, than one of thirty gulden up

the country with a shrewish gammer of sixty. But it is a sinecure benefice that would suit me best of all.

Now I must tell you in the next place, Herr *Ortwin*, that I could not get back immediately to *Rome* by reason of the war in *Italy*: naked scoundrels were running about in every direction; and if one of them had taken my clothes, then should I have lost all my poverty, as the old woman said when she broke her eggs on *Heilbronn* bridge. So it came to pass that I abode for two months at *Wimpfen-am-Thal* with some jolly fellows from *Rome*. And there I learned a game of *Johann Grayfer*—who is mighty liberal, for he once gave six comrades, whereof I was one, seven eggs to eat, and no fewer. This game is named in the Italian tongue *Trent uno*. I never saw it at *Rome*, but this is in no wise strange, for I had always to be dancing attendance on the mule in the stables.

You shall hear how we spent our time: We often went to *Wimpfen-am-Berge*, where the best of good fellows foregather. There was one among them, *Gregory Spiegel* by name, who is a great authority *de modo supponendi*. He expoundeth this as clearly as you were wont to unfold Alexander's Third Part, concerning Versification.

So liberally spake he concerning that matter that carnal stings assailed me. Much did I learn from him—saving your presence, 'tis but Nature's province. I would give, pardy! a carlin for you to master such amicableities, if it were but on account of Frau *Pfefferkorn*, since I well know she affecteth you above all the Theologians of *Cologne*. In good sooth, that Art which you once showed me in a little book written backwards is of no avail.

But to proceed; they once asked me over the wine—seeing that I was from the Curia—how matters stood in the Cause of the Faith between *Johann Reuchlin* and the Colognese. Quoth I, "I fear me greatly that *Johann Reuchlin*, good man, is too poor to bring the case to an end. The Preachers can go further with their sacks of cheese than a lone man with his money." Then said one: "Sonty! What villains are those

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

same cheese-collecting monks! Not long ago Brother N., of the monastery here, came to my cottage, and would fain have forced my sister. He pursued her up the steps into the house, and threw her down, and would have worked his will, but my sister cried ‘Herr N.! Herr N.! desist, or I will scream that all the world shall hear, and then will the Devil shend you.’ ‘Body o’ me!’ cried he, ‘Cry not out, and I will give you handsel, if it cost me half a gulden!’ Then came her mother, and he stinted. (His foiled fury! dangerous as a harrow-tine under a clout!).” Then said another who sat near, “If the cullion had treated my sister thus, I would have stoned him, and sent the other monks pickled cod for feast-day.” Then replied the other: “Pardy! I can forgive them, for they are ever cloistered. I trow an ass with a kirtle on would scarce find security—how then a wench?” Another straightway sware that *Johann Reuchlin* was minded to put down in a book all the evil deeds of the monks throughout *Germany*. This he will present to his Holiness with these words: “Wherefore doth not *Hoogstraten* cast out this licentiousness from among his brethren?” The fellow would have it, too, that monks savour like sweating he-goats, and that in his country they have tainted all the trulls, so that upon occasion he might believe a cowl was at hand, by reason of that odour of sanctity.

Now you, Magister *Ortwin*, are their fautor: Take heed lest, to mend matters, there be added to the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, an Inquisitor of Libidinous Depravity. Let them at all events work their iniquities privily in their cells, like their betters, where none can see; all might then go well, but open vice is a scandal to the whole Order. Beware lest evil come upon you.

After all, I have again betaken myself to the Court, and await Heaven’s favour. Farewell.

From ROME: in the Refectory of the Chapter-House.

LXVII

☞ *BROTHER NOLLERIUS STECH of
Calabria to Magister Ortwin Gratius*

MY devout prayers I desire you, by way of greeting. Your Theological Excellency knoweth that I am as it were a pilgrim from Mount *Sinai*—but you know not of the ills that I have suffered since I departed from you at *Cologne*. Though it would be tedious to tell you all, yet have I no other friend remaining to me to whom I may pour forth my woes, save you.

When I open my lips in the monastery they forthwith cry, “A pretty monk art thou, who desirest to lead an easy life!” As for the ungodly, it is not so with them. I cannot guess what may be the root of it all, unless it be the ill-fortune of Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* in consuming so large a sum of money in the Roman Curia on behalf of the Christian Faith that *Johann Reuchlin* the worthless hath overthrown in his *Augenspiegel*. All our monasteries, I trow, ought to send him money, for he must needs be liberal and give bribes at large to the Cardinals, that they may give judgment in his favour, and not for *Johann Reuchlin*. Hence it cometh that the Superiors abate our wine, notwithstanding that *Solomon* saith in Proverbs xii. 1, “Song, woman, and wine rejoice the heart of man!” As for song, I am for ever at it—chanting and howling Psalms in the Choir, so that it hath neither grown rare nor precious. Concerning women, it is a grief for me to speak, for I never see any, save when I go to market with our steward to buy eggs. Even when I go to the villages round about to collect turnips and greens, and the flesh assaileth me with a wench hard by, she will have naught to do with me. Now therefore that our wine is minished, what solace is left us? Would that we had but one half of the comforts of life enjoyed by other orders—or by the priests with us who are vowed to the Holy Ghost. With this order, I think, you are well acquainted; they wear a double white cross on

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

their habit, and are not all shaven and shorn as we are; and when any relaxation is taken away from them—for instance, if their wine be docked for some transgression—then have they other solace, for they can procure doxies by the aid of lame *Johann* the wood-cutter who crawleth on his hands and knees. You may say, “Such a dissolute life is not permitted to the Sanctispirituales.” But I tell you that I have heard for sooth that their Superior—who, though old, lame, grey, and blear-eyed, is nevertheless avid in that matter, but not always the man he was—is wont to keep a laced-mutton in his study; and when he casteth her aside he provideth her with a husband, and giveth her a good dowry out of the treasury of the Holy Spirit, which never runneth low, for it abideth by the mere grace of the Spirit. Then he getteth another wench and doeth as I have said, and thus the order increaseth and multiplieth in secret. And now will I cite a proverb: “Whensoever the Abbot—that is the Father Superior—throweth the dice, the friars can play.” That is, since our old prelates are so licentious, and lead such loose lives, it followeth that we underlings may imitate them. This is a sound conclusion, for I have seen in a tractate “*De Suppositionibus*” that “*Prelatus supponit personaliter*,” but, according to *Marsilius*, “*Supponit inferius materialiter*.” And now to the main point: I would that if Doctor *Jakob van Hoogstraten* cannot win his cause against *Johann Reuchlin*, he would obtain for us a milder Rule, such as that aforesaid. For the flesh will be served, and I know full well that my days will be short in the land if I may not at some time or other cast out the old leaven that I have derived from those cheeses. Pardon me in that I speak to you cordially, that is out of my inmost heart. I am ever in dread lest that Cause should have a bad end—as did the Cause at *Berne*. You well know what I mean.

Herr Magister-noster *Johann Eimerich* desireth you many greetings. He hath become a very holy man. He is now our preacher, and everybody praiseth him. He is mighty fine at signs and symbols: in the year of Our Lord 1516 he preached on the Passion, and he took with him a staff into the pulpit, and when he read

Pilate's sentence he drew forth the staff from his cowl, and brake it in halves, as though it were a judge's wand. It was a dreadful sight to behold, and the old women wept as bitterly as did *Peter* when he heard the cock crow near the fire. Farewell, and commend me to the Doctor when he returneth from *Rome*.

LXVIII

☞ *JOHANN TEXTORIS* sendeth his own *Peter Schreinkoncius* as many greetings as there are drops in the sea, and atoms in the sun

I MUST tell you, dearly beloved friend, that I have received a letter in the which you write to me concerning *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, desiring to learn what I think of him.

Now, you must know of a truth that in the days of my youth I read many works in humane letters—and as for *Stephanus Fliscus*, and the Graecist, and *Sinthen*, and the *Facetus*, and the *Floretus*, and those ancient poets—I knew them all by rote, at my fingers' ends—and in proof thereof I compiled a book styled "*Florista*," in the which you may discern my learning and much else—if I desired to make boast thereof. I tell you this merely that you may not think I lie, and to show you that I am well able to judge concerning this *Erasmus* I have also examined *Reuchlin's Augenspiegel*, and his *Gabala*, as you are aware.

Now, not to be tedious, I avouch that I have no good opinion of *Erasmus*. He is an enemy of the monks: he speaketh much ill of them; he saith they are clumsy jackasses, who hate polite letters, and they can do naught save guzzle, and swill, and mumble psalms.

Yet he lieth in his throat when he saith these things. He himself is the jackass. He is a sound Latinist, and writeth fair Latin—but he knoweth naught else. He hath written many books—notably the *Ship of Fools* and a commentary on *Jerome*—and in these he doeth

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

naught but belabour the Regulars. I warn him, pardy, that if he refrain not his hands from them we will do to him as to *Reuchlin*, though he were in a hundred ways favoured by the Pope and King *Charles*. We have seen many men as arrogant as he, and yet we have suppressed them.

I will tell you somewhat—but blab not thereof, or the devil may confound me. Doctor *Jacob van Hoogstraten* and all the Doctors in *Cologne* and *Cambridge* are now examining his commentary on *Jerome*, and I hear it will go woundily hard with him. I would not stand in his shoes for a hundred florins, for they say that he hath sowed many tares there, thinking that no one would mark it. But the Divines are not such fools as that—they know well enough where the snake lurks in the grass, as *Alexander* hath it. I cannot call to mind all that they found, but I remember somewhat; he declareth that Saint *Jerome* was not a Cardinal—and this is high treason; he is heterodox concerning *St. George* and *St. Christopher*, and relics of Saints, and candles, and the Sacraments of Confession; moreover in many passages he speaketh blasphemy, inasmuch as he speaketh against the Holy Doctor and the Subtle Doctor. He declareth that their Theology is nothing worth. Now all these things the Magisters have collected into a volume, and they will undo him as they did *Johann Wessalia* in *Mainz*. And if he barketh at them, and writeth invectives against them, they will wait till he is dead, and then they will condemn all his works; this, forsooth, is the Magisters' design.

As you ever joy in hearing the news, I must tell you that the Minorites now have a General of Observance, a privilege that they purchased from *Rome* for sixteen thousand ducats. The nuns of *St. Clara*, of the Minorite Order, are in parlous fear lest they should be reformed, and they have fled into the country and lie miserably on bare boards. Some say that Dr. *Murner* hath had to do with them—but this cannot be true, for he is an emasculate capon. But of other Regulars I have my doubts, since they thus pursue them. A curialist hath just died in the country who

held twenty-two fat livings, and the Poets thereabouts have composed many verses concerning him. This is all I know—except that may the Lord preserve you until a man can outrun a hound. Farewell.

FROM STRASBURG.

LXIX

❧ MARKULPH SCHULZ to Johann *Bimperlebumpum of Rorbach*

SALUTATIONS infinite and eternal. Beloved *Johann*, you lately sent me news that was but ill hearing—to wit that *Johann Reuchlin* hath gained for himself great renown among those Poets of his by writing a book intituled “*Gabellistica*,” or “*Gabala*,” and that he is in high favour with the Pope. I would fain know what “*Gabala*” may mean, but though I have long sought for it in my *Catholicon* and *Gemma Gemmarum*, as well as in *Briton*, I cannot discover its signification. I addressed a letter thereon to Magister *Ortwin*, but he hath sent no reply. Nevertheless the Divines have held a great council, and have examined that book, and—as I heard from them at a rouse one night, when we drank so deep that each had to pay three groschen for his shot, and I had no more money in my fob—it will of a surety go ill with him: for in that book he hath set down certain passages in opposition to the Holy Doctor and his disciples, and he saith that the son of God is made of the Father. It containeth much else, and perverteth the Theological terms “beget” and “make,” and others likewise; and it payeth no heed to the arguments and questions and sophisms of the Holy Doctor. Therefore are they resolved to burn that book—because they declare they cannot understand it, and what they do not understand, that they burn. Q.E.D.

For every Doctor of Theology is a rabbi and a light of the World.

The book moreover containeth many sayings of *Pythagoras*, who was a necromancer; but necromancy

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

is an unlawful art—as saith LXVI, Quest. X, Chap. O, and in the Canon beginning “O ye asses!” and the Holy Doctor agreeth therewith—as well as *Aristotle* in the Ninth of his Physics, “Of Ignorance.” There is moreover in the book much Hebrew, which the Divines cannot read, and much Greek; but inasmuch as they pay no heed to vanities such as these, but meditate on higher things, they have appointed *Johann Pfefferkorn*—Christian, yet half Hebrew, for he is oft ebrious—to examine it, lest mayhap poison should lurk beneath the honey.

But of this anon, for we shall know all about it come *Frankfort* fair, and then we can discuss these matters with Doctor *Ortwin*, who goeth thither, as the emissary of the Divines, to buy any new books exposed for sale there, that they may examine them.

I have none other news to tell you, save that a Doctor of the Order of Preachers in Strasburg, who was always called Doctor *Jesus*, hath fled from the Convent, and many evil things are said concerning him of which I dare not speak, and many scurrilous scribblers write verses to vilify him, and drop them in the market-place and in the church. This disquieteth me; would that they would refrain themselves, lest they fall into disfavour with the Preachers. Amongst others, I picked up the lampoon following:—

“Thief, slanderer, sink of crimes unspeakable—
Worthy of life-long fetters, or the stake—
Hater of pious priests, effeminate,
Thy coward soul doth e’en in exile quake.
A holy abbess victim of thy snares—
Satan’s best tool a monk doth ever make!”

See, now, what these gallows-birds are doing! They have respect for no man, and by the Lord, the cause of this is none other—“non facit hoc aliud,” as *Alexander* very truly putteth it—than that evil habit of theirs of writing and making verses concerning everything that happeneth at *Strasburg*. Anon I will write to you more fully concerning this matter.

From SCHLETTSTADT.

¶ *MAGISTER HÄMMERLEIN, in Paradise, without flowers of Rhetoric, to the world-renowned Mag. Örtwin Gratinus, Champion of Barbarism and Mouthpiece of Cologne, who brayeth after the manner of a jackass against Poets and Scholars, and Greeks whose tongue he knoweth not*

SUCH wondrous boasts and such soaring scurrilities, Herr Örtwin, have I never heard in my whole life as those put forth by yourself and the Doctors of Cologne—saving your presence—against that most honourable and learned of men, Herr Johann Reuchlin. Nevertheless when I heard thereof great wonder possessed me—seeing that you are all double-headed asses, and natural philosophers, to wit born fools, “zwanzig zentner über einen tollen Fantasten”—that you strive so meanly and so scurvily to assail men so pious and learned. Moreover I marvelled greatly who taught you so craftily to pervert and falsify the pious opinions of such an upright man. At last I concluded in my mind that it could be none other than one sprung from the seed of Judas—like father like son—and of such is Johann Pfefferkorn. Small wonder that ye are all friends of this man, for “birds of a feather flock together.”

To the gallows then with you all, to a man, whither the hangman and his men will hale you, while you howl “Pray for us!” Now inasmuch as all these my words are very sooth, I address them to you privately and especially, and you may impart them to the rest who sit with you in the seat of the scornful, as saith the Psalmist. But let not these matters be published abroad, lest all the righteous discern what manner of men ye are.

Nevertheless, by all the saints! a great dread falleth upon me; a fear lest the printer hath stolen a copy of my letter—for, if this be so, God help you! Then I can in no wise hinder it. Yet will I give you good

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

counsel. Down on your marrow-bones, and pray without ceasing for eight days, and invoke, fasting, St. *Helena* who recovered the true cross. In like manner may I recover that letter. Then once more will you abide in security.

Lo, all these things have I done out of brotherly love toward you—for we are brothers all. Farewell.

From *Heidelberg* ; at the house of the Lame Man at *Leipsic*, who heedeth not though a man's nose be shut in the postern. Would that you were with him. You would have no need of spectacles, for 'tis said he supplieth them without charge.

APPENDICES

I

The more important variants of the text are given below. The five editions prior to that of 1556 are denoted by [A] [B] [C] [D] and [E] respectively. Readings to which no letters are appended are those of the Leipsic text of 1864 (Böcking).

VOLUMEN PRIMUM

- I. 32, (d.) domini; 39, Theodoricus [C]; 74, metamorphosi; 86, qui.
- II. 22, (quia) quid [B]; 73, [A, B, C] *omit* pati; 76, Bernardi.
- III. 18, (ibi) hic [B]; 50, D; *for* dominus [A, B, C].
- IV. 38, verumtamen.
- VIII. 49, [C] *omits* ita.
- IX. 58, aliquando esse [B].
- XI. 39, sorori; 59, discripsit per frustra [C]; 89, quodlibeta; 94, Prophyrio [C].
- XII. 38, consilium, quia concilium [A, B, C]; 41, permittit.
- XIII. 79, propinaverunt.
- XIV. 9, notus *for* profundus [B]; 36, [C] *omits* non.
- XVI. 19, sed.
- XVII. 64, [B] *omits* optime.
- XX. 1, Lucibulaius [B], lucibulairus [C].
- XXII. 48, Psalmista; 71, dixit [B].
- XXIV. 39, bonam.
- XXV. 10, qui; 69, Et sic; miserior [B]; 80, illum.
- XXVIII. 30, iste [A, B, C], *perh. for* isti *or* istae; 55, Psalmis; 88, Psalmis.
- XXIX. 54, animi [C], animae.
- XXX. 6, humilima, *sic*; 55, Quoniam; 62, quando.
- XXXI. 20–21, et in, et in; 28, praecipue; 64, (desc.) *for* decisione, *but* *sic in all edd.*; 70, quae.
- XXXII. 36, Argentina.
- XXXIII. 14, sedit; 20, mecum: credatis; 68, ana drachmas .iiij.
- XXXIV. 65, Catarinam, jactavit; 68, sic quod quando.
- XXXV. 19, Francia.
- XXXVI. 9, frasca.

APPENDICES

- XXXVII. 29, *Böcking suggests* et simul, or etiam; 42, domini Ioannis Pfefferkorn.
 XXXVIII. 82, virtus; 87, oratores isti.
 XLI. 58, *In* [A], and, *with variations of punctuation and capitals only, in* [B], *there follows*:
 “Et sic est finis epistolarum obscurorum virorum Deo gratia eiusque sancte matri. In Venetia impressum in impressoria Aldi Minutii: Anno quo supra: etiam cauisatum est vt in aliis, ne quis audeat post nos imprimare per decennium per illustrissimum principem Venetianorum.”

APPENDEK EPISTOLARUM

- XLII. 29, medicinali. Ex; 36, splendidissimos, et; 48, ore. Sic; 57, finivisset.
 XLIII.-IV. 13, queris [C]; 29, vobis unam; 37, 65, 102, Lipsig; 151, student: quare.
 XLVI. 1, Ioannes; 33, quae; 35, vim: ego; 80-83, Utrum; 102, sufficienter. Nunc; 129, trahere. Nuper.
 XLVIII. 58, invidia: ipse.

VOLUMEN ALTERUM

- I. 24, responso primo in fine; 26, scribitur; 43, Micheae; 51, Regum; 73, Carminam [E].
 II. 36, saeculares. *In the Edd. from 1556 to 1830 the order of these lines is changed from (abcdefg . . .) to (aceg . . . bdf . . .). Lines 52-54 are printed as prose in* [D] *and* [E].
 IV. 15, scribere.
 V. 21, [E] *omits* alibi; et sicut; 36, De Sententia et Re iudicata; 39, de officio Iudicis delegati.
 VII. 46, respondebit; 49, *for* occultarent, or occulerent (*Böcking*); 78, Iohannem Reuchlin.
 VIII. 20, Gregorius; 22, peccat in grat. [E]; 26, dominationem vestram; 43, studeo; jam; 62, Florentiae.
 IX. 9, [E] *omits* sic; 17, vos iterum; 20, [E] *omits* et . . . quia; 61, *Böcking suggests* fuisset *for* fecisset; 115, quoddam; 119, Ulrichus; 186, pritschen [E].
 X. 8, nondum; 46, Coloniensis; 49, inmatriculatus.
 XI. 7, meam; Dominus; 54, facultati; 58, quae.
 XII. 22, Permittatis; 38, [E] *omits* assessores; 71, ivimus; 90, Inspruck; 94, Insprucken; 113, [D] *omits* tunc; 120, [D] *omits* words in brackets; 142, Carmelitas, Baptistam Mantuanum; 174, quae; 189, Quando.

APPENDICES

- XIII. 15, membrum; 30, ipsae; 46, disconvenientia; 55, quatuor.
- XIV. 10, plebanus; 30, minus; 81, majestas.
- XV. 21, presunam; 28, Sapientiam; 45, quae.
- XVI. 24, Haleces [E]; 39, quae.
- XVII. 1, Fredericus; 20, volo. Dixit.
- XVIII. 9, 17, 28, 31, quae; 60, Valeatis. Datum raptim.
- XIX. 1, Ortvinio Gratio; 8, penis Camerae; 15, caepe; 32, quae; 33, Petri et Pauli.
- XX. 7, confundet; 38, Theologos; 52, capitis, sicut.
- XXI. 4, Margarethae; 27, tales scandalizationes.
- XXII. 36, plontzgen; 52, suum, id est.
- XXIII. 8, Rhome *for* Rotae [E]; 17, Artium; 32, praeualet.
- XXIV. 7, Christianam; 15, probus, et.
- XXV. 10, aliquando; 38, Oderam.
- XXVI. 6, eas; 50, dei, id est; 51, Christus; 54, Rhomana [E].
- XXVII. 22, Pasquillum; 27, Patris Fratris Iacobi de Hochstrat; 28, haereticae prauitatis.
- XXVIII. 3, Venerabilis [E]; 34, hic; 59, col. i.; 81, Christum 83, Pfefferkorn; 114, [D] *omits* modo; 137, [D] *alone has* fecit; 169, Chrisogoni; 230, nimis [D] [E], *for* minus; 260, comburere.
- XXIX. 9, Gelterszheim.
- XXX. 16, libros; 22, Parrhisienses; 36, Oculare; 49, scilicet Ioachim; 51, Ioannes.
- XXXI. 2, Daventriensi; 4, cordialiter; 22, est.
- XXXII. 10, Dominus Magister.
- XXXIII. 9, Valentinum; 10, Petrum; 11, Licentiatum; 21, Bertram.
- XXXIV. 60, Pfefferkorn.
- XXXV. 22, amantius; 25, Alexandrum; 37, subsannavit; 63, Legat prius [E]; 67, omnem.
- XXXVI. 19, Sapientia. Praeterea; 31, sesquipedali.
- XXXVII. 4, M. Quia [E]; 6, [E] *omits* sicut; 35, [E] *omits* habet; 47, [E] *omits* nostri et; 60, Christum; 64, Parrhisius.
- XXXVIII. 3, interrogans; 13, Minoribus; 22, Salomonis; 35, amicaliter [E].
- XXXIX. 1, Conradus Strildriot [E]; 2, Gratio Salutem; 20, rubrae; 39, *Böcking proposes* id est *before* quod; 55, quae; 59, Datum Romae.
- XL. 10, tamen; 28, dominum magistrum nostrum.
- XLI. 9, hebes *added in* [E]; 23, casus, .
- XLII. 20, Sed ponamus [E]; 38, quae; 51, sepe et: [D].
- XLIII. 56, respondet; 63, praedicandi: *ib.*, movendo; 74, tE [D]; 95, praedictum; 97, darent.
- XLIV. 13, perfectus, (*Böcking suggests* prouectus); 30, rubicata, ita.

APPENDICES

- XLV. 7, artibus; tunc; 27, [E] *omits* vel sic; 31, Proverbiorum.
- XLVI. 1, Unckenbunck [E]; 41, bacularii; 42, sexaginta; 46, si, *for* sic *in* [D] [E]; 50, novos; 82, etiam ego; 96, pareant [E].
- XLVII. 5, Michaelis; 43, fide; 65, ignem, ita; 77, grammatici; 90, Val. D. S. [E].
- XLVIII. 47, Cepas [E].
- XLIX. 21, comburere; 22, autenticabit; 32, [D] *omits* quod.
 L. 6, Iohannis; 12, sunt; 25, eum. Videatis; 32, Hierusalem; 39, fecibus: *ib.* quadam; 46, originali; 57, Bohemiam; 62, id est; 73, eo. Tunc; 87, quales; 94, tractaverunt; 118, qui; 120, dilacerabunt; 122, sordidos; 126, humiliter.
- LI. 24, Corinna; 35, Wimphelingus.
- LII. 1, Henricus [E]; 29, corio.
- LIII. 12, *Böcking suggests* praesentaverunt; 15, Fratrem; 21, haereticae pravitatis; 69, contra.
- LIV. 1, Guilhelmus [E]; 25, Lovanienses; 38, fecerunt; 40, mendacium; 43, criminibus.
- LV. 44, Canonici; 61, [D] *omits* Iohannes; 81, [D] *omits* de; 86, tractant; 89, disputationes. De . ; 92, [E] *omits* D. Ma.
- LVI. 2, [E] *has* Gratio Salutem Plurimā. Dicit. Ma., *taking the last words from the end of Ep. LV.*; 5, opinionem; 11, etenim; 30, [D] *omits* est; 46, Ingelstat [E].
- LVIII. 14, scribit [D] [E]; 32, *Böcking suggests* voluerunt; 39, [D] *omits* autem; 45, querunt [D] [E]; 82, mittunt.
- LIX. 2, Salutem; 28, quo [D] [E]; 46, Melanchthon; 47, Gerbellius; 50, [D] *omits* autem.
- LX. 25, ob [D].
- LXI. 8, quae; 14, triticum, isti; 26, trufator; 28, 32, Grachis; 54, presbiter; 57, audacter; 78, respondendo [D].
- LXII. 38, quatuor; 52, docet [E].
- LXIII. 46, prava [E]; 55, approbatus; 87, *Böcking suggests* et est; 101, sauctus [E]; 132, novum *for* nunc; 158, tantum; 159, quis; 175, credere; 189, Schurerius.
- LXIV. 21, sciunt; 87, pater.
- LXVI. 16, quando; 53, iuinus [E].
- LXVII. 22, primo Proverbiorum; 71, dominus.
- LXVIII. 38, in loco.
- LXIX. 24, [E] *omits* non; 29, asini.
- LXX. 19, quam hoc, *first inserted in ed. of 1599*; 29, quod; 44, accommodat.

II

The following non-classical words, occurring in the Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, are not included in Du Cange's Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (Niort, 1883-87).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Affectionatus, i. 23. | Egreditudine, ii. 43. |
| Affectualissimi, i. 38. | Extractivam, i. 33. |
| Affectualitate, i. 38. | |
| Amae, ii. 22. | Faciletas, i. 21. |
| Amiciose, ii. 36. | Fallimoniam, i. 12. |
| Argumentifex, ii. 6. | Fantastae, ii. 5. |
| | Figuralis, i. 20. |
| | Fugens, i. 46. |
| Baniris, i. 24. | |
| Bergamenibus, ii. 52. | Galrinum, i. 44. |
| Bibalia, ii. 12. | Genelogia, i. 33. |
| | Gratiabilis, i. 36. |
| Carminista, ii. 69. | Grosse, ii. 19, 66. |
| Carnirum, i. 44. | |
| Cavisare, i. 3, 16. | Idolatra, ii. 28. |
| Chorisavi, i. 33. | Ignorax, ii. 58. |
| Coelestitem, ii. 43. | Immodicite, i. 11. |
| Combibilationes, i. 31. | Impressitae, ii. 64. |
| Combibilator, i. 34. | Incommodosa, ii. 7. |
| Commerdaverunt, ii. 63. | Intentionaliter, ii. 28. |
| Componista, i. 18. | Interfectoriales, ii. 17. |
| Condebitam, i. 35. | Intronisationem, ii. 27 |
| Confectionatum, ii. 35. | (Inthronisatio, <i>Du C.</i>). |
| Conspicello, i. 13. | Inventivus, i. 32. |
| Convivalitas, i. 33. | |
| Copistria, ii. 8. | Jucunditer, i. 44. |
| Coqualia, ii. 48. | Juristria, ii. 7, 27. |
| Corisatione, i. 44. | |
| Crinisare, i. 36, 41 | Lacaritio, i. 46. |
| (Crinisatus, <i>Du C.</i>). | Lansmannus, i. 1. |
| Cucullatulis, ii. 63. | Liberariam, i. 31. |
| | Liberarios, ii. 28. |
| Dapiverunt, i. 13 | |
| (Dapere, dapare, <i>Du C.</i>). | Magistralitas, i. 6. |
| Descisione, i. 37. | Magistraliter, i. 8, &c. |
| Descissione, i. 31. | Mammaluca, i. 48 |
| Detorculare, i. 24. | (Mammaluci, <i>Du C.</i>). |
| Devotarie, i. 36, 37. | Menestrum, ii. 19. |
| Dictaminas, ii. 1, 28, 31. | Metrosam, ii. 2. |
| Dictaminorum, i. 18. | Mortuerunt, ii. 64. |
| Doctrinaliter, i. 8 ; ii. 32, 63. | |

APPENDICES

- Nostrare, i. 1.
- Occularent, ii. 7.
- Pallescere, i. 33.
- Pantofoli, i. 40.
- Pariselli, ii. 15.
- Parthecas, i. 46.
- Patritius, ii. 56.
- Pectoraliter, i. 32.
- Piras, i. 44.
- Poetaliter, i. 9 ; ii. 9.
- Poeticare, ii. 11.
- Poetrius, i. 17.
- Possos, i. 46.
- Practicatoribus, i. 42.
- Praebendiolam, ii. 36.
- Praeconisceretur, ii. 64.
- Praesumptuositas, i. 31.
- Professionati, ii. 67.
- Proficualem, ii. 52.
- Promotoriales, i. 20.
- Quacculator, i. 46.
- Rariuscule, ii. 36.
- Rebaldria, ii. 9.
- Reprehensivi (adj.), ii. 31.
- Rhetoricaliter, i. 34.
- Rigmizare, i. 18.
- Rithmice, ii. 29.
- Rollationes, i. 46.
- Salatum, ii. 19
(for Salictum, *Du C.*).
- Sameloto, ii. 39.
- Sanctissimitas, ii. 4 ; ii. 32.
- Saponista, i. 24.
- Scarparia, ii. 12.
- Scholirega, ii. 22.
- Scientiosi, i. 38, 42
(Scientiose, *Du C.*).
- Scommatizare, ii. 33.
- Scompizat, ii. 65.
- Scrupulatio, ii. 70.
- Scutant, i. 46.
- Sermonisare, i. 42
(Sermonizare, *Du C.*).
- Solaciosam, i. 43.
- Sperantiam, ii. 5, 49.
- Stafrus, i. 48.
- Studitorium, i. 31.
- Sulsissimo, i. 40.
- Superaeternaliter, i. 41.
- Superexcellescat, ii. 63.
- Supergressionem, ii. 67.
- Superiorista, ii. 3, &c.
- Superlatrant, ii. 7.
- Supernali, i. 38, &c.
- Suppetiare, i. 20.
- Supradatis, ii. 64.
- Taxilis, i. 46.
- Thematisari, ii. 46.
- Theutonice, i. 46.
- Tibisare, i. 14, &c.
(Tibizare, *Du C.*).
- Timax, ii. 5, 58.
- Transvidere, i. 21.
- Veneficati, ii. 17.
- Ventricalia, i. 33.
- Veterissimo, ii. 47.
- Vinificatus, ii. 12.
- Vitreatam, ii. 42.
- Vitrinus, i. 47.
- Vituperativam, ii. 15, 53.
- Zeccha, i. 3, &c.
- Zelositatem, ii. 43.

GENERAL INDEX

With very few exceptions, the Introduction, Notes, and Latin Text are alone referred to in the Index: the Letters being numbered, the corresponding passages in the Translation can be readily identified.

O. V. = *Obscurus Vir*; *q.* = quoted; an asterisk appended to a reference indicates that some account of, and not a mere allusion to, the person or matter named will be found in the note thus characterised.

A

"Abaces," meaning of, 251.

Abraam, Isaac de stirpe Aminadab (*O. V.*), 274-77.

Accents, Greek, useless, 20.

Accius Neobius (*pseud.*), lxvi, 68 n.

Accolti, Pietro, Card., xli, 183 n.

Accorso, Francesco, 251 n.*

Accursius, 169 n. *See also* Accorso.

"Aconita," 123 n.*

Actæon, alluded to by Ezekiel, 75.

Acta Parrhisiensium, xliv, 24.*

Acuficis, Albertus (*O. V.*), 143-45.

Adam, Melchior, 100 n.

Adolescentia, 241 n.

Adrian di Castello, Card., 195 n.*

Aedicollius, Joan. and Serr., at Cologne, xxi.

Aegidius, of Süchteln, 201 n.

Aegidius Parisiensis, 206 n.

Aeneas Sylvius, remark of, 39 n.; *q.*, 170 n.

Aeneid, 106, 115.

Aesticampianus, Joannes Rhagius, expelled from Leipsic, xxi, 47 n.*; 50, 150.

Aglauros, alluded to in Job, 75.

Agnus Dei, sent from Rome, 176 n.*

Agricola, Rudolph, xvi.

Agrippa, H. C., *q.*, 5 n., 64 n.

Albert, of Brandenburg, 212 n.

Albertists, their doctrines, 44 n.*; 156; peculiar tenets of, 226.

Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, 49 n.

Album Graecum, 87 n.*

Alchemists, proverb concerning, 64 n.

Aldus Manutius, 66 n.

Alexander Grammaticus (Gallus), his *Doctrinale*, 14 n.*; birth of, 19 n.; *et saepe*.

Algäuer Alps, 274 n.

Alphonsus a Spina, 60 n.*

Altaplatea, Iacobus de (*i.e.* Hoogstraten) (*O. V.*), 121-24.

"Amae," 180 n.*

Ambach, 114 n.

"Ambo," 71 n.*

Amorbach (Bonifacius), 152.

Amphoraticius, Ioan., 279 n.

"Aua," 87 n.*

Anabaptists, 26 n., 29 n.

"Andallum," 40 n.*

Andes, 161 n.

Angelinus (Wimpinus), 270.

Anglia. *See* England.

Anglicus, 74, 149, 256.

Angst, Wolfgang, his letter to Erasmus, xlix; 152 n.*

Annales Reformationis, 100 n.

Antichrist, birth of, 242.

Aperbach, Petreius, 150, 227, 256.

Apposition, instance of, 165.

Aquinas, Thomas, 32, 35, 115, 117; compared with St. Dominic, 231; 250.

Argyropoulos, John, xxvii.

Aristotle, 3, 8, 21, 29, 114 n., 115 n.

— Feast of, 4 n.*

Arnod, 220.

Arnold von Tongern. *See* Tongern.

Arnoldi, Iohannes (*O. V.*), 29-31, 210-11.

Ars Margarethae, 88 n.*

Articuli, publ. by A. von Tongern, xxxvii, 8, 25, 112 n., 156 n., 170.

"Artista," meaning of, 5 n.

Arts, The Seven Liberal, 48 n.*

Ascension, notable sermon on the, 78.

Astorga, 59 n.

Astrob, 220.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

- Asuerus, 217.
 Athens, 151.
Auctores octo Morales, 280 n.
Augenspiegel, publ., xxxv ; heretical, 19, 43, 147, 156 ; burnt, 30, 135, 183, 197 ; favoured by Leo X., 36, 141 ; defended, 59, 178 ; translated, 92, 154 ; to be hanged, 200 ; debated, 246 ; condemned by the Sorbonne, 247. *See also* 71, 162, 222, 249, 253.
 Augsburg, 150 ; weavers at, 171.
 Augustine, St., q., 186 n.
 Augustinians, different Orders so named, 37 n.
 Aulus Gellius, q., 114 n.
 Aurea Legenda, 16 n.
Aurora, q., 21 n.*
Autentica, 93 n.
 Avicenna, q., 226 n.
- B
- “Baccalaurius formatus,” 3 n.*
 “Bacchantes,” 119 n.
 Bacchus, compared to Christ, 75 ; nursed by nymphs, 75 n.
 Bacon, Francis, q., 19 n.
 Balbus, Joannes, 6 n.
 Baldung, Pius Hieron., 175 n.
 “Balini,” 72 n.
 “Balnea,” meaning of, 251 n.
 Bamberg, harlots in, 170.
 Baptista Mantuanus, 162 n.*
 Barbara, 219.
 Barclay, Alex., *Ship of Fools*, q., 13 n., 281 n.
 Bartholomew Fair, 9 n.
 Basle, 80, 152, 214.
 Batodius, Lucas, 266 n.
 Bavaria, cabbages in, 171.
 Bax, E. Belfort, q., 60 n.
 Bayne, Peter, *Martin Luther*, 235.
 “Beanus,” 135 n., 199 n.*
 Beard, C., *Hibbert Lectures*, q., 37 n.
 Beatus Rhenanus, xx, 80 n.*, 151, 257, 269.
 Bebelius, Henricus, xx, 151, 157 n.*, 202 n.
 Beek, Hermann van. *See* Torren-tinus.
 “Beguttae,” 80 n.*
 Bell, at centre of the earth, 80.
 Benedictus de Scocia (O. V.), 230–33.
 Bercherius, Petrus, 74 n.*
 Berger, S., *De Glossariis*, q., 6 n. ; 85 n., 282 n.
 Berlin. *See* Perlin.
 Berne, 60, 119, 214, 268, 285.
 — the Heresiarchs of, 60 n.
 Bersuire, Pierre. *See* Bercherius.
 Berthold, Ahbp. of Mainz, 158 n.
 Berthold of Regensburg, on Jews, 185 n.*
 Bertram, Petrus, 205 n.*
 Besutio, Angelus de, 175 n.
 Beutinger. *See* Peutinger.
 Bianco, *Die alte Univ. Köln*, q., 19 n., 22 n.
 Bild von Rheinau. *See* Beatus Rhenanus.
 Bildron, 220.
 Bleck, Georgius (O. V.) 211–13.
 Boccaccio, 15 n.
 Bock, F., 59 n.
 — Otho and Philipp de, 249.
 Böcking, Eduard, his ed. of the *E. O. V.*, ix.
 Boethius, *De Consol. Phil.*, 66 n., 157 n.
 Bohemia, 170, 238, 252.
 Bohemian Brethren. *See* Unitas Fratrum.
 Bohmer Wald, robbers in, 138.
 Bois-le-Duc, 170 n.
 Boldriach, 220.
 Bologna, 30, 149, 162, 240, 242, 251, 255, 257.
 Bonaventura, St., 35 n.*, 81, 83.
 Bonet de Lates, xlii.
 Bonn, names of, 95 n.*
 Bootlaces, bad in Italy, 176.
 Borscus, Ioannes, 22 n.
 Bousset, M., *Der Antichrist*, 242 n.
 Brabantia, 127, 132.
 Bradley, H., *The Goths*, q., 161 n.
 Brant, Sebastian, 68 n., 151, 241 n.*
Brantspiegell, publ., xxxvii.
 Brassicanus, Joannes, 34 n.*, 151.
 Brecht, Walther, on the authorship of the *E. O. V.*, lvi, lxvii.
 Bremen, 253.
 Brenner Pass, 161.
 Breslau. *See* Vratislavia.
 — Johann of, 22.
 Brethren of the Common Lot, xviii.
Breviloquus, Vocabularius, 6 n.*, 51 n.
 Bricot, Thomas, 246 n.*
 — Wilhelmus (O. V.), 246–48.
 Briton, William, 282 n.
 Brixia, 161.
 Brulefer, Stephanus, 65 n.*
 Brumannus, Henr., 249.
 Bruneck, 148.
 Brunellus, Dr., 86, 90.
 Bruno, Giordano, 186 n.
 Bryce, J., q., 158 n.
 Buchenwald, 150.

GENERAL INDEX

Buchonia, 150.
 "Bundschuh," 90 n.*
 Burchardus, Ioan., 283.
 Buridan, Jean, 264 n.*
 Burkhardt, Georg, 100 n.* *See also*
 Spalatinus.
 — Johann, 283 n.
 Burns, Robt., his satire compared
 with that of the *E. O. V.*, li.
 "Bursa," explained, 13 n.
 Buschius, Hermannus, xx, xxi; *Elo-*
 gium by, xxxvii; his share in the
 E. O. V., lxvii, 28 n.*, 50, 83, 84 n.,
 85, 95, 101, 148, 153, 227, 228, 241,
 256.
 Busto ducis, 170.
 Butzbach, Johann, 269 n.*
 "Byssus," 118 n.*

C

Cabbala, mysteries of the, xxviii, 280,
 282. *See also* Gabbala.
 Cadmus, compared to Christ, lii, 75.
 Caesar, Julius, 106.
 Caesarius, Joannes, xx, xxi, 85 n.*,
 153.
 Calabria, 277.
 Callisto, 75.
 Calvastrius, Stephanus (O. V.), 53-
 54.
 Campanien, 150.
 Campo dei Fiori, 122, 155 n., 186 n.*
 Canis, Magnus and Minor, 84 n.*
 Cantabria, 281.
 Cantimpratensis, Thomas, 66 n.
 Cantrifusoris, Ioannes (O. V.), 14-
 16, 14 n.
 Capnio, meaning of the name, xxviii.
 Caprimulgus, Nicolaus (O. V.), 19-
 21.
 Caravajal, Bernardino de, Card.,
 177 n.*, 236 n.*
 Carbachius, Nich., 153, 249.
 "Carenas," 81 n.*
 Carinna. *See* Corinna.
 "Carlin," 186 n.*
 Carmelites, 5, 25, 80 n.*, 131, 162.
 Carolus Manneken, *Epistolae*, q., 16
 n., 22 n.*, 112 n.
 Carthusians, 242.
 "Casearius," meaning of, 18 n.
 Cases, Reserved, Episcopal and Papal,
 10 n.
 Caspar (praedicator), of Kempton,
 217 n.
 Cassel, 179 n.*
 Cassian, John, 15 n.
 Castrifrancanus, Albertus, 20 n.

Casus longi, 169 n.
 Categories, Aristotle's, 116.
Catena Aurea, 117 n.*
 Catherine, of Mecklenburg, her wed-
 ding, 110.
Catholicon, 6 n.*; q., 67 n.
 Catones, 232.
 Cat-whipping, 103 n.
 "Cavisavi," meaning of, 13 n.
 Celibacy, folly of monastic, lxx.
 Celtis, Conr., xx, xxi, 12 n., 240.
 "Centumviri," meaning of, 252.
 Chalk, scarcity of, at Rome, 176.
 Charitatis, Petrus (O. V.), 259-61.
Chartiludium Logice (T. Murner),
 136 n.
 Chatto, W. A., *Hist. of Playing Cards*,
 q., 136 n.
 Chaucer, q., 4 n., 31 n., 176 n.
 Cheese, scruples concerning grubs in,
 187.
 "Chorus," meaning of, 252.
 Chrisogono, St., Card. of, 195.
 Christopher, St., 88 n., 281.
 Cicero, 21, 44, 265; *de Nat. Deorum*,
 240 n.
 Circumcision, debate upon, 95-97.
 "Cista," 71 n.*
 Clara, St., nuns of, 281.
 Clarke, R. F., *Pilgrimage to . . .*
 Treves, 33 n.
 Clements, Henry, his edd. of the
 E. O. V., viii.
Clipeum Thomistarum, 65 n.*
 Coblentz, 165.
 Cochleariligneus, Iohannes (O. V.),
 255-57.
 Colet, John, xxxviii, 29 n.
 "Collatio," meaning of, 15 n.
Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 67 n.
 Collimitius, 149, 200 n.*
Colloquium de Herbis, 100 n.
 Cologne, *saepe*; piety of folk at, 58;
 shrine of Magi at, 59 n.
 Colpius, Bartholomaeus (O. V.), 80.
Combibilationes, 81, 83.
 Complexions, the four, 90 n.*
 "Componist," 51 n.
Composita Verborum, 23 n.
 Concubinage, clerical, 27 n.
 "Consistorium," 10 n.*
 Constance, diocese of, 239.
Continuum, 117 n.
 "Copulata," explained, 33 n.
 Corbie, Abbey of, 59 n.
 Coridon, 165.
 Corinna, 241.
 "Corinthia," meaning of, 251.
 Cornelius, Alexander, 67 n.
Cornutus, 23 n.*, 98.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Corona. *See* Crown.
 Corsica, wine of, 142, 247.
 Corvinus, Laurentius, his *De Latino*
Idiomate, 34 n.
 Cosdriel, 220.
 Council, above a pope, 37.
 Crapp, Iohannes (O. V.), 216-17.
 Creighton, M., *Hist. of Papacy*, q., x,
 li, 28 n.
 Cribelinioniacius, Henrichus (O. V.),
 202-4.
 Croke, Richard, lxx, 20 n., 91 n.*,
 149, 253.
 Cross, Patriarchal, 278 n.*
 Crotus Rubianus, account of, lx-lxi;
 his share in the *E. O. V.*, lxi, 150.
 "Crown, The," at Mainz, 34, 119.
 Cuick, Johann, 13 n.
 "Cullagium," 27 n.
 "Curatum," 147 n.*
 Curio, Mag. (writer of i. 44), 109.
 Currificis, Joannes (O. V.), 114-18.
 "Curreus," derived, 67.
 "Cursor," 80 n.*, 190 n.*
 "Curtisani," 186 n.*
 Cuspinianus, Ioh., 149, 201 n.*, 257.
 Cynthia, 241.
 Cyrella, 251.

D

Dacia, cattle in, 171.
 "Daripinus," meaning of, 12 n.
 Daubengigelius, Paulus (O. V.), 63-66.
 Daventria, *saepe*. *See also* Deventer.
 David, 79.
David Copperfield, q., 20 n.
De Arte Cabalistica (Reuchlin), 280 n.
 "Debilis transicio," 114.
 Decimarius, 71. *See also* Zehender.
Declaration of Popish Impostures,
 103 n.
Decretal. Greg. IX., q., 70 n.
De Disciplina Scholarium, 66 n.*
Defensio (Reuchlin's), 64 n.*
De Generibus Ebriosorum, 42 n.; q.,
 242 n.
 Degrees, Academical, despised by
 the Humanists, 42 n.
De Integritate, 241 n.
 Delitzsch, Andreas, 6 n.; on Aesti-
 campianus, 49.
 Demetrius Phalerius (O. V.), 213-14.
De Modis Significandi, 66 n.
 De Monte Hostel, 14.
 "Depositio," 101 n.
De Rudimentis Hebraicis, xxix.
 Deventer, Latin school and frater-
 huis at, xix.
De Verbo Mirifico, xxviii.
 Dhaun-Eberstein, Philipp von, 177 n.

"Diabolus erit Abbas," 202 n.
 "Diaeta," meaning of, 252.
 Diana, alluded to in Psalms, 75.
 Diana, Ant., q., 11 n.
 "Dictamen," meaning of, 14 n.
 Dietrich von Bern, 161 n.*
Digest, The, 169 n.
 Diocletian, parentage of, 131.
 Diomedes, grammarian, 209 n.; q.,
 232 n.
 — King of Thrace, 209 n.
 "Discholus," meaning of, 22 n.
Discipulus, 234 n.*
 Disraeli, Isaac, *Cur. of Lit.*, 188 n.
Distinctiones Scoti, 65.
Doctrinale, q., 219 n.; q., 283 n. *See*
also Alexander.
 Dollenkopffius, Conradus (O. V.),
 72-76.
 Döllinger, J. J. I. von, *Die Papst-*
fabeln, 191 n.
 Dominic, St., 230 sq.
 Dominicans, miracles of, 16; in ill
 odour, 213, *et saepe*.
Dominus que Pars, 22 n.
 Donaldson, J. W., q., xxvii.
 Donatus, *Ars Parva* of, 22 n., 162,
 192, 265 n.*, 271.
 Dondis, Jacobus de, 86 n.
Don Quixote, lxxviii, 115 n.
 Doomsday, 80.
 Dorothea, Conrad of Zwickau's praise
 of, 58.
 Drinking customs, 7, 173.
 Du Cange, q., 9 n., 11 n., *et saepe*.
 Dungersheim, Hieron., 266 n.*
 Duns Scotus, 41 n., 44, 65, 66 n., 164,
 250.
 Durande, Guil., 117, 243 n.*

E

"Easter candles," in magic, 219 n.
 Eberbach, Peter, 41 n., 150, 227 n.
 Eberburek, 108, 112.
 Eberhard, Duke of Württemberg,
 xxvii.
 Eberhardus Bethuniensis, 98 n.*
See also Graecista.
 — de Campis, 269 n.*
 Ecbertus de Harlem, 183 n.*
 — Ungenat (O. V.), 198-99.
 Eggs, permissible on fast-days, 186.
 Eimbeck, its beer, 4.
 Eitelnarrabianus de Pesseneck (O.
 V.), 93-95.
Elegantiarum viginti praecepta, 201 n.
 Elephant (white), given to Leo X.,
 163, 233 n.*

GENERAL INDEX

Eleutherius Byzenus (*pseud.*), lxvi, 68 n.
 Elsa, 220.
Encomium Moriae, q.; 106 n.
 Engelhard, Valentin von, account of, 22 n.
 Engentinus, Philippus, 148 n.*
 England, 90; sheep in, 171; 253, 270.
 Eobanus Hessus, lviii-ix, 100 n.*, 150, 227, 256.
 Epistates, And. See Delitzsch.
 "Epistographum," meaning of, 251.
Epistolae Clarorum Virorum, xlv; q., 29 n., 133.
 — *Obscurorum Virorum*, their importance, vii; Sir W. Hamilton on, viii; editions of, xiii; language of, x; coarseness of, xi, 1; first appearance of, xlv; meaning of title, *ib.*; their modernity, xlv; plan of, xlv-vi; date of, xlviii; blasphemies of, li; unfairness of, liii; second series of, liv; authorship of, lvi, *sqq.*; their influence, lxviii, *sqq.*; why so named, 131-34.
 "Equiritia," 64 n.
 Erasmus, q., xvii, xxii; xlv, l, 41 n., 49 n.; his stature, 105 n.; at Strasburg, *ib.*, 121; at Basle, 152 n.; "doctus theologus," 159, 178; highly honoured, 213; 215; q., 235 n., 237; his *Nov. Test.*, 235 n., 238 n., 241; "homo pro se," 257; 270, 279.
 Erfurt, Univ. of, 203, 229.
 Erzgebirge, 150 n.
 Eucharist, Emperor poisoned at, 61.
 Eucharius, 249 n.
 Euricius Cordus, lviii, 100 n.*
 Euritius, Ritius, 100.
 Europa, scriptural allusion to, 75.
 Eusebius, St., Card. of, 124.
 Evelyn, John, his *Diary*, q., 11 n.
Exercitium Puerorum, 55 n.*, 228.
Ex Quo, Vocabularius, 6 n.

F

Faber, Jacobus, 212.
 Fabri, Iohannes, 140 n.
 Fabricius, J. A., 47 n.
Facetus, 280 n.*
 Facha, Balthasar de, 148 n.
Faerie Queene, The, q., 48 n.
 Fairholt, W., ref. to, 9 n.
 Falckenberg, Matt. de, 109, 250.

Falkland, Lord, his "Convivium Philosophicum," lix.
 Farnach, 220.
Fasciculus Temporum, 82 n.
 Federleser, Bernhard (O. V.), 296.
 See also Plumilegus.
 Fenestricis, Cornelius (O. V.), 31-35.
 Fenstermacher, Corn. (O. V.), 309.
 Fettich, Theobaldus, 152, 159.
 Fidenza, Giovanni di. See Bonaventura.
 Finck, Mathaeus (O. V.), 145-47; epitaph on, 246-47.
 Fire, St. Anthony's, 149 n.
 Fish, dear at Cologne, 181.
 — maggots regarded as, 187.
 Fisher, John (Bp.), xxxviii, 29 n.
 Flandria, 148, 152, 171.
 Flaschenklirrer, Otto (O. V.), 477.
 Flerszkliirdius, Otho (O. V.), 220-23.
 Fliscus, Stephanus, 280 n.*
 Florence, Leo X. at, 146, 163; ill-repute of, 171 n., 244.
Flores legum, 158 n.
Floretus, 280 n.*
Florista, 280.
 "Focaria," 27 n.
Formalitates Scoti, 164 n.
 Formularies, 36 n.*
 Fornaficis, Padormannus (O. V.), 97-100, 97 n.
Fortalitium Fidei, 60 n.*, 164.
 Fotzenhut, Marquardus (O. V.), 177-78.
 France, 64, 91, 93, 147; vassals in, 171; 262.
 Franciscans, 37 n., 136, 213.
 Franciscus (theologian), 151.
 François I., his meeting with Leo X., 162.
 Franconia, 41, 150; nobles in, 171.
 Frankfort Fair, importance of, xxxi.
 Frankfort-on-Main, xxiv-xxvi, *etc.*
 Frankfort-on-Oder, 149.
 "Frascariae," meaning of, 46 n.*
 Fratres Hieronymici, xviii.
 Frederick I., of Prussia, 15 n.
 Freher, Marg., q., 61 n.
 Freiburg (Breisgau), Univ. of, 24.
 Friburga (-ia), 26, 152.
 Frisia, nags in, 171.
 Frobenius, Ioh., 80 n.; his house at Basle, 152 n., 256 n.
 Froude, J. A., q., 235.
 Fulda, Abbey of, lxiii; learned priest at, 82 n.*
 Funck, Mathias, 246 n.*
Fundamentum Scholarium, 22 n.
 Future tense, dog-Latin form of, 43 n.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

G

Gabbala, Reuchlin's, 280, 282.
 Galen, 170.
 Galienus Padebornensis (O. V.), 252-53.
 "Gallus gallinaceus," meaning of, 252.
 "Galrinum," 110 n.
 Ganda, Iacobus de, 35.
 — Theod. de, 5, 59.
 Gänseprediger, Franz (O. V.), 304.
 Ganymede, suiteth with the Realists, 115.
 Garland, John, 22 n.*
 Garlandia, Joannes de. *See* Garland.
Gates of Light, The, 159 n.
 Geert Groete, xviii.
 Geiger, L., xxix, 177 n.
 Geiler, J., *Navicula Fatuorum*, 137 n.
 Gelff, Bernhard (O. V.), on the name "Gratius," 132, 190-98.
 Geltersheim, Valent. de, 22 n.*, 35, 52, 176, 198 n., 204.
Gemma Gemmarum, 6 n.*, 198 n., 282.
 Gemmingen, Uriel von, xxv, 211 n.
 Genselinus, Franciscus (O. V.), 24-26.
 Georg, Herr (Predicant), his hypocrisy, 15-16.
 George, Duke of Saxony, Erasmus to, 49 n.
 — St., 102.
 Georgius Bruxellensis, 264 n.
 Georius, for Georgius, 12.
 Gerarde's *Herball*, q., 4 n.
 Gerard Groot, his sermon *De focuriis*, 27 n.
 — of Zutphen, 13; death of, 19; elegy on, 53.
 Gerardus de Monte, 226 n.
 Gerbelius (Gerbellius), Nico., 151, 257, 269 n.*
 Gereander, Paulus, 151 n.*
 Gerhardus, Magnus, xviii. *See also* Gerard Groot.
 Ghent, Beguinage at, 81 n.
 Ginsburg, Dr., *The Cabbala*, 283 n.
 Giovanni da Genova, 6 n.
 Glantz, Fradericus (O. V.), 173.
 Glareanus, H., 152, 214 n.*
 Glatzkopf, Stephan (O. V.), 326.
 Glockenheintz, 249.
 Glorianus. *See* Glareanus.
Glosa notabilis, 54.
 Goldast, Melchior, *Cravamina*, q., 28 n.
 Golding, Arthur, translator of *Collectanea*, 67 n.
 Gouda, Jakob von, 35.
 — Theodoric of, 5 n.*, 59.

Gowk, Dr. Barthel (O. V.), 417.
 "Gracchi," Gratius derived from, 259.
 Gracchus, Caius, oratorical device of, 99.
 Graecista, 209. *See also* Eberhardus.
 Graetz, H., *Hist. of the Jews*, q., 60 n., 94 n.
Grammatica Speculativa, 66 n.
 Grapp, Iohannes (O. V.), 134-35.
 Gratius, Magister (O. V.), 261-63.
 — Ortwin. [All the Epp. are addressed to O. G. with the exception of i. 31, 34, 35, 44, 49; ii. 68, 69. He is the supposed writer of i. 34.] Ortuinus Gratius, pupil of Hegius, xx; xxiii; *Carmen* by, xxxvii; why selected as the butt of the humanists, xlvii; on Greek accents, 20; his poetic gifts, 23, 25, 53; beats his doxy, 26; a squire of dames, 38; accused of being a bastard, 45, 248; alleged heresy of, 64 n.*; why named Gratius, 82, 98-99; his book of love-charms, 87; strong drink causes his backsliding, 88; his intimacy with Frau Pfefferkorn, 96, 215; his illness, 102, 103; becomes a father, 113; his valour, 140; his immorality, 145; his *Praenotamenta*, 156 n.; commits a solecism, 164; his Latin style, 166; the theologians' "Poet," 179; Klynge's reminiscences of, 180; slow in composition, 201; his great learning, 218; his contempt for Greek, 224; his love of books, 243; dispute concerning his name, 259-60; his lineage, 263; his skill in magic, 273; at Frankfort fair, 283; brayeth like a jackass, 284.
 Greferius, Ioan., 275.
 Grego[r]ius, 146.
 Gregorovius, F., *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, 233 n.
 Gregory the Great, saying of, xvii.
 Greifswald, 148 n.*
 Gricius, Sylvester (O. V.), 248-50.
 Grimani, Dominico, Card., xli, 92, 183, 195.
 Grocyn, William, xxxviii, 91 n.*
 Gröning, Martinus, translates the *Augenspiegel*, xlv, 154 n.*, 236.
 Guarinus of Verona, 6 n.
 Guida, 269 n.
 Guillermus Hackinetus, letter to, 90.
 Gulielmites, Order of, 80 n.*, 93.
 Gundelfingen, 108 n.

GENERAL INDEX

Gury, P. T. P., *Casus Consci.*, q., 187 n.
 Gutenstein, Graf von, xxii.
 Gyni, virtues of, 86, 90.

H

Hackfurt, Lucas. *See* Batodius.
 Hackinet, Wilh. *See* Haquinet.
 Hackstro, Bertholdus (O. V.), 181-82.
 Hafenmusius, Petrus (O. V.), 21-24 ; his name, 21 n.
 Hagenau, 152.
 Halberstadt, 206, 260, 263.
 Hales, Alexander of, 35 n.*
 Halle, Univ. of, 15 ; execution at, 63, 124.
 Hamilton, Sir William, q., viii, xviii, xxxvii, lxix.
 Hammerlein, Felix. *See* Maleolus.
 Han, Henricus, 249 n.
Handt-Spiegel, xxxiv, 167 n.
 Haquinet Petit, Guil., 90 n.*
 Hare, A. J. C., q., 186 n.
 Hartlieb, J., *De Fide Meretricum*, q., 108 n.
 Hartwig, O., 81 n.
 Harveus. *See* Verneus.
 Harz, 259.
 Hassia, Henricus de, 81 n.*
 Hauréau, J. B., on Thomas Wal-lensis, 74 n.*
 Häusern, Burs unter XVI, 14 n.
 Heckmann, Johann, 41 n.*, 149, 201.
 Hegius, Alexander, xx.
 Heidelberg, letters dated from, i. 28, i. 33, i. 42, i. 46, ii. 70 ; Univ. of, 24, 73, 145.
 Helena, St., 285.
 Helyot, q., 80 n.
 Hemerlin, Otho (O. V.), 165-68.
 Henricus de Hassia. *See* Hassia.
 — Pauper, or Septimellensis, 114 n.*
 Henry, Duke of Saxony, his wedding, 110.
 Henry VII., Emp., poisoning of, 61, 93 n.
Herbarius, 86 n.*
 Herbispolis. *See* Würzburg.
 Herder, J. G. von, on the influence of the *E. O. V.*, lxviii.
 Hermann, Graf von Wied, 177 n.
 Hermonymus, George, xxvii.
 Herolt, Johann. *See* *Discipulus*.
 Hertz, Martin, *Life of Eoban Hesse*, 100 n.

Herzogenbusch, needle-makers at, 170.
 Hiltbrandus Mammaceus (O. V.), 36-38.
 Hipp, Ioannes (O. V.), 47-51.
 Hirsch, S. A., *A Book of Essays*, q., 175 n.
 Hobbes, Thos., q., 189 n.
 Hofman, Mag., 373.
 Holcot, Johannes (O. V.), 178-79.
 — Robert of, 178 n.*
 Holy Ghost, Order of the, 278 n.*
 Homer, 217 ; Latin transl. of, 224 n. ; *Iliad*, q., 225 n.
 Honiglecker, Matthäus (O. V.), 319.
 Hoogstraten, Jakob van, xxxi ; character of, xxxviii-ix ; at Rome, xli ; a mumping friar, 18 ; at Rome, 36, 52 ; "a vile beast," 59 ; ignorant of High German, 92 n. ; his letter to O. G., 121 ; epitaphs on, 123 ; sorely beset, 139 ; gives a feast, 141 ; in dire want, 142 ; his zeal, 167 ; money sent to, 187 ; ode upon, 188 ; "lucet sicut stella," 203 ; withstands Wick, 236 ; leaves Rome on foot, 244 ; *et saepe*.

Hoppe, Iohannes, 47 n.*
 Horace, 7, 133, 201, 216 n., 252.
 Horawitz, A., 80 n.
Hostis Judaeorum, xxiii.
Hudibras, lxviii.
 Hugo de Digneneton, 11 n.
 — de Folieto, 175 n.
 Hugutio of Pisa, his *Magnae Derivationes*, 6 n.
 Hundt, Magnus and Minor. *See* Canis.
 Hungary, vermin in, 170.
 Hungen, Johann, 99.
 Huter, Johann, 139 n. ; (O. V.), 401, 431.
 Hutten, Ulrich von, lxii-lxvi, 16-18, 100, 150, 178, 241, 248, 257.
 Huttichius, Ioannes, 153, 249 n.
 Hyginus, C. J., 67 n.
 "Hypocaustum," meaning of, 251.

I

Ignorance, degrees of, classified, 10 n., 11 n.
Iliad, ancient MS. of, 20 n.
 "Incongruus," 164 n.*
 Indulgences, 23 n.*, 93.
Infortiatum, 169 n.*
 Ingolstadt, 68, 149, 252.
 Innsbruck, Maximilian at, 160.
Instituta, 169 n.*

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Institutiones Grammaticae. See Brassicanus.

"Intention, First," 189 n.*

"Irregularitas," 46 n.*

Irus Perlirus (O. V.), 253-55, 253 n.*

Isidoneus Germanicus, 241 n.

Isidore of Seville, his *Origines*, 6 n.

Italy, scorpions in, 170; diet, chalk, and bootlaces in, 176; poets in, 188; women in, 215; German universities scorned in, 255, 258; war in, 275; referred to, 60, 64, 165, 262.

J

Jackson, S. M., *Huldreich Zwingli*, 214 n.

Jacob, patriarch, 212.

"Jacobitae," 25 n.*

Jacobus Gaudensis, 35 n.*

Jäger, Johann. See Crotus.

Janssen, J., on the similes of the *E. O. V.*, lii.

Jebb, Sir R. C., q., xviii.

Jehosaphat, Valley of, 79 n., 96.

"Jejunium," 186 n.*

Jerome, St., his opinion of poetry, 18; on the Eastern schism, 33; scourged by an angel, 62 n.*

Jerusalem, centre of the earth, 79 n.*; 237.

"Jesus, Doctor," 283.

Jetzer, Tragical History of, 60 n.*

Jews, sin of saluting, 9; badges of, 11; compared to dogs, *ib.*; ill-savoured, 185.

Joan, Pope, 191 n.*

Job, 75, 132, 175.

Joeden Bicht, Der, xxiii.

— *Spiegel, Der*, xxii.

Johannes a Lapide, xxvii.

John the Baptist, 217.

Jonathan Levi Zion, xxx.

Jorz, Thomas, 74 n.

Josephat, Valley of, 96.

Judas Iscariot, 194; a cellarer, 267, 284.

"Judenschutz," 94 n.*

Juden Veindt, Der, xxiii.

"Julio," 186 n.*

Julius Caesar, not the author of the *Commentaries*, 107.

Julius Exclusus, q., 37 n.

Junius, The Letters of, liv.

Jupiter, alluded to in the Gospels, 75, 100, 115; deriv. of, 240 n.

Jurisprudence, advantage of studying, 170.

Jurists, dress of, 18.

Justus Jonas, lviii.

Juvenecus, C. V. A., 7.

K

Kachelofen, Mag., 255.

— Petermann (O. V.), 363.

Kalb, Io. See Kalp.

Kalp, Ioannes (O. V.), 233-35.

Kannegieszer, Johann (O. V.), 297.

Kehrbach, K., *Mon. Germ. Paed.*, q., 14 n.

Keilbach, Philippus, 248 n.

Kelbertzhausen, 274.

Kempten, sacred oil at, 217.

Kierher, Johann, 151 n.*

Kimchi, Rabbi David, xxix.

Kirchberg, Johann, 99.

Kirherus, 151.

Klingesor, Adolfus (O. V.), 184-85.

Klorbius, Thomas (O. V.), 163-65.

Klynge, Iodocus (O. V.), 179-81.

Kneck Hostel (Cologne), 13 n., 19, 204.

"Kofent," 111 n.

Kohlburger, Johann. See Brassicanus.

Konigsteyn, loh., 153.

Konitz, B. de. See *Parvulus*.

Köstlin, J., *Life of Luther*, q., 4 n.

Kötzchenbroda, its wine, 4.

Krabacius, Ioannes (O. V.), 41-42.

Krabbe, O., *Die Univ. Rostock*, &c., 47 n.

Krause, C., *Briefwechsel des M. Rufus*, 237 n.

Kuckuk, Bartholomaeus (O. V.), 154-55.

Kuijk, or Kück Hostel. See Kneck.

Kutz, Bartholus (O. V.), 272-74.

L

Labia, Iohannes (O. V.), 131-34.

Laborintus. See *Labyrinthus*.

Labyrinthus, 98 n.*

Lacrima Christi, 163.

Lactantius, 210.

Lambert de Monte, 14 n.

Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum, 53 n., 184 n.

Lamp, Wilhelmus (O. V.), 208-10.

Lampirius, Achatius (O. V.), 219-20.

Landsberg, 160 n.

Landsknechte, equipment of, 65 n., 91 n.

Lang, Matth., Ahbp., 256 n.

Langius, Paulus, 265, 266 n.*; 273.

GENERAL INDEX

Langschoydeyrius, Thomas (O. V.), 3-8.
 Largent, A., 62 n.
 Lasius, Simon, 201 n.*
 Last Judgment, the, scene of, 79.
 Latimer, Hugh, xxxviii.
 "Latus clavus," meaning of, 251.
 Lawrence Hostel (Cologne), 31.
 Lea, H. C., his *Hist. of Auric. Confess.*, etc., q., 9 n., 10 n., 24 n.; *Hist. of Inquisition*, 120 n.
 Lectures, various kinds of, 7 n.
 Lefevre d'Étaples, Jacques, 212 n.*
 Leineweber, Gallus (O. V.), 372.
 Leipsic, Univ. of, xxi; Statutes, q., 3, 4, 5; "Nations" at, 7 n., 8, 12, 17, 21, 29, 58, 84, 91, 110-11, 229, 255-56, 258; jousting at, 40.
 Leo X., Pope, xli; anathematizes the E. O. V., liv.; his character, 32 n.; at Florence, 146; his eyesight, 146 n.*, 191, 195.
 Lesbia, 241.
 Leyser, Polycarp, 98 n.
Libellus de Judaica Confessione, xxiii.
 Lichtenberger, Johannes, *Prognosticatio*, 237 n.*
 Lieb, Peter (O. V.), 513.
 Liessem, H. J., his *Life of Buschius*, 29 n., 84 n.
 Lignipercussoris, Gingolfus (O. V.), 83-84.
 Lillebonne, Synod of, 27 n.
 Linacre [Thos.], xxxviii, 91 n.*
 Lindholz, Johann, 42 n.
 Linitextoris, Gallus (O. V.), 108-12.
 Lipsius, 285.
 "Liripipium," 9 n.*
 Lissiel, 218.
 Livy, lectures on, 153.
 Locher, Jacobus. *See* Philomusus.
 Lolhardi, 82 n.*
 Lombardia, 65, 189.
 Loriti, Heinrich. *See* Glareanus.
 Lötze, family of, lxiv, 148 n.
 Lovania, 165, [199], 247.
 Love-charm, recipe for, 219.
Love's Labour's Lost, q., 39.
 Lubeck, 218.
 "Lucar," derived, 67.
 Lucian, q., 3 n.
 Lucibularius, Ioannes (O. V.), 54-56.
Ludus studentum Friburgensium, J. Murner, 136 n.
 Ludwig von Dringenberg, xix.
 Luke, St., 76.
 Luminatoris, Nicolaus (O. V.), 101.
 Lumplin, Tilmannus (O. V.), 76-78.
 Lupoldus Federfusus (O. V.), 95-97.
 — Mag., 95 n.

Luscinius, Ottomar, 266 n.*, 269.
 Luther, Martin. *See* Mistotheus.
 Lyons, Card. of, salutes a Jew, 11 n.
 Lyra Buntschumacherius (O. V.), 90-93.

M

Madepurck, 63.
 Maderus, J. J., q., 84 n., 221 n., 246 n., 266 n.
 Magi, Shrine of the, 59.
 "Magister," derivation of, 182.
 — Curiae," 182 n.*
 — Noster," Erasmus on the phrase, 6 n.
 "Magisternostrandus," use of the word defended, 7.
 Main, R., 150.
 Mainz, 34, 46, 61, 118, 119, 153, 158, 205; Bp. of, 212, 237, [250], 271, 281; Cath. of, 71; Univ. of, 30, 32.
 Maittaire, Michael, on the E. O. V., viii.
 Maius, *Vit. Reuchlin.*, q., 191 n., 203 n.
 "Majoritas," 53 n.
 Maleolus, Mag. (O. V.), 284-85.
 Mammotrectus Buntmantellus (O. V.), 85-87; letter addressed to, 87.
Mamotrectus super Bibliam, 85 n.*; q., 217 n.
 Manicheans, scruple of, concerning eggs, 186 n.*
 "Mantellus," derived, 67.
 Mantua, 161.
Manuale Scholarium, 230 n.
 Marburg, 179 n.*
 Marchesinus, Joannes, 85 n.
 Marchia, 171.
 Marcolphus Sculteti (O. V.), 282-84.
 Margaretha, bell-ringer's daughter, 85, 88.
 Maria (B. V. M.), 17, 37, 59, 75, 109, 122, 140, 157, 221.
 Marignano, Battle of, 92 n.*
 Marsilius ab Inghen, 265 n.*, 279.
 Martène et Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anec.*, 236 n.
 Marthen, Herebord von der, lviii.
 Mary-Lafon, J. B., *Pasquin et Margorio*, 188 n.
 Matthias Falckenbergensis, letter to, 109.
 — Joan. *See* Tyberinus.
 Matusalem, 168.
 Maurice, C. E., *Bohemia*, q., 170 n.
 "Mavors," deriv. of, 73.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Maximilian, Emperor, at Padua, xxii; first mandate, xxiv; second mandate, xxxi; third mandate, xxxii, 149.
Maximilian, Triumphs of, 65 n.
 "Mechanicus," derived, 67.
 Mediavilla, Rich. de. *See* Middleton.
 Medici, Giulio de', legitimised by Leo X., 46 n.
 "Medius fidius," 192 n.*
 Meissen, 150, 168.
 Melanchthon, Philipp, 151, 186, 257.
 Mellilambius, Matthaeus (O. V.), 44-46.
 Mennicken, Karl. *See* Carolus.
 "Mensorium," derived, 67.
Mensurarum Vocabula, 186 n.
 "Mercurius," deriv. of, 73.
 Mercury, 75.
 Mesue, Philippus (O. V.), 183-84.
Metamorphoses, Ovid's, interpreted, 74.
 Meyer, J. F., q., 61 n.
 — Petrus, 16, 60, 69, 122, 155, 200, 202, 205, 217, 248.
 Michael, St., shield of, 59.
 Michaelmas, 55, 230.
 Middleton, Richard, 88 n.*, 170 n.*
 Migne, J. P., *Patrol*, q., *surpe*.
 "Milchzehut," 27 n.
 Miller, W., *Medieval Rome*, q., 233 n.
 Miltenberg, 70 n.*, 72.
 Milton, John, q., 160 n.; *Apol. for Smectymnus*, 200 n.
 Minorites, 37.
 "Missa," 9 n.*
 Mistladerius, Herbordus (O. V.), 102.
 Mistotheus, Dr. Ludov., 100.
 "Moderni et Antiqui," 115 n.
 Molay, Jaques de, 120 n.
 Montefiascone, 163.
 Monte Rutilo, Samuel de, 40 n.*, 66.
 Montis, Bursa, 14.
 Moravia, 41, 94, 157.
 More, Sir Thos., q., xxviii; xxxviii, xlix, 29 n.
 Moreri, L., *Dict. Hist.*, 100.
Moria Erasmi, a scandalous book, 235.
 Mossellanus, Petrus, 150, 253.
 Münster, school at, xix; 54, 173.
 Münzer, Thomas, 26 n.
 Mummellius, Joannes, xx, xxi, 38 n.*
 Murner, Thomas, nickname of, 24 n., 136 n.*, 137, 153, 256, 268, 281.
 Muses, The Nine, allegorical meaning of, 73.
 Muth, Conr. *See* Mutianus.
 Mutianus Rufus, Conradus, xx, lvii-lix, 150, 237 n.*, 257.

N

N., Antonius (O. V.), 105-7.
 Nachtigall, O. *See* Luscinius.
 Nahum, 133.
 Naphtali, tribe of, 137, 212.
 Naples, ships at, 170.
 Narragonia, 151.
Narrenbeschwörung, 136 n.
Narrenschiff, Das, 68 n.; q., 278 n.
 Naumburg, its beer, 4; Luther's opinion of, 4 n.*
 Negelinus, Petrus (O. V.), 51-53, 255.
 Neptalim, 137, 212.
 Neuenar, Hermann, Graf von, 153; corresponds with Reuchlin, 178, 256 n.*
 Neumburga, 244.
 Neuss, 203.
 Newman, J. H., q., 117 n.
 Niavis, Paulus, 23, 202.
 Niceti, Willibrordus (O. V.), 80-83.
 Nollerius Stech (O. V.), 277-79.
 Nova, P., q., 65 n.
 Noyon, Treaty of, 234 n.*
 Nürnberg, 24, 42, 99, 149, 170, 256.
 — Jakob von, 99.
 Nussia, 203.

O

Oates, Titus, xxxi.
 "Obsonatores," meaning of, 251.
 Ochsenfart, Dr., 255 n.*
 Ockham, William, 222 n.*
 Olearius, Paulus, q., 12 n.
 Olmütz, 157 n.*
 Oranges, at Rome, 135.
 Osthén, Joannes and Alex. von der, 149 n.*
Othello, q., 270 n.
 Ovid, 4 n., 26; *Ars Amandi*, 38, 57, 89; *Remedia Amoris*, 86; *Metamorphoses*, 7, 73; *Fasti*, 216; *Epistolae*, 134.
Ovid Moralised, 74 n.*, 75, 76 n.
 Oviedo, 59 n.

P

Padorauw, 90.
 Palacky, on Formularies, 36 n.
 Pannitonoris, Wendelinus (O. V.), 118-21.
 Paolo, Fra, on Leo X., 32 n.
 "Papa," gender of, 192.
 "Papal letters," 24 n.*

GENERAL INDEX

- Papias the Lombard, his *Elem. Doc. Rud.*, 6 n.
Paratus, 234.*
 Pardau, 90.
 Paris, its theologians infallible, 59.
 — University of, its pre-eminence, 30.
 "Pariselli," 168 n.*
 Parker, H., q., 48 n.
Parva Logicalia. See Petrus Hispanus.
Parvulus, 55 n.*
 Pascal, B., imitates style of the E. O. V., xlvii.
 Pasquino (statue), 188 n.
 "Paternoster," 171 n.*
 "Patritii," derived, 67, 252.
 Paulus Nivis, works of, 23 n., 202.
 — Olearius, his *De Fide Concub.*, 40 n.
 Paul, St., 171, 231.
 Pellifex, Ioannes (O. V.), 8-12.
 Pelzer Johannes (O. V.), 294.
 Perlin, 181, 240.
 Perversor, 264.
 Peter Lombard, 17 n.*
 — St., 10, 52; his voice, 79, 171, 176; a prior, 267.
 Petit, Guil. Haquinet, xliii, 162.
 Petrus de Wormatia (O. V.), 224-25.
 — Hispanus, 32 n.*, 48 n.*, 55, 81, 91, 99, 228, 265.
 — Mossellanus. See Schade.
 — Ravennas. See Tommai.
 Peutinger, Conrad, 150, 257 n.*
 Pezel, C., q., 61 n.
 "Pfaff Rapp." See Pfefferkorn, Johann (priest).
 Pfefferkorn, Johann (priest), burned at Halle, 63 n.*, 144.
 — Johann, his attack on Jews, xxii-xxvi; visits Reuchlin, xxx; preaches at Frankfort, xxxvi; his probity, 29; Ortwin's intimacy with his wife Anna, 38, 96, 102, 215; his zeal, 52; a knave, 63; his behaviour at Mass, 94; a stalking-horse, 113, 120; doubts concerning, 124, 185; his character discussed, 137, 167; his "Defence," 155, 179, 199, 208, 227, 243; his "Tocsin," 159; his ignorance, 174; his "Defence" examined, ii. 28; of tribe of Naphtali, 212; his unregenerate youth, 247; no true Christian, 261; Mag. Gratius on, 262; of the seed of Judas, 284.
 — Lorenz, 174.
 Pforzheim, xxvi.
 "Phariseus," 72 n.
 Philip, St., a door-keeper, 268.
 "Philocapniones," 247 n.
 Philomusus, 68 n.*, 149.
 Phito. See Python.
 Phrygio, 151.
 Physiophilus, John, *Spec. of Nat. Hist. of Monks*, q., 230 n.
 Pico della Mirandola, xxvii, lvii.
 Piemont, Ioh. See Butzbach.
 Pilate, 260, 279.
 Pileatoris, Iohannes (O. V.), 139-40, 170-72.
 Pindarus Thebanus, 224 n., 225 n.
 "Piper," deriv. of, 68 n.*
 Piramus, 76.
 Pirckheimer, Bilibald, xx, 65 n., 149, 241 n.*
 Pistoris, Cath., 89.
 Pitrax, 220.
 "Pixides," 65 n.
 Plato, 114, 135.
 Platter, Thomas, his *Autobiography*, 119 n., 266 n.
 Plautus, 49 n.; q., 96; poverty of, 114, 118 n.
 Pliny, a poet, 21, 47; 85, 153, 229.
 Plumilegus, Bernhardus (O. V.), 12-14.
Plutarch, Reuchlin studies, 207.
 Pocoporius, Simon (O. V.), 218.
 Poetry, food of devils, 18; falsehoods in, 21.
 Poland, thieves in, 170.
 "Polyhistor," 67 n.*
 Polysenus, 67.
 Pomerania, swine in, 171.
 Pomponius Laetus, 28 n.
 Pontius (author of *Modus Epistolandi*), 202 n.*
 Pope, Alex., q., 5 n.
 Porphyry, 35 n.*; *Isagoge*, q., 114 n.
 "Porquinum," 263 n.
 Porretanus, Gilb., 251 n.
 Porretionius, Gilbertus (O. V.), 251-52.
 Postmen, mounted and running, 146.
Praenotamenta, by Ortwin Gratius, xlvii, 50 n.
 "Praeputiati," 95 n.*
 "Praesuna," 169 n.
 Prague, Jews in, 170.
 Prandium Aristotelis. See Aristotle, Feast of.
 Prantl, K. von, *Gesch. de Logik*, 101 n.
 Predicants, evil deeds of, at Strasbourg and Mainz, 119.
 Prierio, Silvestro Mazzolini da, lv, 235 n.*
 Priests, when amenable to secular law, 69.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Priscian, a modern writer, 232.
 "Processus," explained, 33 n.
 "Promotor," 208 n.*
 "Prothonotarius," 132 n.*
 "Prothyrum," meaning of, 251.
 Proverbia Erasmi, a meddling writer, 205.
 Prussia, 241.
 "Pullaster," 186 n.*
 "Pultronus," 72 n.*
 Pyramus and Thisbe, allegory of, 76.
 Pythagoras, a necromancer, 282.
 Python, alluded to in Psalms, 74.

Q

Quadrivium, the, 48 n.*
 Quentel, Heinrich, xlv, 20 n.*, 188 n.
Querenen, lxiv.
 Quenstenberg, Jacob Aurelius von, 154 n.*, 191 n.*, 245.
 Quintilianus, M. F., 7.
 Quodlibets, 95 n.*

R

Rabelais, François, lix, lxxviii, 4 n., 5 n., 9 n., 81 n., 102 n., 116 n., 160 n., 233 n., 234 n.
 Rack, Johann. *See* Aesticampianus.
 Radewins, Florentinus, xviii.
 Rashdall, H., *Univ. of Eur. in Mid. Ages*, q., 3, 7, 14 n., 22 n., 48 n., 73 n., 80 n., 101 n., 190 n., 208 n.
Rationale divinarum Officiorum, 243 n.*
 Ravensas, Petrus, 177, 239.
 Raynouard, M., *Lexique Roman*, q., 19 n.
 Rays, Johann, 221 n.*
 Reber, B., 284 n.
 Recorde, R., q., 5 n.
 Regiomontanus, xvi.
 Reichling, D., *Life of Murmellius*, 39 n.
 Reichskammergericht, 158 n.*
 Reinhardtsson, 265.
 Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, 12 n., 278 n.
 Reisch, Greg., 175 n.
 Relies, 59 n.
 Remigius, Mag., 19, 35, 52, 204.
Remigius, 22, 209.
 Renaissance, its dawn in Germany, xvi.
 "Replicatio," explained, 31 n.
 Resch, Thomas, 201.

Reuchlin, Johann, his life and labours, xxvi-xxix; his *Opinion*, xxxii; publishes the *Defensio*, xxxvii; letter to Erasmus, xxxix; last days of, lv. [J. R. is referred to in the great majority of the Epp.; the following are the most important references:] his ignorance of theology, 17; his craftiness, 43; his name in Hebrew, 52; cited by Hoogstraten, 54; discussion concerning, 59; calls O. G. an ass, 64; beggared by law-costs, 70; attacked and defended, 71; wronged by Dominicans, 93; his "Defence," 113; his many friends, 121; attacked and defended, 143; persecuted, 167; withstands the Church, 187; his failing eyesight, 207; a heretic, 222; persecuted, 239; ascendancy at Rome, 245; his poverty, 276; his "Gabala," 280.
 Revilien Hospital, 94.
 Reysz, Iohan., 221.
 Rhest, J. *See* Rays.
 Riario, Raffaello, Card., 195 n.*
 "Ribaldis," meaning of, 8 n.
 Richardus Kalberstatensis, letter to, 124.
 Ricius, Paulus, 159 n.*, 257.
 Riemann, H., *Hist. of Music*, q., 56 n.
 Riga, Petrus de, his *Aurora*, q., 206 n.
 Rilla, a familiar spirit, 242.
 Ritius Euritius, 100.
 Rockinger, on Formularies, 36 n.
 Roger, Domine, 14.
 Rolewinckius, W., 82 n.*
 "Rollationes," 116 n.
 Rome: the following letters are dated from R.: i. 48; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 26-28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 66.
 Romedellantis, Stephanus (O. V.), 136-39.
 Rorbach, 282.
 "Rosarium," 171 n.*
 Rosary, a safeguard against robbers, 171.
 Roscoe, William, *Leo X.*, q., 32 n., 46 n., 235 n.
 Rostock, library at, 104, 148, 184.
 "Rota," 135 n.*, 141 n.
 Rotger Sicamber, 269.
 Roth, F., *Wil. Pirckheimer*, 241 n.
 Rothenburg, Mag. from, 50.
 Rubenstadius, Antonius (O. V.), 69-70.
 Rubino, J. A., q., 226 n.
 Ruchrath, Johann, 120 n.*

GENERAL INDEX

Rudolf von Langen, xix.
 Rumelant, Stephan (O. V.), 398.
 Rupert, St., priest of, 88.
 Rupertus Cuculus, 284 n.
 Ruprechtsau, 274 n.
 Ruserus, Ioannes, 266 n.*; 269.
 Rutgerus, Dominus, 14, 52, 204.
Ruth eremita, 237 n.
 Ruysbroek, Johann, xix.
 Rymer, Thos., *Foedera*, q., 195 n.

S

St. Paul's School, 29 n.
 Saintsbury, George, q., ix, 1.
 Sallust, 22, 252.
 Salt, consecrated, 104.
 Samson, not unrighteous, 39.
 "Samuel the Poet." See Monte Rutilo.
 Sapidus, Ioannes, 151, 266 n.*
 Sapienza, Univ. della, 203 n.*
 "Saponista," 64 n.*
 Sartius, Maurus, q., 169 n.
 Saturn, myth of, fourfold interpretation of, 74 n.*; planet, 115.
 Saxony, 90, 145, 148; toppers in, 171.
 — Dukes of. See Albrecht and George.
 — nuptials of Prince of, 109.
 Schade, Peter, 253 n.*
 Schäfers von Neustadt, Die, 86 n.
 Schaffsmulius, Henricus (O. V.), 185-87,
 Schangaw, 160.
Schelmenzunft, 136 n.
 Scherenschleifer, Wilhelm (O. V.), 318.
 Scherer, W., *Hist. Germ. Lit.*, 131 n., 136 n., 185 n.
 Scherschleiferius, Guilhelmus (O. V.), 43-44.
 Schirruglius, Gerhardus (O. V.), 58-61.
 Schlauraff, Philippus (O. V.), 147-53.
 Schlettstadt, xix, 151, 284.
 Schluntz, Henrichus (O. V.), 242-44.
 Schluntzick, Iohannes (O. V.), 244-46.
 Schmidt, O. G., 253 n.
 Schnarholtzius, Ioannes (O. V.), 78-80.
 Schneevogel. See Paulus Nivis.
 Schneider, Jodocus (O. V.), 419.
 — Philipp (O. V.), 491.
 Schnerckius, Iohannes (O. V.), 206-8.
 Schnersheim, 269 n.
 Schönau, Coll. of St. Jacob at, 267 n.

Schöngau. See Schangaw.
 Schoolmen, the great, xvii.
 Schulz, Markulph (O. V.), 535
 Schurerius, Matth., 84 n., 151, 269 (Schuterius).
 Schwan, Adularius, 249 n.
 Schwartz, B., *Jakob Wimpeling*, 241 n.
 Schwarzerd, P. See Melanchthon.
 Schwinfordia, Ioannes de (O. V.), 263-69.
 Schwinkoncius, Petrus, Ep. addressed to, 279.
 Selauch, Balthasar (O. V.), 199-201.
 Scotists, 5 n.
 Scott, Sir W., q., 5, 21 n.
 Sculptoris, Philippus (O. V.), 66-68.
 "Secundarius," 55 n.*
 Seidensticker, P., 151 n.
 Semele, alluded to in *Exodus*, 75.
 Sena, 154, 163.
 "Seria," derived, 67.
Sermones parati. See *Paratus*.
 Serpents, a charm against, 171.
 Servius (Scholiast), q., 225 n.
 Setzer, Johann, 152 n.*
 Sforno, Obadyah, xxix.
 "Shepherds of Neustadt, The," 86.
Shield, The, of the Thomists, 65.
Ship of Fools, q., 281 n.
 Shoes, red, use of, 18.
 Siberti, Iacobus, 269 n.*
 Sibus, Georg, brawl at his house, 12; 148, 240.
 Sicamber, Rotger, 52, 269.
 Sickingen, Franz von, his war with Worms, 109 n.*; 159 n.
 Siebmacher, Heinrich (O. V.), 459.
 Siliceo, Bp. of Toledo, q., 181 n.
 Simnels, 4 n.
 Sinigaglia. See Sena.
 Sins, mortal and venial, distinguished, 9 n.; seven deadly, 48 n.*
 Sinthen, Ioh., 23 n., 209, 228, 280.
 Sixtus IV., xxvii.
 Smaragdus, error of, 205 n.*
 Socrates, 218.
 Solinus, Caius Julius, 67 n.
 Solmsz, Wigandus de, 250 n.
 Solomon, 4, 40, 77, 213, 217, 277.
 Sorbonne, influence of the, xliii; condemns Reuchlin, 32.
 Sotphi. See Gerard of Zutphen.
 Southwell, Robt., q., 55 n.
 "Spados," 158 n.*
 Spain, 170.
 Spalatinus, Georgius, lviii, 100 n.*; 150.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Spandau, 180.
 "Speculativus," meaning of, 15.
Speculum adhortationis Judaicae, xxii.
Speculum Oculare, xxxv. See *Augenspiegel*.
 Speyer, Bp. of, xl, xlii, 52. See also Spira.
 "Spiculator," 144 n.*
 Spiculi, Gregorius, 275.
 Spiegel, Jakob, 151, 269 n.*
 Spira, 36, 272.
 Stadianus, Franciscus, 151 n.*
 Starnial, 220.
 Steckelberg, lxiii.
 Steele, Sir Richard, on the *E. O. V.*, viii.
 Steinmetz, Philipp (O. V.), 337.
 Steynhart, Petrus (O. V.), 168-70.
 Stomppf, Wernherus (O. V.), 258.
 Storati, Cornelius (O. V.), 142-43.
 Storch, Wilhelmus (O. V.), 188-89.
 Storckius, 151.
 Strappado, 169 n.*
 Strassburg, 105, 118, 151.
 Strauss, D. F., his *Life of Hutten*, lxiv, 42 n.
 Strauszfeder, Johannes (O. V.), 299.
 Strausfederius, Joannes (O. V.), 16-19, 16 n.
 Strunck, Albertus (O. V.), 201-2.
 Stryldriot, Chunradus (O. V.), 214-16.
 "Studium Generale," 73 n.*
Stultifera Navis, q., 243 n.
Sturm Glock, publ., xlv; 77 n.*
 Sturmius, Jacobus, 266 n.*
 Sturnus, Johannes, friend of Buschius and Celtis, 150.
 Stuttgart, 150, 207.
 Suetonius, author of Caesar's *Commentaries*, 107.
 Suevia, 151.
 Sulpitius, 17 n.*
 Suls, Peter, 204 n.
Summa contra Gentiles, 32.
 "Superiorista," 136 n.
 "Supposita," explained, 41 n.
 Swabia, 150.
 Swift, Dean, his satire misunderstood, liii.
 Switzerland, 170, 213, 285.
 Sydra, 220.
 Syllogism, Cornute, 33.
 "Symbols," 270 n.*
 Symonds, J. A., q., xvi, 205 n.
 Synai, Mt., 277.
 Synthen, Joh. See Sinthen.
 Syria, 67.

T

Tagus, its golden sands, 23.
Talmud, Reuchlin on the, xxxiii, xxxv; Univ. of Mainz on, 60 n., 92.
 Tartaretus, Petrus, 264 n.*
 Taylor, Jeremy, q., 81 n.
 Templars, the, 120.
 Terence, nature of his writings, 50; sin of reading, 229.
 Tertullian, q., 95 n.
 Tetragrammaton, 217 n.*
 Tetzels, J., on indulgences, 24 n.; q., 187 n.
 Theoris, Iohannes (O. V.), 279-82.
 Theoderic the Great. See Dietrich.
 Theoderic of Gouda, the character of, 5 n.
 Thisbe, 76.
 Thomas of Walden. See Walden.
 — of Wales, 74.
 — St., compared with St. Dominic, 231.
 Thomists, 5 n.; contrasted with Albertists, 226.
 Thungaris, Arnoldus de. See Tongern.
 Thuringia, 171.
 Thyme, wild, as medicine, 102 n.
Tocsin. See *Sturm Glock*.
 Tolletanus, Ioannes (O. V.), 124-27.
 Tommai, Petrus, 177 n.*
 Tongern, Arnold von, his "Articuli," 8, 19; his chastity, 38; Reuchlin on, xxxvii, 8 n.*; *et saepe*. See also *Articuli*.
 Torgau, its beer, 4, 13.
 Tornab, 220.
 Torrentinus, Hermannus, 115 n.*, 182 n.
 Tout, T. F., q., 65 n.
 Toynbee, P. J., q., 6 n.
 Trebellius, Hermannus, 149 n.*
 Trent uno, game of, 275.
 Treves, 53, 139.
 — Holy Coat of, 33, 59.
 Trient, 161.
 Trier. See Treves.
 Triest, Isaac, xxx.
 Tristão de Cunha, 233 n.
 Trithemius, Johannes, q., 162 n., 266 n.*, 267, 269.
Triumphus Cupionis, lxvi, 16 n., 23 n., 68 n.*; q., 71 n.
 Trivium, the, 48 n.*
 Trivulzio, Genl., 92 n.
 Trojans, how they fought, 225.
 "Trufator," meaning of, 18 n.
 Tübingen, 38; called Augusta, 66;

GENERAL INDEX

76, 78, 150; Stat. of Univ., q., 13 n.
 Tuchscherer, Wendelin (O. V.), 382.
 Tullius. *See* Cicero.
 Tungersheim. *See* Dungersheim.
 Tunstall, Cuthbert, xxxviii.
 Turcia, 253.
 Turks, 203.
Twelfth Night, q., 41 n.
 Tyberinus, Joannes Matthias, 50 n.*

U

Uguccione. *See* Hugutio.
 Ulm, 208.
 Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, 38 n.
 Unkebunck, Cunradus (O. V.), 175-77, 227-30.
 Ungenant. *See* Ecbertus.
 Unitas Fratrum, 170 n.*
 "Unter Fettenhennen," 95 n.
 Urbanus Bellunensis (Bolzanus), 20 n.*
 ——— Henricus, 100 n.*
 Uriel von Gemmingen, xxv, 211.
 Ursinus. *See* Velius.

V

Vacant, A., *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, 182 n.
Vade Mecum, 105, 182, 228.
 Vadianus, Ioachimus, 41 n., 149, 200 n.*, 256.
 Valentin von Geltersheim, touts for bejans, 199.
 Valentinus, S., 117.
 Valerius Maximus, 34, 117.
 Valla, Lorenzo, his *Donation of Constantine*, lxxi.
 Valle, Nicol. de, 224 n.
Vallum Humanitatis, 83 n.
 Van Dyke, P., *Age of Renaissance*, 233 n.
 Vaughan, Card., his *S. Thomas of Aquin*, q., 32 n.
 Veau, Jehan le, 233 n.
 Vegetarian diet at Rome, 176.
 Velius, Caspar Ursinus, 256 n.*
 Venetians, Maximilian attacks the, 65.
 Venice, 161, 171.
Verba Deponentialia, 209 n.
 Vereander. *See* Gereander.
 Verneus, 81 n.
 Vernicle, sent from Rome, 176.
 Verona, 161.
 ——— Rhenana, 95 n.

Veronica, 176 n.*
 Versor, 264 n.
 Vicetia, A. M. a., q., 226 n.
 Vickelphius, Ioannes (O. V.), 61-63.
 Victor, St., Library of, 81 n., 102 n.
 ——— von Karben, xxxi.
 Vienna, 42, 64, 67, 149, 199; many students at, 229; 240, 256, 270.
 Vilipatius de Antwerpia (O. V.), 103-4.
 Virgil, 21, 50; q., 106, 132; inferior to Bap. Mantuanus, 162; 165, 229, 263, 281.
 Virulus, Carolus. *See* Carolus Manneken.
 "Vitrinus," 118 n.
Vocabularius Juris utriusque, 168 n.*; q., 170 n.
 Vollenberg, 274.
 Volwinus de Monteflascon (O. V.) 269-72.
 Volzius, Paulus, 269 n.*
Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren, 136 n.
 Voragine, Jacobus de, 16 n.
 Vorilongus, Guil., 65 n.
 Vratislavia, 22, 168.
 Vulcan, alluded to in Psalms, 76.

W

Wagner, Johann (O. V.), 378.
 Walden, Thomas of, on classification of sins, 9 n.
 Walleis, Thomas de, 74 n.*
 Waller, Sir W., 61 n.
 War, Erasmus on, 92 n.*
 Warmsemmel, Mag., 5-7.
 Watt, Joachim von. *See* Vadianus.
 Weissenborn, J. C. H., q., 3.
 Werdau, Johann von (O. V.), 402.
 Werdea, Iohannes de (O. V.), 140-42.
 Wernherus, Dom., 250 n.
 Wesalius. *See* Ruchrath.
 Wessalia, 272, 281.
 Wessel, Johann, xvi, 120 n.
 Westphalia, 54, 59, 102, 166.
 Wettrania, doves in, 171.
 Wetzer and Welte, *Dict. de la Theol.*, q., 10 n.
 Weydman, Conr., 153, 249 n.*
 Wharton, H., q., 65 n.
 Wick, Johann, proctor for Reuchlin, 236 n.*, 246.
 Wickelträger, Johann (O. V.), 334.
 Wilhelmities. *See* Gulielmites.
 Wimpfen-am-Berge, 275 n.
 Wimpfeling, Iakob, xx, 151, 241 n.*, 257, 265-69, 273.

LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN

Wimpina, 275.
 Wimpinus, 270.
 Winheim, E., q., 59 n.
 Wirt, Wigand, 120, 145.
 Wiskowatoff, P. V., *Jakob Wim-
 pheling*, 241 n.
 Witches, counter charm against, 104.
 Wittenberg, 12, 16, 100, 180, 240;
 university of, 15 n.*
 Witz, Johann, 151. *See* Sapidus.
 Women, compared to devils, 27.
 Wordsworth, W., q., lix, lxxii.
 Worms, 93, 109, 152, 159, 248.
 Worst, Simon (O. V.), 174-75.
 Wright, Thos., q., 8 n., 67 n.
 Wurst, S. (O. V.). *See* Worst.
 Würzburg, 170, 178, 223.
 Wustenfelt, Arnoldus, 255 n.*
 Wynssheim, Jodocus, 99.

X

Xanthus, steed of Achilles, 225 n.

Y

Yūhannā ibn Māsawaih, Arab writer,
 183 n.

Z

Zapf, G. W., 157 n.
 Zarneke, F., q., 3, 4, 5, 254.
 Zasius, Ulricus, 24 n., 152.
 Zealand, sailors in, 171.
 "Zeccha," meaning of, 13 n.
 Zehender, Barth., 71 n., 153, 205.
 Zephaniah, Book of, 237.
 Ziegenmelker, Nich. (O. V.), 301.
 Zingerle, H., *Sprichwörter*, q., 12 n.
 Zodiac, twelve signs of, 73 n.
 Zuicavia, Conradus de (O. V.), 26-
 29, 38-40, 56-58.
 Zutphen, Gerhard von. *See* Gerard.
 Zwickau, 26 n.*
 Zwolle, xix, 56, 102.



PA
8490
1909

Epistolae obscurorum virorum
Epistolae obscurorum
virorum

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
